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THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

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The Early History of Babylonia

I. THE RULERS OF KENGI AND KISH.

THE discoveries which have been made in Babylonia in recent years have been so remarkable, and the results have been so inaccessible from their having been published in special memoirs and in technical journals, that an attempt may perhaps now be made to put together the latest information on the subject into a connected narrative. It must be remembered that we are dealing with an intricate and difficult matter, in which, from the very nature of the evidence, much is uncertain and speculative, and much is only tentative. We have as yet mere glimpses of a landscape, the details of which time and opportunity will doubtless enable us to fill up, but at present our statements must be accepted as merely the detached tesserae of a mosaic pavement, whose pattern and whose motive can only be suggested. Not only so, but we must also remember that in these very early times history is really archæology.

The Euphrates and the Tigris, which spring not far from each other, form two great loops in the course of their journey. They approach within a few leagues of each other near Babylon, and expand above and below into two ovals, differing remarkably in their appearance and products. The country enclosed by the upper loop is stony and rugged, and traversed by more than one chain of mountains. To it the name Mesopotamia properly belongs. That included in the lower one is a flat alluvial plain, in which there is a continuous struggle between the marshes and the enclosed land. The latter country is picturesquely described by Maspero, who says :

It must have presented at the beginning very much the same aspect of disorder and neglect which it offers to modern eyes : a flat, interminable

waste, with an apparently limitless horizon broken only by clumps of palm trees and acacias, intersected by lines of water gleaming in the distance, then long patches of wormwood and mallow, endless vistas of burnt-up plain, more palms and more acacias, and so on. . . . Through this plain the Euphrates flows with unstable and changing course between shifting banks, which it shapes and reshapes from season to season. The slightest impulse of its current encroaches on them, breaks through them, and makes openings for streamlets, the majority of which are clogged up and obliterated by the washing away of their margins almost as rapidly as they are formed. Others grow wider and longer, and sending out branches are transformed into permanent canals or regular rivers, navigable at certain seasons. . . . The Euphrates and its branches do not at all times succeed in reaching the sea; they are lost for the most part in vast lagoons to which the tide comes up, and in its ebb bears their waters away with it. Reeds grow there luxuriantly in enormous beds, and sometimes reach a height of from thirteen to sixteen feet; banks of black and putrid mud emerge amidst the green growth and give off deadly emanations.

This land of reedy marshes and deep alluvium is really the child of its two bounding rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris. They have deposited and are still depositing its rich soil, which is constantly encroaching on the Persian Gulf. The climate of this famous plain is an unequal one. The winters are pleasant and temperate, but the summers are fiercely hot, the thermometer reaching 120° in the shade, and the kind of dwellings built by its earliest inhabitants show that in their day, as now, the summer heats must have been excessive.

The country originally contained hardly any products of value beside its rich soil and the wild animals in its reedy coverts, wild cattle, deer, boars, lions, &c., and the fish in its rivers. The palm trees which now so mark its landscape are said by Hommel not to have been indigenous, but imported; and so were apparently all the things necessary for civilisation and culture—stone and metal, wood and pitch, corn and olive trees. The country had clearly to be reclaimed in every respect, just as much as a western clearing in America has, and as we know it in later times it was the direct product of human labour, foresight, and skill.

What its early inhabitants succeeded in doing with these gifts we can gather from the description left us by Herodotus of the condition of Babylonia in his day, which no doubt preserves a picture of a much older time. He tells us how, like Egypt, the land was intersected by canals (which were no doubt as necessary for drainage as for irrigation purposes), and that it was the most fruitful in grain of all known countries. While the fig, the olive, and the vine did not grow there, the return from sowing grain was two or even three hundredfold. The blade of the wheat and barley plants, he says, was often four fingers in breadth, while millet and sesame grew

to a great height. Oil they made from the sesame plant (as the present inhabitants still do). Palm trees, he tells us, grew all over the flat country, and supplied the people with bread, wine, and honey. We may, in fact, compare this description with that of the Lombard plain, with its fields of maize and rows of mulberry trees.

Who, then, were the people who converted this land of reeds into a land flowing with abundance? At the earliest times to which we can carry our story at present the country was occupied by an apparently small race of men with prominent aquiline noses, projecting but not slanting eyes, and fleshy cheeks. They shaved their faces, and as delineated on the monuments greatly resemble the figures on the reliefs found at Palestrina. They were apparently of very dark complexion, if not black. Professor Sayce has pointed out that in the bilingual hymns and elsewhere the primitive race of southern Babylonia are called sometimes 'blackheads' and sometimes 'blackfaces.'¹ They spoke a language whose vocabulary and grammar have a great affinity with those of the Turks and Mongols, from whom they differed so much, however, in physical features that it is possible the language was not originally theirs, but was in a large measure adopted from conquerors or otherwise. This, however, is a matter upon which it is not convenient to dilate at present. When we first meet with them in actual documents they were already fairly homogeneous. Whether they were the original inhabitants of the plain or not we do not know. We find them there, as I have said, at the verge of human history, and find them, too, fully equipped with the weapons of civilisation, including the knowledge of letters. When they settled in the country the first inhabitants found ready to their hands one product which was of supreme value. Although the Babylonian plain did not produce a stone as big as a nut, the mud which formed its soil was one of the best materials possible for making bricks. The author of Genesis reports how the survivors of the Flood, having reached this very plain, said one to another, 'Go to, let us make bricks and burn them thoroughly; and they had brick for stone, and pitch had they for mortar' (Gen. xi. 3). The clay the inhabitants mixed with straw and moulded into bricks of different shapes, the greater number being about a foot square and four or five inches thick, while others were triangular, so as readily to make up into cylindrical shafts or pillars, arches or vaults. Some of the bricks were merely dried in the sun, and others were burnt, the former being mainly used for the solid platforms and mounds upon which the great temples and palaces were built. The different layers of unburnt bricks were consolidated by having a mixture of clay and water poured into their interstices, while the burnt bricks were similarly bound by interposed layers

¹ *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, v. 155.

of reeds mingled with bitumen, which was apparently derived from Hit, on the Euphrates.

With the unburnt bricks they built up huge solid platforms, whose enormous size and cubical contents have been the wonder of all observers. These platforms were buttressed, and were also in certain cases carefully drained by means of water conduits of baked bricks running down the sides, and had their surface protected by a plaster of mixed clay and straw or of bitumen. On these platforms were built temples and palaces, whose thick walls of crude sun-dried bricks were generally faced with burnt bricks. As they had no stone the architects were obliged to design their buildings under certain disadvantages, and had recourse to size and to the simpler features which lend themselves to effect in brick architecture. They could not use external solid pillars and architraves, for they had no stone. For this reason, therefore, they could have no stately porticoes or large halls. The lines had to be straight and the forms rectangular. The only real variety was produced by recessed panels, by applied pilasters, crenellated walls, and the abundant use of towers. A curtain wall surrounded the principal buildings, both temples and palaces, secluding and protecting them. Such a wall the Greeks called *peribolos*, and the Arabs still call *haram*. The walls of the houses were thick and seldom if ever pierced. It was more important in the fierce sun of August in these latitudes to exclude heat than to give access to light. The main sources of light were apparently the doors, which opened into shady courtyards. The making of vaults and arches was known, and a fine arch has recently been discovered at Nuffar in a very early part of the buildings. Vaulted passages then afforded, as they do still, cool retreats. The rooms were generally long and narrow, and the walls were free from applied sculpture or ornament, and probably covered with hangings. The arrangement of the interior of the palaces and larger houses was very much that of eastern palaces in our own day. The dwelling rooms were arranged round courtyards or halls, the biggest one answering to the modern *khan*, where the chief held his receptions and performed his public duties. Harems, or women's quarters, were detached and separated from the rest of the building. Then, as now, they consisted of a series of chambers ranged round a more important room; a similar series of rooms formed the *selamlik*, or men's quarters. The interior fittings of the buildings were made of cedar and cypress wood, which were imported in large quantities. With these were constructed the floors and roofs, the arcades, the pierced screens and doors; which seem to have existed, as they do now, in great profusion in eastern houses. The general aspect of the streets and houses was doubtless very much that of a modern eastern town. The necessity of excluding the sun necessitated also narrow streets with monotonous walls on

either hand, except where the bazaars with their gay-coloured wares were exposed. Each class of wares had a cluster of booths or shops of its own, the handicraftsmen working, as they still do in the East, in full view of their customers. The streets were crowded with asses and humped oxen, and the quays with curious boats, whose descendants still survive and to which we shall refer presently. The flat roofs of the houses were probably the retreats then, as now, where people passed the cool evenings in kiosks and summer-houses, and the chief deodoriser was the sun, who then, as now, distilled from the wasted products of the old towns all the noxious perfumery of an eastern street.

The most imposing buildings in the towns were, no doubt, the temples, of which perhaps the oldest and stateliest in Lower Babylonia was that whose ruins have been recently explored by the Americans at Nuffar. These temples, as well as the palaces, were orientated differently from what they were in Egypt; the angles and not the sides faced the cardinal points. The recent excavations at Nuffar and at Tell Loh have enabled us to recover the general plan of these temples, and to confirm the account of them given by Herodotus. They were planted, as I have said, on vast platforms whose sides were furnished with flights of stairs, and were made up of a series of concentric rectangular courts, with their walls pierced with gates, and enclosing the actual temple itself, which consisted of a sanctuary or a group of sanctuaries, each devoted to a god or goddess.

The chief feature of these temples was the ziggurat, or great tower, of which the Tower of Babel was a famous example. These towers were built up in stages or stories, each story being a miniature copy of the one below it, all being solid. Herodotus, who lived only a short time after the great temple of Babylon was destroyed by Xerxes, tells us that it consisted of eight such stages, the ascent to the top being by a sloping path winding round the tower. Halfway up, he tells us, was a resting-place, with seats. On the topmost story was the temple or sanctuary, and inside it a richly adorned couch of great size, with a golden table by its side. He says there was no statue in the place, nor was the chamber occupied at night by any one but a single native woman who, as the priests declared, was specially chosen by the god from all the women of the land, and was visited by the god, who came down and slept upon the couch. Below and within the same peribolos, or precinct, he tells us, was a second temple, in which was a figure of Jupiter (*i.e.* of Bel), made of solid gold, sitting on a golden throne, and with a golden table in front of it.²

The temples of Babylonia were so famous that each of them bore a specific name, by which it was known and apostrophised. The

² *Op. Cit.* i. 188, 183.

ziggurats, or pagoda towers, were similarly distinguished. Thus the great temple of the god Inlil at Nippur was called *Ekur*, i.e. the mountain house, 'while the ziggurat there was named *Imkhursag* (the mountain of heaven) or *É-Sagash* (the high-towering house).' It was in digging down through several layers of débris in the mounds which have gathered about this temple that Dr. Peters and his friends came successively upon buildings lying on each other, as the process of decay and renovation compelled, each marked by inscribed bricks or other monuments containing royal names, and eventually in the lowest layers came upon the inscriptions to which we shall presently refer.

Before doing so we must first define more precisely the district we are dealing with. It was very limited in area, as were the theatres on which many famous and heroic chapters of human history were enacted. It is probable that at this time the alluvial plain of Lower Babylonia did not extend much further seaward than the mounds of Abu Shahrein. In the opposite direction it was limited roughly by the mound which runs from Hit, on the Euphrates, to Samara, on the Tigris, and which was afterwards known as the Median rampart. The whole country was consequently little larger than Holland, which is also a land of canals and reclaimed marshes.

While the flat alluvial plain of Chaldea thus formed a homogeneous whole when measured by its physical aspects, politically this was not so. It has been argued by German historians that in the earliest times to which our records go back the whole country consisted of as many separate states as there were cities, each being independent of its neighbour, having its distinct god and its own ruler. It is possible that this may have been the case in the very earliest times, but we have no direct evidence of it. At the earliest time about which we can speak with any certainty it would seem that the country was divided into two states or communities, each comprising a number of cities, among which there was a certain union or hegemony. The ruler of some particular city held the position of supreme chief, and the governors of the other cities treated him as their feudal superior and overlord. Apparently all the gods of all the cities in each district were worshipped by the people in that particular district, and temples were dedicated to them indifferently by the same rulers.

The two communities were known in later times when they became united together as Akkad and Shumer. Neither of these names occurs, however, in the earliest inscriptions. Still the districts to which those names were applied had been already differentiated, and they were then apparently distinct and rival communities under separate and hostile rulers. It would seem that they then bore the names of Kish and Kiengi or Kengi respec-

tively. The former took its name from the town of Kish, which was its capital. Kish, which was known as Kishu in later times, was long ago identified by George Smith with the mound of Haimar, situated fourteen kilometres to the north-east of Babylon, where a dedicatory inscription of a ruler named Khammurabi, mentioning a temple restored by him at Kish, was found. This inscription and others of the same king, who belongs to the first dynasty of Babylon, and mentioning (not the building but) the restoration and completion of temples, &c., at Kish, prove what an old place it was.

Among its temples two are especially famous. One was known as Khursag Kalama, or, as Jensen and Hilprecht read it, Ursag Kalama, *i.e.* the Mountain of the World. We are especially told in an inscription containing a list of temples that it was the temple of Kish.³ The ziggurat, or tower, of this temple was called Ekur-Magh, *i.e.* the house of the great mountain.⁴ A second temple at Kish whose restoration is often mentioned by Khammurabi, already named, was, according to George Smith, called Ê Biti Urris, while Hommel read the ideographs as Ê Miti Urzag. Of the ziggurat of this temple it is specially said that its summit reached unto heaven. Many attempts have been made to fix the site of the biblical tower of Babel, and latterly it has become the fashion to identify it with the so-called 'Illustrious Mound,' situated at Borsippa, and now represented by the Birs-i-Nimrod. I would suggest that it is far more probable that it was this very tower of Kish, which may be styled the mother of Babylon, one of whose gates was called the Kissian gate. It will be remembered that it is expressly said of the tower of Babel (thus reminding us of the great ziggurat of Kish) that its top was intended to *reach unto heaven* (Genesis xi. 4).

It is quite clear from the inscriptions that the town of Kish gave its name to a wide district, including several other towns, such as Babylon itself, called Tintir by the early Chaldeans, Sippara, &c. It was apparently synonymous geographically with the Akkad of later days, *i.e.* the northern, part of the Chaldean plain. How far it extended northward we cannot at present say, but it no doubt extended at least as far as the Median rampart already named, and in all probability its dominion extended also over Mesopotamia proper. Name for name Kish seems to be identical with the Cush of the tenth chapter of Genesis. Cush is there made the son of Ham and the father of Nimrod, thus confirming the opinion that the primitive race was black. South of Kish, and comprising southern Chaldea, was a second state or community, which at this time was known as Kengi, to which we shall turn presently. The two communities were continually at feud with each other, and their boundary was not well defined.

³ Rawlinson, *Inscriptions*, 2, 61, 15.

⁴ Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* 120.

Habitually associated with Kish in the early inscriptions is a place whose name has been very doubtfully read as Gishbanki, translated 'the Country of the Bow' by Oppert. This name led Hilprecht to identify it with Harran, which by some Arabic writers has been described as lunate in shape. The identification has been sharply criticised by Nöldeke and Winckler, and does not seem to be sustainable. The reading of the characters as Gishbanki is most doubtful. The first character, Gish or Ish, is merely the determinative of wood, and the last one that of town. Mr. Pinches has given some reason for thinking the name ought to be read Ukh or Upe. He has given me a note on the subject. As early as 1886, in his 'Guide to the Nimrud Central Saloon in the British Museum,' he read a certain character as Upe or Upia. This character differs only slightly from that read Gishbanki by others, and with that read Udbanki by Thureau Dangin, and he is disposed to identify both these names with Upe, which is to be recognised in the name of the town afterwards called Opis. Scheil, on the other hand, who has described two tablets of a patesi of Gishbanki, tells us they were discovered, in April 1894, in the district of Djokkha, west of Wasith al Hai, in al Balayah in Irak—that is, about halfway between Baghdad and Bussora.⁵ This seems an improbable site for the place, and I am disposed to conclude with Mr. Pinches and Winckler that it was Upe or Opis. Its people were perhaps mixed with Semites, and perhaps also the advance guard of the Semites who were coming in at this time from the north. So much for northern Chaldea. Let us now turn to its southern neighbour.

This district was known to its early inhabitants as Kengi, represented in the inscriptions by the characters Ki in gi, meaning, according to Hilprecht, respectively land, canal, and reed, so that it is a descriptive term meaning the land of canals and reeds. Kengi, as we shall call the district, was as thickly planted with settlements as Belgium. Two of the most famous of these were situated on the Shatt en Nil, a canalised river channel which leaves the Euphrates a little above the ruins of Babylon and rejoins it a good deal further down. According to F. Delitzsch this channel was famous in very early times, and was known as Ka khan di or Gu khan di to the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia, and Arakhtu to the Semites, and he makes it the origin of the Gikhon, one of the four rivers of Paradise.

On its banks were two famous towns. One was the Erech of the Bible, the 'Ορέχ of the Septuagint, the Urikut of the Talmud, and was known to the later Greeks as Araka and Orkhoe. It remained prosperous until the time of the Seleucidae, and Strabo and Pliny speak of it as a seat of Chaldean learning even in their time. Its

⁵ See Maspero, *Recueil*, xix. 63.

ruins are still known as Warka, and are six and a half miles in circuit.

To the primitive inhabitants of Chaldea it was known as Unu ki or Unuk, 'the place of settlement,' which name Professor Sayce has identified with the Enoch of Genesis, built by Cain in commemoration of his eldest son. It was one of the very earliest settlements in Babylonia. It was the especial seat of the worship of Ana, or the sky. Here also was specially cultivated Nina or Ishtar, and in it was the great temple of E Ana, the House of Heaven, where Ishtar had her most famous shrine. Erech was associated with some of the earliest legends of the country. Here Gilgamesh slew the bull which Ana had created to avenge the slight offered by him to Ishtar, and it was here in Erech suburi, *i.e.* 'Erech the shepherd's hut,' that he exercised his sovereignty.⁶ It was also the great necropolis of Babylonia, and whole mountains of coffins are still to be found there, whence Rawlinson aptly compares Dis the lord of Warka or Erech, the city of the dead, and Dis the king of Orcus or Hades.

While Erech or Unuk was the chief secular city of the earlier kingdom of Kengi, Nippur was its religious metropolis. This, like Erech, was situated on the Shatt en Nil, which in fact traversed it. Its ruins are still called Nuffar by the Affej Arabs, in whose country it is situated. Originally it was apparently named Inlilki, *i.e.* the city of Inlil or Illil, the Illinos of Damascios (which ought to be read Ἰλλυλος), the god of the nether world and of the world of ghosts, and identified by the later Babylonians with their supreme god Bel. The female form of this god was known as Lilatu to the Semites. The Jews called her Lilith, and the prophet Isaiah makes her haunt the ruined mounds of Idumaea (Isaiah xxxiv. 14). Inlil among the early Chaldeans had a complementary female goddess in Ninlil, the lady of the ghost world, also known as Nin Khursag, the mistress of the mountain, as Ninvkigal, and as the mother of the gods. There was something especially imposing in the position of Inlil. It was he who consecrated the sovereign who dominated over Kengi, and it was by the will of Inlil that its several rulers claimed to govern. At Nippur was situated Ekur, 'the Mountain House,' the great and famous temple of this god Inlil. Hilprecht tells us that out of the midst of the collapsed walls and buried houses which originally encompassed the temple, which was situated on the eastern bank of the Shatt en Nil, there rises a conical mound to the height of 29 metres above the plain and 15 above the mass of the surrounding débris. It is called to this day Bint el Amir ('Daughter of the Prince') by the Arabs, and covers the ruins of the ancient Ziggurat.

It is from this site that the most recent light has reached us in regard to some of the very earliest records of human history.

⁶ Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 184-5.

This has resulted from the excavations of the Americans, who, under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, have, since the year 1888, been busily exploring on this famous site. The excavations have been mainly superintended by Dr. Peters and Mr. Haynes, and have resulted in most valuable discoveries, including about thirty-two thousand clay documents.⁷ Professor Hilprecht, to whom has been assigned the task of editing them, which he has commenced in most skilful and praiseworthy fashion, tells us they consist of syllabaries, letters, chronological lists, historical fragments, astronomical and religious texts, inscriptions relating to buildings, votive tablets, dedications, inventories, contracts, &c. 'Most of the early rulers of Babylonia,' he tells us, 'who were known to us only by name, and fourteen whose very names had been lost, have been restored to history by this expedition. . . . Of especial value are the hundred and fifty fragments of inscribed sacrificial vessels and votive objects belonging to three kings of the oldest dynasties of Ur and Erech, hitherto unknown, which promise to cast entirely new light upon the chronology of a difficult period.'

Besides these literary remains there have also occurred there a number of interesting antiquities, *inter alia* a great many terra cotta coffins, and a quantity of seals and cylinders in hard stone, several belonging to kings and governors, thousands of enamelled and plain vases of clay of all sorts, playthings, weapons, weights, gold and silver ornaments, objects in stone, bronze, and iron, several very ancient intaglios and bas-reliefs, and many human skulls.

Besides Erech and Nippur the district of Lower Chaldea contained other towns, such as Ur, Larsa, Lagash, Eridu, &c., which will occupy us later on.

The great point we wish to emphasise at present is that the monuments point unmistakably to the Chaldean country having in these early times been divided into two rival communities, Kish and Kengi. This evidence of the monuments is amply confirmed by the language. It has long been known that the speech of the primitive inhabitants of this district falls into two main dialects, besides subsidiary ones. Professor Sayce was, I believe, the first to show that the texts contain older and newer forms of one tongue, the latter showing the language in a stage of decay. Haupt discussed the matter in a masterly way, and proved beyond doubt the existence of two forms of the speech, one in a much purer and less sophisticated condition than the other, and he respectively named them the Akkadian and Shumerian dialects. His conclusions were so far completely accepted, but his further conclusion that the purer and older form of the language was to be found in the north of the district, and the more altered and sophisticated in

⁷ See *Nippur; or, Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates*, by John Punnett Peters. 2 vols. New York. 1897.

the southern, was sharply criticised, and was, in fact, contrary to all probabilities. Oppert and Hommel stoutly maintained the contrary, and their view is now generally, if not universally, held. To be more precise, the so-called Shumerian dialect of Lower Chaldea is considered to have been the purest and oldest. Mr. Pinches tells me that Shumer is also represented by the characters read 'mat Eme lag,' which, he says, apparently means 'the land of the pure tongue.' The so-called Akkadian, on the other hand, which was spoken in Upper Chaldea, was the daughter and the more sophisticated type, the two at one time representing geographical rather than chronological facts. One of the names given to one of the two dialects was not very fortunate. The term Akkad seems to be unknown to the earliest inscriptions; Shumer is less objectionable, but is nevertheless ambiguous: and I prefer to speak of the dialects of Upper and Lower Chaldea, or of Kish and Kengi.

When we examine the nature of the differences which separate the northern dialect from its sister, we shall find that they were, in fact, due to the influence of some Semitic tongue. Professor Sayce speaks of this dialect as 'largely affected by Semitic influence; not only has it adopted Semitic words, but Semitic idioms as well. These Semitisms, moreover, are partly popular, partly literary in origin.' A curious fact remains to be told in regard to this influence of Semitic upon the northern dialect. In the syllabaries when a word is recorded in that dialect it is sometimes qualified by a couple of ideographs, meaning 'the language of women.' Mr. Sayce, who explains this as the result of intermarriage with Semites, says:

In northern Babylonia, where Semites and non-Semites intermingled from an early period, there would have been reasons in plenty for such an appellation. Semitic wives would not have spoken Sumerian with the same purity as their non-Semitic husbands; while, on the other hand, the dialect of the Sumerian wife would have been regarded by her Sumerian husband as essentially a feminine idiom.

It would be, of course, very interesting to know when this Semitic influence upon the primitive Chaldean tongue began, or, in other words, when we can first find traces of the Semites. The tendency of recent discovery has been to push back this period considerably, but our indices are all relative; we have no chronology at this time. Hommel, our best authority on such a point, who has discussed it largely from the linguistic side, has long urged that the Semites must have been in the Mesopotamian valley from very early times. The early inscriptions unfortunately give us little or no assistance in solving the problem, since they are all written ideographically and not phonetically. As a safe tentative conclusion I would suggest that originally the whole country occupied by the primitive stock of Chaldeans formed a homogeneous

community under one ruler, and that it is to this state of things the statement in Genesis refers where we read that Cush begat Nimrod, and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel and Erech, and Akkad and Calneh (perhaps, as the Talmud tells us, a name for Nippur), in the land of Shinar. Out of that land he went forth into Assyria, and built Nineveh and Rehoboth Ir, and Calah and Rezen.⁸

The unity of this old community was presently broken by the invasion or incorporation of Semites in its northern parts, who partially affected its speech and induced a separation. That this did not affect the physique of the race we may gather from the early bas-reliefs, apparently representing a struggle between the people of Kish and Kengi, in which the conquerors and the conquered are undistinguishable, both being very different from any Semites known to us.

Before we discuss the struggles between the rulers of Kengi and Kish, which constitute the earliest history we can at present reach in these parts, we will say a word or two on the subject of chronology, on which we are disposed to disagree with Hilprecht. Of real chronology at this period we, of course, possess none. All we can do with our present knowledge is to group our rulers according to their probable succession, and thus to reach something like a relative chronology for them. The plan adopted by Hilprecht of calculating dates by the rate of accumulation of rubbish in certain places seems most unsafe and unsound, and especially does this become so when hundreds and even thousands of years are postulated not from the existence of a succession of archaeological remains, but from the existence of a certain number of feet of rubbish over or under a certain layer. The fact is, when a sharp revolution takes place in a town, by its being either burnt down or destroyed, the accumulation of rubbish, as we know in the case of Rome and London, becomes at once prodigious, and there is a great accession to the depth of ruin not by the gradual increase of materials but *per saltum*. It is better to confess that at present we know nothing or next to nothing of the absolute chronology of our earliest records. We can merely assert of them that they take us back at least to the fifth millennium B.C. When we turn to relative chronology, Hilprecht's knowledge and skill and ingenuity have enabled him to piece together his materials in a way which, although tentative in parts, cannot well be gainsaid. For this purpose he uses in the first place the character of the inscribed writing, a subject on which he is *facile princeps* as an authority; not only the general fact that linear characters precede and are older than wedge-shaped ones, but also that certain characters were introduced at certain dates and do not occur earlier. The evidence

⁸ Gen. x. 8-12 (R.V.)

of art supplements that of the writing. The relative order in which the objects of different rulers occur in the excavations is another guide. With these methods Hilprecht has enabled us to focus our lantern a considerable distance further back into the fogs that shroud primitive history.

One other thing must always be remembered in dealing with these early records—namely, that personal names, being in almost all instances written with ideograms and not phonetically, it is and must remain uncertain what their real sound was until some good fortune preserves them to us in a phonetic form. They must be accepted, in fact, only as tentative.

The beginnings of history in the Euphrates valley, so far as yet recovered, point, as I have said, to a struggle between the rulers of Kish and Kengi. According to Hilprecht the earliest record he has found from Nippur mentions a king whose name he reads provisionally as Inshagsagana, meaning, he says, ‘lord of the king of heaven.’ He styles himself lord of Kengi and king of some place whose name is broken off,⁹ and dedicates some white calcite vases to the god Inlil, *i.e.* the special god of Nippur, from the spoil of Kish, ‘wicked of heart.’ Like the other rulers of Nippur, he probably styled himself *patesi* of the god Inlil. The title *patési* is compared by Maspero with the Egyptian *ropait*, and its bearer combined the religious functions of high priest, pastor, or guardian of the god with those of a civil ruler.

Another ruler, whose name and that of his realm are lost, reports, in a longer inscription, also inscribed on fragments of calcite vases, how he had conquered Kish and how he had had a successful struggle with Enne Ugun, king of Kish, and leader of the hordes of Gishbanki (? Upi). The name of this ruler of Kish is only read provisionally. Winckler reads it In bil ugun. The king himself was apparently captured, his city burnt, and his statue of shining silver, &c., dedicated to Inlil.

Another ruler of Nippur, who, according to Hilprecht, belonged to about the same period, was called Ur Inlil (*i.e.* the man of the god Inlil). Ur Inlil is mentioned on more than one monument. On one we have a dedication of a vase to the goddess Ninlil by a certain Aba Inlil, who is styled *damkar* (probably, according to Hilprecht, the administrator of the temple). This dedication was made ‘for the life of Ur Inlil, *patesi* of Nippur.’ On another tablet a certain Ur Mama, *damkar* of Inlil, presents a vase to the goddess Nin din dug, *i.e.* the goddess sometimes called Bau. On another Ur Inlil himself dedicates a similar vase to the same goddess. Similar vases were dedicated to Ninlil and Inlil by two officials of the temples for the lives of their mother, wife, and child. They

⁹ Hilprecht thinks there are traces of the word Kalama, which is very probable. If so, the second title would be ‘king of the world.’

were apparently brothers; one was called Urunabadabi, who calls himself *sang* (? priest) of Inlil, and the other Ur Simuga, the scribe of the *ada* of the temple of Inlil. 'The son of the *ada*' dedicates another vase to Inlil and Ninlil, also for the life of his wife and child.

The most interesting relics of this period, however, are two slabs, one of them certainly and the other probably dedicated by the ruler Ur Inlil, which seem to be the first efforts of art hitherto recorded from Babylonia. The designs on these polished limestone square slabs are incised in the fashion of the designs on ivory at a later time, and the tablets were intended to be pegged against the wall or to the ground, as labels of the objects dedicated and of their donors.

One of these slabs, which is unbroken, shows two rows of figures. In the upper one Ur Inlil, who is naked, stands before a seated god and goddess, who face each other (the god is not named, but is doubtless Inlil; the goddess is Nin din dug), and offers a libation from a vessel with a spout. The god, who is bearded, wears an elaborate headdress or tiara. The same group is reversed on the left, and between the two sets of figures there is an inscription. On the lower section are a goat and a sheep, followed by two men, one carrying a vessel on his head and the other a stick; the two figures are naked to the waist and, like that of Ur Inlil, have their faces and heads shaved. The goat, according to Professor Cope, shows a greater resemblance to the wild goat of Eastern Persia and Afghanistan than to the ordinary Persian one. The sheep also is most like that of Eastern Persia, the *Ovis Vignei*, an ally of the domestic sheep.

On the second stele the upper section seems to have repeated the scenes already described, while in the lower we have a gazelle feeding, and behind it a man is drawing a bow. Hilprecht remarks on the graceful drawing of the figures and the knowledge shown of animal movements.

The successes gained by the rulers of Kengi against those of Kish were apparently short-lived, for we find another king of Kish, Ur Shulpauddu (*i.e.* the servant of Shulpauddu¹⁰), presenting several inscribed vases to Inlil, lord of lands, and to his consort, Ninlil, mistress of heaven and earth. In these inscriptions he apparently altered his own earlier style to one of greater importance. Several inscribed calcite fragments found at Nuffar bear his name. Whatever the actual results of the king's campaign, it would seem that it was presently followed by a complete conquest of 'Kengi.' This was the work of a king whose name is read as 'Lugalzaggisi' by Hilprecht, and who styles himself son of Ukush, 'patesi of Gishbanki' (or Upi). He is commemorated in 'an inscription

¹⁰ The name is read Ur Dun-rig-ê by Mr. Pinches (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1896, p. 819).

of 132 lines, carved over 100 times on as many large vases, which he presented to the old national sanctuary of the country in Nippur.' In this inscription he styles himself king of Unuk (*i.e.* Erech), 'king of the world' (*lugal kalama*), 'priest of Ana' (*i.e.* heaven), 'hero of Nidaba, son of Ukush, patesi of Gishbanki or Upi, hero of Nidaba, looked upon by the faithful eye of Lugal kurkura' (*i.e.* of Inlil), 'great patesi of Inlil, unto whom intelligence was given by Enki, chosen by Utu, the high minister of Enzu, the *Shakkakku* of Utu, the fosterer of Innanna. A son begotten by Nidaba, he who was nourished with the milk of life of Ninkhursag, servant of Umu, priest of Erech, a slave brought up by Nin a gid ga du, mistress of Erech and the great *abarraku* [?] of the gods.' This inscription shows what a great place was filled by the Gods in the ideas of these early people and their ruler.

Hilprecht styles this king one of the greatest monarchs of the ancient east, and his conquests the first signal success of the invaders from the north, and yet his very name has been entirely forgotten. According to his own inscriptions Inlil invested him with the kingdom of the world (*nam-lugal kalama*), straightened his path from the lower sea (*i.e.* the Persian Gulf) to the upper sea (*i.e.* the Mediterranean, or perhaps Lake Urmia), granted him dominion from the rising of the sun to the setting of the same, and caused the lands to rest in peace.

On his conquest of Erech he converted it into the temporal capital of his wide dominion, as Nippur was its chief sanctuary, and the great conqueror proceeded to confer various favours on other old towns of Lower Babylonia—namely, on Ur and on Larsa ('Ur like a steer he raised up to heaven; Larsa, the cherished town of the sun god, he irrigated with joyful waters'), while he specially favoured his own ancient land or city of Gishbanki or Upe, and also Ninab, which he claims to have cherished as if it had been a shorn lamb.

The cities of Ur and Larsa, which are mentioned here for the first time, had also a famous rôle in Babylonian history. The former is now represented by the ruin heaps of Mugheir, which were explored by Loftus, and it has generally been identified with the Ur of the Chaldees of Genesis, which may, however, be Urfa. Ur was the great seat of the worship of the moon god in Lower Babylonia. He was worshipped there under the name of Nannak or Nannar, and also as Ur, and was called the first-born of Inlil. He was afterwards identified with the northern moon god, Sin, and was often treated as the father of the gods. The name Ur or Uru means 'the town' *par excellence*. Unlike all the other cities of early Babylonia, it was situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, but some distance from where the river now flows; it was apparently a frontier fortress on the Arabian march.

Larsa or Larsam is generally identified with the Ellasar of

Genesis and the Greek *Λαράχων* or *Λάρισσα*. By the primitive inhabitants of the country it was called Ararma, and this name was expressed by the characters Utu-unu, probably meaning 'sun-abode,' or the Dwelling of the Sun, and is now marked by the ruins of Senkereh. The earlier name Utu for the sun was replaced by the Semitic Babylonians by that of Shamash.

Ur and Larsa are often associated together as twin cities, and they seem to have early formed a separate principality. They were at all events subject to some other princes, probably belonging to the same line as the one last named, and who, like him, have left memorials upon broken sherds of calcite vases at Nippur. One of these was called Lugal kigub nidudu, and in one of his inscriptions he apostrophises the god Inlil, the lord of lands, for having added lordship to kingdom in his person, and for having established Erech as the seat of his lordship and Ur as the seat of his kingdom, and he accordingly dedicated a vase to him. Another ruler of the same line was Lugal-kisal-si, or Lugal si kisal, who occurs, says Hilprecht, in such close connexion with the last-named ruler on one fragment that he is disposed to treat them as father and son. A third prince probably belonging to the same stock is named in an inscription from Tell Loh recently published by Heuzey, in which we read how the god E sugir or E-girsu had appointed Lugal kurum zigum as patesi of Shirpurla (or Lagash):

The rulers here named, who controlled the cities near the Euphrates, apparently overlapped partially in time with another set of early rulers, whose remains have been found at Tell Loh, and whose story we must reserve for another notice. It is not impossible that the latter represent the descendants of the old race of kings, who were displaced from the rest of Kengi for a while by the dynasties last mentioned, which had their headquarters at Erech and Nippur. Hilprecht, on palæographical and other grounds, distinctly puts them later than the rulers of Nippur. With our present knowledge we can say no more, for we have hardly any evidence of relations between them.

HENRY H. HOWORTH.

The Conqueror's Footprints in Domesday

ATTENTION was long ago called to the connexion between the movements of the two armies before the battle of Hastings and the wasted manors in that Rape mentioned by Domesday, but the principle deserves to be carried further. It need not be confined to manors absolutely wasted, and may well be applied to William's march on London. We know that he harried the country as he passed—Domesday gives us for most manors the value just before and just after the Conquest—and we ought by these signs to be able to track his footsteps.¹ It is worth trying, for the account left by his chaplain, William of Poitiers, is meagre, and Freeman's commentary in part doubtful.

We start at Romney, William's first point from Hastings on his way to Dover. After each manor named shall be placed first the value in pounds T.R.E., secondly that of 1067, and thirdly that of 1086; where several entries are combined the number is noted in square brackets.² We go five miles east to Burmarsh (20—10—30), then ten miles to Folkestone (120—40—145). Here part of the army seems to have stopped, for besides this large depreciation four neighbouring manors³ were together valued T.R.E. 49*l.*, later 20*l.* Seven miles further bring us to the gates of Dover. Here William stayed for a week, and accordingly we find the record of great destruction, the value of ten manors⁴ lying north and east of Dover being T.R.E. 157½*l.*, later only 43*l.* Then he moved northwards. The main body marched apparently to Patricbourne (18—10—19) and Bekesbourne (12—7—12), but were stopped by William's illness for a day or two,

¹ Ellis, i. 314. *Worc. Chron.*: 'He . . . hergode ealne thone ende the he overferde oth thaet he com to Beorhhamstede.'

² Identifications are taken from the various county Domesdays, Larking's *Kent*, Moody's *Hants*, Airey's *Beds*, Bawden's *Bucks* and *Herts*, Mowat's *Notes on Ox. Dom.*, Lyson's *Berks*, and the maps in Furley's *Weald of Kent*, Manning's *Surrey and The Sussex Extension*. As they can easily be found, references are not generally given.

³ Posting (10—5—14), Saltwood (Hythe) (16—8—29), Newington (12—3—12), Eastwell (D. B. 13 b. 2) (11—4—8).

⁴ Ewell (12—5—10), Shebbertswell (8—2—8), Colred and Popeshall (11—2—11), Waldershare (7½—3—7), 'Pesinges' in E. Langdon (5—0—6), Mongeham (22—10—26), Norbourn (80—20—76), 'Gollseberge' (12—1—9½). Small manors near larger ones are not always mentioned either here or later.

during which they moved east of Canterbury to Littlebourne (25—20—32), Preston⁵ (10—6—14), Sturry (50—45—50), and Chislet (53—40—78.) The whole country between Canterbury and the south coast is ravaged, but amid the general destruction there are some notable exceptions. The archiepiscopal estates, Adisham (40*l.*), Wingham (77*l.*), Bishopsbourne (20*l.*), Ickham (22*l.*), Westgate (Estursete) (24*l.*), Chartham (12*l.*), Petham (17*l.*), and Stigand's private manor of Barham⁶ (40*l.*), do not lose a shilling. Were they spared to conciliate the church or to tempt the archbishop at a critical moment? Barham suggests the latter; Saltwood was not spared a few days earlier, nor Orpington a few days later, though both were Canterbury manors. The fact points to a certain discipline in William's soldiers, and tends to confirm the chaplain's account of them before they started.⁷

The figures round Canterbury, compared with those near Dover, show that, in spite of his illness, William did not halt for more than a day or two, but pressed on, as his chaplain tells us, for London.⁸ Avoiding the old Roman road through Rochester, the army concentrated⁹ at Lenham (28—16—28). Twelve miles further a group of four manors,¹⁰ T.R.E. 36*l.*, later 21*l.*, west of Maidstone, seems to mark the next camp. Another ten miles bring them to Seal¹¹ (Lasela) (30—16—24), eight more past Cudham (20—16—24) and Chelsfield (16—12—25) to Orpington [2] (17—9—27), and so by Eltham (16—12—20), Lewisham (16—12—30), and Camberwell (12—6—14), within striking distance of Southwark, to a camp at Battersea (80—30—75). The damage recorded in Kent exactly fits our other information. East of a line through Faversham and Ashford the whole country (except Thanet) is ravaged, most near Dover, where William stopped longest, less by Canterbury, where he halted, but not so long. West of this line I find no considerable reductions in value besides those noticed;¹² as William presses forward the damage is confined to the line of daily halting places.

⁵ D. B. 12 b. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.* 9 a. 2: 'Tenuit Stigandus sed non erat de episcopatu.'

⁷ Duchesne, p. 197. 'Rapina interdicta' ('ad Portum Divae').

⁸ P. 205: 'Noluit indulgere sibi moras ibi agendo.' *Carmen*, l. 623 (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 868): 'Per spatium mensis cum gente perendinat illinc' (? Dover or Canterbury); but may we translate 'through the month,' i.e. till 1 or 2 Nov.? Nothing else will fit the other evidence. The Senlac dead were buried 15 Oct.; if William himself slept only four nights ('quinque dies,' *Carmen*) at Hastings, one near Romney, and seven ('octo dies,' W. Pict.) at Dover, he would be taken ill 28 or 29 Oct.

⁹ The right from Ospringe (20—15—20) and Eastling [2] (13—7—10). The centre from Chilham (40—30—? 80). The left from Folkestone by Brabourne (20—13—21), Pluckley cum Pevington (20—13—21), Stelling (15—8—14), Crundall, and Elmsted.

¹⁰ Addington (8—5—6), Birling (12—6—12), Ditton (8—5—8), Ryarsh (8—5—6).

¹¹ Larking, p. 43, app. La Sela was the old name (Hasted, i. 334).

¹² Except 'Assetune' (?), Darenth, and Gillingham. Small manors of 60s. or less are in general neglected, and all reductions of only 20s., 30s., or even 40s.

We have now tested the Domesday evidence, and may follow it where other information is vague or lacking. From Camberwell a loop of damage runs twenty miles south to Bletchingley and Westerham,¹³ touching five-and-twenty manors, together T.R.E. 305*l.*, afterwards 187*l.* These are not, as near Dover, scattered over a broad district, but lie only a mile or two apart in a line, though a looped line, and mark, no doubt, the track of a foraging expedition. It was obviously politic not to eat up all the nearest food first; if mere ravage had been intended to draw out the Londoners, the raid would hardly have been carried straight away for twenty miles. But William did not stay long before London. He could not cross the river, and after burning Southwark he apparently marched to Mortlake (32—10—38), and thence by Combe and Malden (together 11—6—11½) to Molesey [3], Ditton [2], and Walton [2 ?] (together 34—20—43). He does not, however, seem to have followed the river any further, but to have struck south fifteen miles to Guildford,¹⁴ where we find damage at Shalford (16—9—20), Bramley (40—30—60), and Godalming (25—20—30).

From Guildford he turned west past Compton and Wanborough (15—9—15) to Farnham (55—30—47), then into Hants to Crondal [3] (24½—12—32) and Warnborough (12—6—10); next to Nateley and Basing (together 14½—9½—19), raiding, perhaps, to Strathfieldsaye (15—12—15); thence to Ellisfield, Nutley, Farley, and Dummer (together 33—14—25); so to Micheldever (60—40—93), and thence by Sutton Scotney [2] (12—8—10) northwards to Hurstbourn (36—26—40). At this time¹⁵ we may probably date the surrender of Winchester, and perhaps the fleet sent him reinforcements from Fareham.¹⁶ There had been time to enlist fresh troops since Hastings, and a strong left wing now appears marching through Alresford (40—20—57), Easton (34—12—34), Headbourn Worthey (25—10—15), before the gates of Winchester, Crawley (35—28—42), Clatford (20—15½—20), Fifield (5—2½—5), to the west of Andover, Tidworth (10—5—10), and so probably through the eastern edge of Wiltshire to Lambourn (49—33—44) in Berkshire. The right and now weaker column goes from Hurstbourn by Upton (4—2—4) and Easton Crux (6—3—6) to Highclere (12—7—11).

¹³ Tooting, Merton, Ewell, Cuddington, Banstead, Woodmansterne, Chipstead, Merstham, Gatton, Nutfield, Bletchingley, Chivington, Godstone (Wachelstead), Oxstead, Tandridge, Titsey, Limpsfield, Westerham; then back by Woldingham, Tillingham, Farley, Chelsham, Beddington, Wallington and (Carsh)aulton.

¹⁴ Perhaps by (Ash)stead (10—6—12), Gomshall (15—10—20) and Albury (10—5—9); but the last two could be raided from Guildford.

¹⁵ *Carmen*: 'Post alio' (from E. Kent) 'vadit . . . Guincestram misit.'

¹⁶ Through Fareham (18—10—16), Wickham (10—4—7), Bishops Waltham (31—10½—30), Droxford (26—20—26), Exton (16—12—20), Warnford (22—14—22), West Meon (20—16—30), and East Meon (60—40—60). Thence to Alresford is an easy march. A party seems to have met them from Farnham by Hartley Maudit (8—3—7) and Farringdon (15—12—21).

Except on this line I find no considerable losses in Surrey or in northern Hampshire. The damage runs in a crooked but continuous line. It does not spread wide. From Battersea William seems to have pressed steadily forward; destruction fell on the line of daily halting places, but he did not seriously injure the country on either side.

From Lambourn the left or main column sweeps round the north-western border of Berks¹⁷ through Shrivenham, Farringdon, and Longworth to Sutton Courtney, near Abingdon, and so apparently by¹⁸ Whittenham (20—15—20), across the river at Wallingford.¹⁹ The right wing marches from Highclere on a smaller curve²⁰ by Wantage and Hendred, and thence, it seems, by²¹ Aston (12—6—10) and²² Basildon (25—20—25) to the old crossing of the Ickneild way from Streatley to Goring.

Freeman makes William receive the submission of the Saxon leaders a few days later at Great Berkhamstead, and then march straight to London, but Domesday tells us a rather different story, which agrees better with the authorities. For a moment we lose the scent in the enormous manor of Bensington, for which we have no figures, though Dorchester (16—13—17), a little to the west, seems touched. The next traces are in two directions: (a) a long march to the north at Thame (20—16—30), Bledlow (20—12—22), and Risborough (10—5—16); (b) two marches to the east, where, near Slough, we find twelve manors²³ valued T.R.E. 150*l.* and later 61½*l.* It seems probable that the main body marched north, keep-

¹⁷ By Lambourn (57 b. 1) (49—33—44), Ashbury (59 b. 1) (35—20—40), Shrivenham (57 b. 2) (35—20—45) and Watchfield (59 a. 2) (15—10—14½), Coxwell [2] (57 b. 2) (24—18—24) and Coleshill (63 a. 1) (7—2—5), Farringdon (57 b. 2) (16—12—21) and Eaton Hastings (61 a. 2) (10—5—9), Longworth (Ordia, 58 a. 1) (30—20—25), Hanney (60 a. 2) (10—8—14), Steventon (57 b. 2) (25—20—22), and Sutton (57 b. 2) (30—20—50).
¹⁸ D. B. 60 a. 2.

¹⁹ W. Pict. 208: 'Transmeato flumine . . . ad oppidum Guarengafort pervenit.' The crossing is a puzzle. There is no damage either round Wallingford at Sotwell (59 b. 2), Brightwell (58 a. 2) and (56 b. 2), Cholsey (Clapcot, 61 b. 1, is doubtful), or at 'Garinges' (158 a. 1; 'Wareford,' 59 a. 1, is now Garford); there can have been no camp at either place. Benoit distinctly puts 'Walengford' on the south bank. Perhaps the army crossed and camped in Bensington, while William himself lodged at Wallingford. Gul. Gem. p. 288: 'ad urbem W. gressum divertit, transmeatoque vado fluvii legiones ibi castra metari iussit.' But this camp may have been further on.

²⁰ By Winterbourn (58 a. 1) (6—2½—4), Brightwalham (57 a. 1) (6—3—5), Farnborough (59 a. 2) (9—6—1), Charlton by Wantage (57 a. 1) (8—4—8) and Ardington 16—12—16), Hendred (57 b. 2 and 64 a. 1) (14—9½—19). Also further east by Peasemore (62 b. 2) (6—3—5), Beeden (58 b. 2) (11—6—8), and Hodcot in Ilesley (61 a. 1) (6—1½—3) to Aston or Basildon.

²¹ D. B. 60 a. 2.

²² *Ibid.* 57 a. 1.

²³ Taplow (8—3—8), Hitcham (5—1—4), Woburn (10—6—15), Burnham (10—6—10), Horton (6—2½—6) Iver (Evreham) (12—5—22). And in Middlesex Hayes (40—12—30), Stanwell (14—6—14), Harmondsworth (25—12—20), Bedfont [2], and Feltham (20—8—13). Windsor (15—7—15) seems to have been raided across the river. It is just possible that a detachment may have marched straight from Molesey to Windsor and crossed there.

ing west of the Chilterns, which would protect their flank, while a force was detached either eastwards from Goring or south-west from Bledlow to camp near Slough, and cover the road from London through Henley between the hills and the river to Wallingford, by which William could be taken in the rear.

From Bledlow, whether it arrived there direct or by way of Slough, the main column marched on north through eastern Bucks, following the line of the present railway to Buckingham through Ellesborough and Stoke (Mandeville) (together 28—16—26), Weston (15—8—15), Aston (? Clinton) (20—10—18), Waddesden (30—16—30), Hardwick (16—10—15), Claydon [2] (9—4—8), Padbury, Tingewick, and Thornborough together (30—20—30). We do not find damage in Bucks west of this line,²⁴ nor in Oxfordshire. Then it turned eastwards by Beachampton, Woolverton, Loughton, and Linford [2], near Stony Stratford (together 32½—21—31), and so to Hanslope (24—20—24), Sherrington (10—7—10), Olney (12—7—12), and Lavendon [6] (13—4), at the northern corner of the county. A right wing moved from Risborough more to the east by Buckland (10—3—8), Wiginton (Herts) (6—2—4), Aston Abbots, Cublington, and Mentmore (together 30—19—28), and Linslade (10—5—10) to Brickhill [2] (15—9—12) and Simpson (8—1—6), near Fenny Stratford.

In Bedfordshire the scent is confused by a number of valuations of the type T.R.E. *al.*, 1067 *a-bl.*, 1086 *a-bl.*, but from Olney the left wing appears to have marched due east from Turvey and Stagsden to Potton, and so through the corner of Cambridgeshire²⁵ by Morden [2] (26—18—26½) and Meldreth, where six entries are together valued 58¾—26½—47¾, throwing off a column which made a circuit nearly reaching St. Neots and Cambridge,²⁶ while the right wing from Fenny Stratford marched further south from Apsley Guise to Stotfold.²⁷ In any case if William marched north

²⁴ At Haddenham, Dinton, Edgecote, Marsh Gibbon, Steeple Claydon, or in the whole hundreds of Tichesele (except Kinsey by Thame) and Essedene (except Oving), where valuations of the type *a*, *a-1*, *a-1* do not suggest ravage. In Oxfordshire some forty manors, which alone have triple valuations, are all untouched except Shifford (10—5—7) and Dorchester [2] (27—21—47), opposite Longworth and Wallingford, and Banbury [2] (46½—39½—44). In the east, adjoining Bucks, Hardwick, Fringford Stratton, Bicester, Chesterton (159 *b. 1*), Wendlebury, Ambrosden, Merton, Stanton St. John, all tend to the type 'valet et valuit *al.*'

²⁵ The line seems to be Turvey (4—2—4), Stagsden (5—2—5), Elstow (10—2—5), Harrowden (6—2—?), Cardington [3] (10—7—9½), Sandy (18—13—17), Potton (13—5—12), Meldreth (8—2—6 and 14—6—10), Whaddon (6—1½—5 and 4¾—3—4¾), Wendy (10—6—8), Barrington (16—8—12).

²⁶ Willington (6—2—7), Barford [2] (13½—6—19), Blunham [3] (19—12—15), Tempsford (12½—8—10½), Roxton [2] (19½—7—13), Eaton Soccon [4] (31½—13¼—24½), Caxton (14—6—11), Toft [2] (9—1½—6), Eversden (16—6—9), Harston (10—4½—8), Trumpington (5—1½—4), Duxworth (8—5½—7½).

²⁷ Apsley (10—5—8), Millbrook (5—1½—3), Ampthill (4—2—4), Silsoe and Pulloxhill (24—13—18), Campton (3½—1—3), Conthill (19—14—18), Langford (15—10—15), Stotfold (20—12—25).

through East Bucks, and south through East Herts, he must have crossed Bedfordshire somewhere.

The army now enters Hertfordshire, where we find abundant signs of ravage on the eastern side. They are roughly contained in an inverted triangle, of which the base runs from the north-east corner of the county to Hitchin, and the apex lies to the south at Enfield, the army concentrating as it nears London. The left and larger wing leads us from Meldreth through Barley [3] (9—3½—6½), Barkway (6—3—6), Westmill [2] (34—20—29), and Standon (34—16—34) to Stanstead (20—10—17), close to Hertford. From Westmill it throws out a column by Great Munden (16—12—16), Bennington (14—6—12), Braintfield and Tewin (together 9—3½—7). The right wing from Stotfold apparently marched by Radwell (10—2—5) and Bygrave (12—8—10), Clothall (10—5—7), Willian (12—4—10), Wymondley ²⁸ (3—1—3), Aston (20—14—18), Knebworth and Ayot (12—5—10 and 5—1—3) to Hertingfordbury (10—6—8). We do not find damage in the western hundreds of Essex, Uttlesford, Clavering, and Harlow. If the exact tracing of the march has been too fanciful, it is at least clear that there is a great semicircle, or rather horseshoe, of damage between West Bucks and Oxfordshire on the one side and Essex on the other, the base lying between Wallingford and Hertford.²⁹ From the hills south of Hertford the Normans looked down on the London plain, with the city some fifteen miles in the distance, and here, if we are to reconcile the chaplain with the English authorities, 'within sight of the city,'³⁰ at Little Berkhamstead (5—2½—5)—not, as is generally said, at its greater namesake—William received the submission of the capital. We follow the signs of the army to camps at Enfield (50—20—50), Edmonton (40—20—40), and Tottenham (26—10—25).

Domesday confirms the chaplain's details; will it allow of the fight before London, for which there is some positive authority?³¹

²⁸ Hitchin (4—2—6), Offley (15—8—11), and Hexton (16—11—17½) seem to mark the path of some stragglers from Beds.

²⁹ In mid-Herts we do not find much damage. There is some on a line south from Beds by Streatley [2] (11—4—8) and Caddington [Beds] (5—½—2), Flamstead (12—9—11) and St. Albans (24—12—20). Kensworth, Caddington [Herts], Letchworth, Redborn, Sandridge show little or no loss. I doubt if Kimpton (15—12—12), Gaddesden (25—20—20), Mimms (10—8—8) are due to the ravages of 1066.

³⁰ W. Pict. 205. 'Statim ut Londonia conspectui patebat' . . . No one would say this of Great Berkhamstead (24—20—16), thirty miles off. Nor does a place in the N.W. corner of the county suit Florence, who says William wasted 'Kent . . . Middlesex, and Hertfordshire till he came to Beorcham.' The figures too with Tring (25—20—22), Hemel Hempstead (25—25—22½ and 25—22½—22½), Langley [Abbots] (15—12—14) and [King's] (8—4—2), and even Caishoe (30—24—28) contrast strongly with Enfield, Edmonton, and Tottenham; it is twenty miles to Harrow (60—20—56).

³¹ Gul. Gemet. p. 288; *Carmen*, l. 663 ff. There was, of course, no siege; a skirmish was the utmost foundation for all the fine writing in the *Carmen*.

The cavalry might easily be pushed forward from Hertford, though hardly from Great Berkhamstead, thirty miles from the city. The 'Carmen,' however, says distinctly that the attack was directed from Westminster. Can it have been made by the force left at Slough? It would not disagree with the figures to suppose that this force, after ravaging the south-western corner of Middlesex as far as Hampton (40—20—30), moved slowly north³² along the western border to Harrow (60—20—56), still near enough to cover the road from London to Henley, but drawing closer to the army in Bedfordshire. They may well have prepared some battering rams, and, as William marched south through Hertfordshire, may have advanced and won a skirmish with the Saxons near Westminster. This would not happen under the chaplain's eye. They certainly did not take up a position at or near Westminster, for we find no great damage in that direction.³³

It remains to deal with the depreciations in West Sussex and South Hants. These were clearly due to the fleet. We find damage running up (a) from Brighton and Rottingdean (or Newhaven), and (b) from the river mouth at Shoreham. On the Arun (c) the damage is comparatively small, but (d) from Chichester harbour the whole rape (and also the north-west part of Arundel rape) was raided, for nearly every manor shows a loss.³⁴ While William marched through Surrey and Hants the fleet seems to have lain at Chichester, to act as a base in case of need.

Our figures have traced William's movements from Hastings to the surrender at Berkhamstead, but they have more than a topographical interest. They bear evidence in favour of the chaplain's accuracy, but strongly against the 'Carmen.' They are fatal to Stigand. His submission at or near Wallingford is seen to have preceded the general surrender, not by two or three days, which might be compatible with honesty, but by two to three weeks, and we can no longer doubt that he deserted the falling cause. They give also some test of William's numbers. It is obvious that a large army, living, as his did, on the country it passes through, must move on a wide front. It cannot march in several divisions one behind another, for the rear would starve. Now up to Hurstbourn William seems to have moved on a front

³² Through Northbolt (12—5—10), Ruislip (30—12—20), Harefield (14—8—12), and in Herts Rickmansworth (20—12—20½), Caishoe (30—24—28).

³³ Chelsea (9—9—9), Westminster (12—10—10 and 6—1—3), Kensington (10—6—10). The two last are signs of passage, not of a long camp.

³⁴ (a) Brighton [3] (28½—21—36), Patcham (100—50—80), Ditchling (80—25—72½), Plumpton (25—15—25), Barcombe (12—6—8), Iford (50—20—42), Rodmill (60—20—37), Ovingdean, Bevendean, Rottingdean (13—9—16). (b) Shoreham (25—16—35), Kingston (15—5—14), Finden (28—20—28), Clapham (8—4—6), Steyning (28—20—25), Wiston (12—4—12), Wapingthorn (5—1—4), Thakham (14—10—14). (c) D. B. 25 a. (d) *Ibid.* 23, 24.

that was far from wide, and his camps seem fairly concentrated. The evidence suggests that he had nothing like 50,000 men when he marched from Canterbury, probably not half that number. There would be losses on the road, but he seems to have been considerably reinforced in Hampshire. The Domesday evidence does not favour the idea that he deliberately set himself to waste the country far and wide. In West Kent, Surrey, and Hants the belt of damage is comparatively narrow; if pure devastation had been his object he could surely have made it much wider. In North-Eastern Bucks also, in Sigelai and Muselai hundreds, where the two columns were ten miles apart, many manors between them are untouched.³⁵ It would not suit him to create between himself and Normandy the desert which Wace makes Gyrrh suggest as the best obstacle to his advance. Indeed, he cannot have had much time for mere devastation; he could hardly have covered some 350 miles between Canterbury and Berkhamstead within seven weeks, if he had allowed his troops to be scattered for wide-spread ravage. The destruction on the line of march was enough to strike terror of his presence, and was, perhaps, the more ruthless with that special object. The Chronicle need not be taken to mean more than this.

Let us now divide the valuations into two groups. Taking (1) the ravaged manors noticed above, and (2) the larger manors, which were not touched, we get these totals: ³⁶—

(1) 37 in Kent	643—313—657	(2) 38 of Odo's	371—350—404
24 in Hastings	150—18—152	46 of Archbp. ³⁸	753—748—1191
24 Chichester ³⁷	403—238—445	25 in Arundel	193—183—202
40 in Surrey	570—325—617	20 in Surrey	240—232—250
20 in Hants	415—223—441	44 in Hants	550—548—596
31 in Bucks	350—201—333	30 W. Bucks	215—191—200
152 without } Hastings }	2381 1300 2493	157 without } the Archbp. }	1569 1504 1652
(1) 25 W. Berks	374—247—362	(1) 14 in Camb.	131—63—110
29 in Beds	280—136—230	22 E. Herts	253—134—224
90 (ravaged) in W. Berks, Beds, Camb., and Herts	1038 580 926		

³⁵ *E.g.* Dunton, Stewkley, Winslow, Swanbourn, Horwood, Whaddon, Stoke, Woughton, Stantonbury.

³⁶ Besides smaller entries I have excluded from both columns (1) forty cases (excluding the archbishop) where the value in 1086, in all 1,107*l.*, exceeds so much (50 per cent.) that T.R.E., in all 685*l.*, as to suggest change of size; also a dozen similar reductions; (2) valuations (except in W. Bucks) of the type a, a-b, a-b; in Kent, Surrey, and Hants they are very few; (3) some doubtful cases, *e.g.* Chilham, Kent; (4) from Hants the Isle of Wight and the S.E. hundreds of Egheiete, Fordingbridge, Rodbridge, Rodedic, and Bovre.

³⁷ D. B. 23 and 24 a. to Mundreham. The increase in 1086 is mainly at Silleton (16*l.*) and Hertinges (20*l.*) Borne is excluded. Arundel (col. 2) represents 24 b. and the adjoining hundred of Bredford in Bramber.

³⁸ Of these 24 'in demesne' were valued 452—469—731, and *reddiderunt* 935*l.* The Rochester manors [13] give 93—93—158.

Outside the line of march the immediate effect of the mere 'jar of conquest' on the value of land in the south-east seems to have been very slight. These counties bore the first, though not the heaviest, brunt of the struggle, yet few manors lose 10 per cent. of their value, while to far the greater number exactly the same value is assigned for 1067 as for 1065. We may well doubt whether instances of heavy loss—say, more than 20 per cent.—in other counties were not in all cases due to some special cause rather than to mere general depreciation, for primitive agriculture would not be much touched by autumn war, unless the corn plough-teams and live stock were actually destroyed. The ravaged manors in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Hants had fully recovered by 1086. If this was so even round Hastings and Dover, what must have been the treatment of the Northern manors, still waste after twenty years? There not only the cattle, but most of the men, must have been slaughtered or driven out of the country. The difference in value of both 1 and 2 between 1065 and 1086 is very small. If the *valet* represented the net value to the lord, the rent obtainable from a farmer, then the figures suggest that, whatever change there may have been in the position of the *villani*, their services cannot practically have been much increased.

In Berks, Bucks, Beds, Cambridge, and Herts recovery seems less complete. This may or may not be connected with another feature. In Berks we find a number of valuations of the type T.R.E. *al.*, in 1067 *a-bl.*, and also in 1086 *a-bl.*, or occasionally 20s. more. All over the county, well out of William's path, we find such manors scattered quite promiscuously, so far as one can see, amongst other manors which show no variation. In Western Bucks the type is nearly universal, but the reduction small, generally 20s. In Beds and Cambridge the type, easily traced in the summaries by Mr. Airey and Dr. Walker, is common, and the reductions often large, but scattered, as in Berks, amongst other manors which do not fall. In the face of the figures for Kent, Surrey, and Hants³⁹ it is difficult to think that this type is due either to mere decay or to William's march. Whatever be the explanation of these entries, they prevent us from carrying column 2 beyond Hants and Bucks.

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³⁹ In these counties the type is rare. I notice in Kent Sholden (11 a. 1) (15—1½—1½), Swanton (11 a. 2) (10—1½—2), Titenton (13 a. 2) (12—6—7); Surrey, Balham (36 a. 2) (6—1—2); Hants, about a dozen, five in Manebridge hundred.

The Administration of the Navy from the Restoration to the Revolution

PART II.—1673–1679 (*continued*)

COMPLAINTS of the want of money, though less frequent and insistent than in the earlier years of Charles II, still continued under the new administration which began in the summer of 1673. In December the lords commissioners addressed an urgent communication to the lord treasurer, representing it to be

of utmost importance to his majesty that some immediate provision be made of a weekly sum of money for the discharge of tickets, because of the disorder wherein the seamen concerned in the payment of the tickets at this time are, to the threatening the pulling down of his majesty's office, and the embezzlement or spoil of all the books and papers there, besides the yet more public effects thereof, to the dishonour of his majesty's service, and discouragement of seamen against the next year.¹⁰⁸

In the following February an attempt was made 'to lessen the growing charge in the navy' by 'reducing the number of the persons employed therein, both at sea and in the yards.'¹⁰⁹ The principal officers were asked to make an estimate of the workmen that could be spared out of the yards, 'upon a supposition if moneys could be ready to discharge them,'¹¹⁰ and apparently these were discharged.¹¹¹ Other economies were also practised. On 4 April 1674, Pepys writes to Captain Bridgeman:¹¹² 'The intent of the king and my lords of the admiralty at present seems to be to bring down the charge of the navy as low as they can, so that it is not to be expected that many ships will for some time be kept abroad or any new ones set forth.' As ships came in they were at once paid off and laid up,¹¹³ and it was decided to undertake no new works 'until his majesty hath in some measure got over the debt which remains on him upon the old.'¹¹⁴ Meanwhile the official correspondence for 1673–4 contains frequent references to the shortness of money. The 'Swan' was delayed at Plymouth in January 1673–4 'from the unwillingness of the

¹⁰⁸ *Admiralty Letters*, ii. 399. (15 Dec. 1673.)

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* iii. 130. (Pepys to the principal officers, 27 Feb. 1673–4.)

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 143.

¹¹² P. 179. See also p. 188.

¹¹³ P. 182.

¹¹⁴ P. 186.

tradesmen to trust his majesty further.'¹¹⁵ To a modest request from the company of the 'Nonsuch' for some of their pay, Pepys was obliged to say, 'I know not whether the treasury of the navy be at present in a condition to help them to any,'¹¹⁶ and a petition from the 'Pearl' was only met with an undertaking to 'lay the same before his majesty and my lords.'¹¹⁷ To the master attendant at Sheerness, who appears to have complained of his accommodation, Pepys could only offer a distant prospect of satisfaction.

I am very sensible (he writes on 24 Nov. 1674) of the inconveniences you must undergo till you have provision made on shore for your quartering, which all in good time I hope the king will be in condition of treasure to remedy; in the meantime I must recommend it to your patience to bear with them as well as you can.¹¹⁸

On 24 Nov. 1675, Pepys writes to one of his subordinates at Portsmouth, 'I do not see any great probability of the king being able to enlarge salaries;' ¹¹⁹ and in February 1676-7 he notes that the wages then due to the 'Queenborough' yacht 'is said to be thirty-five or thirty-six months in arrear.'¹²⁰

The grant for building and equipping the thirty new ships did not affect arrears, nor does it seem to have improved the king's ordinary credit. On 22 Dec. 1677, Pepys reports from Sir John Kempthorne that 'the brewer at Portsmouth doth absolutely declare he will not provide any beer for the Rupert and Centurion till he is better assured of his payment than he now is.'¹²¹ But in the beginning of the next year the vote of funds for preparations against France somewhat relieved the financial pressure. The Poll Bill finally passed on 20 March, 1677-8, and on the following day Pepys writes with an unusual access of cheerfulness, 'I do not despair but if money do competently come in, the work [of equipping the fleet of ninety ships] may be done . . . so as may answer his majesty's and the parliament's expectations and the occasions of the kingdom.'¹²² But the improvement was only of short duration, for at the end of the year it was decided to 'split' the declaration of victuals, wages, and wear and tear for the ensuing year, and to 'require the present execution but of one moiety thereof,' in consequence of the 'straitness of his treasure under which his majesty now lies.'¹²³ The letter reporting this to the navy board also alludes to the 'backwardness' of the victuallers in completing the contract of the current year, they having made declaration to Mr. Speaker 'of their total inability to carry on the service unless they might be better supported with money.' A few days later, in another letter to the navy board,¹²⁴ Pepys refers to one of the most

¹¹⁵ Pp. 49, 51, 52.¹¹⁶ P. 401.¹²¹ *Adm. Letters*, vi. 277.¹¹⁶ P. 64.¹¹⁹ iv. 293.¹²² *Ibid.* p. 471.¹²¹ 8 Dec., viii. 403.¹¹⁷ P. 396.¹²⁰ v. 341.¹²³ 2 Dec. 1678, viii. 364.

wasteful consequences of a want of money, 'the mighty charge which has so long lain upon our hands for want of money wherewith to discharge the ships.'

During the last six months of his secretaryship in particular the anxieties of Pepys on the score of funds seemed to have thickened round him. On 11 Jan. 1678-9 he refers to 'the great debts due at this day upon the score of sick men' presented to the king, and adds, 'I do hope in God some provision will be shortly made for the relief thereof.'¹²⁵ On 26 Feb. he again alludes to the 'difficulties' the king 'is now under in his treasure.'¹²⁶ On 6 March he recurs to the victualling.

Extremely afflicted I am (he writes to Sir R. Robinson)¹²⁷ to observe the frequent notice you have of late taken to me of the delays wherewith his majesty's ships are supplied by the victuallers, an evil which, however, they may think themselves justifiable in from those failures of payment which they say (I know not how truly) they lie under. I am sure the whole service must perish, if by one means or another it be not effectually remedied.

'I fear in matters of money,' he writes in another place,¹²⁸ 'my assistance will go but a very little way, that being a business which at this time (God knows) moves everywhere very slow, and particularly in the navy.' Allusions of this kind are frequent¹²⁹ right down to the close of his term of office, and in his last letter addressed to the navy board on ordinary business, written 14 May 1679, only three days before he informed them of his resignation, he refers to the 'little appearance of the sum of money that has been so long wanting, and now grows daily more and more so, for the payments of arrears of wages to seamen, and easing his majesty of the great part of growing charge lying upon him.'¹³⁰

Notwithstanding the shortness of money in the navy, the official correspondence contains few complaints of the victualling department during this period until 1677, when they begin again with their former frequency and insistence.¹³¹ Quite early in their official career the admiralty commission had attempted to take the victualling in hand. On 8 Aug. 1673 they wrote to the principal officers:¹³²—

In order as well to the removing the occasions of the disputes frequently arising between yourselves and the contractors for the victualling of his majesty's navy touching the constructions of their present contract,¹³³ as to the better providing for the benefit of his

¹²⁵ *Adm. Letters*, ix. 21.

¹²⁶ P. 86.

¹²⁷ P. 108.

¹²⁸ 8 March 1678-9, p. 116.

¹²⁹ See *Adm. Letters*, ix. 160, 212, 219, 270.

¹³⁰ ix. 275.

¹³¹ See ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW, xii. 37.

¹³² *Adm. Letters*, ii. 57.

¹³³ Probably the contract of 1672. See ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW, xii. 39.

majesty's service therein for the time to come, we have thought it expedient that the said contract be entirely re-viewed.

The principal officers were accordingly requested to obtain from Sir Jeremy Smith, the comptroller of the victualling, a report on the defects of the existing contract, and the way in which it had been discharged by the contractors, and to remit this, with their own 'opinion thereupon,' to the commissioners for their further consideration. In particular, their attention was called to two points which had been lately argued before the commissioners by the victuallers and the principal officers :—

(1) 'The antiquity, ground, and consequences of the present practices by them avowed of making good to the pursers (at their discretions) some part of their victualling warrants by money instead of provisions,' and (2) 'How far the victuallers of the navy are chargeable with, and what is to be added to the means his majesty is already at the charge of for preventing that insufferable evil which you lately declared his majesty being exposed, &c., and daily suffering under, through the combinations of the victuallers and pursers in being obliged to the allowing victuals (and wages also, as some of your number asserted) to four or five hundred men on a ship, where there are not at the same time forty attending on board—a miscarriage of so much moment as calls no less for a strict account to be given us of the ground of it for the time past, than a most effectual provision for the preventing it for the time to come.

It is interesting to find these abuses alluded to in a curious paper of about the same date¹³⁴ 'offered by Captain Stephen Pine (formerly a purser) to the Lord of Dartmouth,' a copy of which is among the Pepysian 'Miscellanies.'¹³⁵ Under the title 'The Expense and Charge of his Majesty's Naval Victuals Considered and Regulated' Pine explains in detail the working of the existing system, under which the purser receives from the victualler a proportion in money. The king's allowance of victuals to each man for seven days was as follows: 7 lbs. of biscuit, 7 gallons of beer, 4 lbs. of beef, 2 lbs. of pork, $\frac{3}{8}$ of a sized fish, 1 quart of pease, 6 ounces of butter, and 12 ounces of cheese.¹³⁶ It was the custom of the purser to leave one-eighth part of the victuals on shore, and receive the value from the victualler in money, on the ground that the 'necessary money' allowed by the king 'to provide necessaries, viz. wood, candle, platters, cans, spoons, &c., for boiling the meat, and the seamen's use in eating

¹³⁴ Pepys describes it as 'about 1673 or 1674.'

¹³⁵ iii. 723.

¹³⁶ This allowance does not appear to have been altered. It is practically the same as was described by Monson (Churchill's *Voyages*, iii. 347), and was provided for in the victualler's contract of 1637 (*Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1636-37, p. 452). See also Hollond's *Discourses of the Navy* (*N. R. S.* publications, vol. vii. p. 153) in 1659. It also corresponds with the allowance given in Battine's *Naval Calculations* in 1684.

thereof, is not sufficient to defray the cost and charges of the said necessaries.' In serving out their allowance to the men he would make an 'abatement of one-eighth part less in weight and measure than the king allows' in the biscuit, beer, butter, cheese, and pease. The beef, pork, and fish, not being served by weight, were not susceptible of this treatment, but here the purser was able to recoup himself by the victuals of absentees when the ship was in harbour, and 'by men being sick on board before put ashore, who seldom then eat the sea-victuals.' Pine argues that the excuse offered for this arrangement is inadequate, and it really enriches the victualler and purser at the king's expense. The king's allowance of 6*d.* *per mensem* for 'necessary money' is sufficient if properly managed. One of the reasons alleged for its insufficiency is the seamen's extravagance in wood and candles. In future let the necessary money pass through the hands of the captain, and let him be responsible for checking an unreasonable consumption. This will 'extinguish the seamen's exorbitancies, the purser being generally the object of their emulation, but the captain of their awe; the former they delight to abuse, the latter they dare not.' On these grounds Pine concludes that the 8*d.* extra *per mensem* 'lately allowed' over and above the 6*d.* fixed by the victualling contract for 'necessary money' is a 'needless extravagant charge to the King.' To the second of the two abuses referred to Pine only alludes in passing, but he appears to admit its existence.

As for that suppos'd practice (he says)¹³⁸ of Pursers entering men in their sea-books some days before their being really in the ship, and also not discharging them till some days after gone from the ship, the like as to those that die or run away, which hath not only been a wrong to the king, and a gain to the Purser in the victuals, but the like also of the pay, if this chance to escape the Commander's knowledge, no more of this to be said at present.

Pine's remedy for these abuses is peculiar to himself. He dismisses the idea of greatly increasing the pursers' salaries, and making them officials instead of traders, on the ground that they have 'been so accustomed to trade for themselves, and found so much advantage thereby;' and he also rejects the plan of establishing a 'cheque' over the purser, because this will involve 'a certain charge upon the king for the salaries of all such cheques, and the benefit by them unto the king uncertain,' and also because 'it hath been observed that when cheques have been employed, such understanding hath been between pursers and them that the thing was still the same and worse.' Instead of this Pine proposes to throw the ultimate responsibility upon the commander, the only incorruptible officer in the ship. He suggests that the pursers shall be abolished, and the stewards, who hitherto had been paid out of

¹³⁸ P. 724.

the pursers' own pockets, should receive an official status and 40s. a month over and above the king's pay to an able seaman. The commanders, for their 'further encouragement,' in consideration of the new duties thrown on them by the necessity of supervising the proceedings of the stewards, were to receive an addition to their pay of 3*l.* a month, which would enable them each to keep a clerk, who would not only keep the victualler's book of the receipts and issues of victuals, but also the sea-book of entries and discharges of men, 'and what other service the clerk may be useful for to the commander, as buying the ship's necessaries, messages to the victualling office . . . and the like.' The cost of the clerk would be not more than half the captain's increased pay, and the other half would go to himself. Pine calculated that the cost of this new method in increased pay to the stewards and captains would be saved by the discontinuance of pursers on ships lying-up in harbour, where they were quite unnecessary.

To Pepys's copy of Pine's paper are appended notes and criticisms by the earl of Dartmouth. Most of these are on points of detail, but it is clear that he was opposed to Pine's suggested reform on grounds that appear intelligible enough.

'Tis too troublesome and small a matter (he writes) for the commanders to be charged with finding necessaries, as fire and candle, &c.; 'tis true he may now better restrain the extravagancy of the seamen for the purser, but if he comes once to do it for himself he will become the object of their hatred. . . . Notwithstanding what is said here, a purser is absolutely necessary, nor is it practicable in the English fleet that the commander should undertake the victualling; I appeal to those that will seriously consider both our captains and the nature of our common men; yet I wish the pursers were better regulated.

It is not possible to ascertain from the Pepysian papers how far the action of the commissioners of the admiralty in 1673 remedied the abuses complained of. The contractors referred to must have been those of 1672—Lyttelton, Ashburnham, Josiah Child, and the two Gaudens. In 1677, however, the unsatisfactory character of the contract again attracted attention. On 23 Jan. 1676-7, Pepys wrote to the contractors to give them notice of the king's intention to revise the arrangements with them, and a similar notice was sent to Sir Denis Gauden, as victualler for Tangier, and Sir Thomas Clutterbuck, as victualler for ships in the Mediterranean.¹³⁹ The ultimate result of the negotiations was a new contract, made from 1 Jan. 1677-8, with 'William Brett, Samuel Vincent, and John Parsons, of London, Esquires,' 'men esteemed to be of so solid fortunes, and bound to his majesty under terms so strict, as that his majesty, my lords of the admiralty, and we the officers of his navy, have great assurance given us that

¹³⁹ *Adm. Letters*, v. 325.

his majesty's service shall be no more liable to any disappointment upon the score of victualling.'¹⁴⁰ This contract, bearing date 31 Dec. 1677, is copied into Pepys's volume of 'Naval Precedents.'¹⁴¹ As it deals with the details of the victualling at length, it throws some light on the administrative methods of the period.

The victuallers undertook 'well and sufficiently' 'to serve the victualling' of all mariners and soldiers on board the king's ships, or ships hired by the king, either in harbour or at sea. Every man was

to have for his allowance by the day one pound averdupois of good, clean, sweet, sound, well-bolted with a horse-cloth, well-baked and well-conditioned wheaten biscuit; . . . one gallon, wine measure, of beer, of such a standard as that every guile¹⁴² of 20 tuns of ironbound beer shall be brewed with 20 quarters of very good malt, as good as generally is to be had at the place where the said beer is brewed, and a sufficient quantity of very good hops, to keep the same for the time of its warranty, and 18 quarters of the like malt, with the like quantity of the like sort of hops to every guile of 20 tuns of woodbound beer for sea, and the harbour beer to be good, sound, wholesome, and of sufficient strength; . . . two pounds averdupois of beef, killed and made up with salt in England,¹⁴³ of a well-fed Ox, not weighing less than 5 cwt. for what shall be killed . . . in the port of London, and 4½ cwt. in any other of the ports hereafter mentioned, for Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays; or instead of beef for two of those days one pound averdupois of bacon, or salted English pork, of a well-fed hog, not weighing less than three-quarters of a hundredweight, and a pint of pease (Winchester measure) therewith each of the said days; and for Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, every man besides the aforesaid allowance of bread and beer, to have by the day the eighth part of a full-sized North Sea cod, of 24 inches long, or a sixth part of a haberdine, 22 inches long, or a quarter part of the same sort, if but 16 inches long; (provided that the haberdine that shall be thus spent on his majesty's ships, consist not of more than a fish of one size on board any one ship), or a pound averdupois of well savoured Poor John, together with two ounces of butter, and four ounces of Suffolk cheese, or two-thirds of that weight of Cheshire.

In the case of vessels sailing 'to the southward of the latitude of 39° N.' it was allowable for the contractors to vary the diet:—

In lieu of a pound of biscuit, a pound of rusk of equal fineness; in lieu of a gallon of beer, a wine quart of beverage wine, or half a wine pint of brandy, with which last all ships going to Guinea or the East or West

¹⁴⁰ *Adm. Letters*, vi. 228.

¹⁴¹ P. 416.

¹⁴² A 'guile' is a brewer's vat, but the term was also used for the quantity produced at any single brewing.

¹⁴³ 'Irish meat is very unwholesome, as well as lean, and rots our men' (*Naval Minutes*, p. 146). See also Hollond's *Discourses*, where the writer argues that to serve Irish beef was 'to the great discouragement of the seamen, who were forced to starve in a cook's shop—I mean to feed upon Irish beef in a place and time of plenty' (p. 177).

Indies shall be supplied for half the proportion at least of the drink they shall be ordered to take in ; in lieu of a piece of beef or pork with pease, three pounds of flour and a pound of raisins (not worse than Malaga), or in lieu of raisins, half a pound of currants, or half a pound of beef suet pickled ; in lieu of a sized fish, four pounds of Milan rice, or two stock-fishes of at least 16 inches long ; in lieu of a pound of butter, or two pounds of Suffolk cheese, a wine pint of sweet olive oil.¹⁴⁴

The victuals thus provided were to be passed from time to time by the navy board, who appear to have exercised a general supervision over their quantity and quality. The victual was to continue fit for use

during the space of six months from the time of its being received on board . . . for all that shall be declared to be spent on this side the Canary Islands, or latitude of 27° N. latitude, and twelve months for what shall be issued to be spent to the southward of that place or latitude.

In the case of victuals supplied by the victuallers being found defective at sea, and flung overboard, they were to make the defect good without charge, on a certificate 'under the hand of the commander and master, or two other warrant officers' of the ship. The victuallers were also to supply the pursers with 'necessary money'—

ninence for every man *per mensem* in each ship bearing 60 men and under, and sixpence in every ship carrying above 60 men, and two shillings to every ship for loading charges by the month, together with the accustomed allowance for drawage, being fourpence per tun for every tun of beer the purser or steward indents for, and ten groats *per mensem* for addz-money, viz., for so long time as the said ship shall be victualled for sea-service.

They were also to allow for the 'ordinary and extraordinary men in harbour' 'after the rate of 12*d.* per man a month.' But it was

¹⁴⁴ This variation of diet does not seem to have been popular among the men. In Captain Boteler's *Six Dialogues about Sea Services*, printed in 1685 but written earlier, the 'Admiral,' who having been just appointed to the 'High-Admiralship' is occupied throughout the book in remedying a robust ignorance of naval matters by conversation with a 'Sea-Captain,' suggests that it would be better for the health of the mariners if the ordinary victualling were assimilated 'to the manner of foreign parts.' 'Without doubt, my Lord,' replies the Captain, 'our much, and indeed excessive feeding upon these salt meats at sea cannot but procure much unhealthiness and infection, and is questionless one main cause that our English are so subject to calentures, scarbotts, and the like contagious diseases above all other nations ; so that it were to be wished that we did more conform ourselves, if not to the Spanish and Italian nations, who live most upon rice-meal, oatmeal, biscake, figs, olives, oyl and the like, yet at least to our neighbours the Dutch, who content themselves with a far less proportion of flesh and fish than we do, and instead thereof do make it up with pease, beans, wheat, flour, butter, cheese, and those white meats (as they are called).' To this view the admiral assents, but 'the difficulty consisteth,' he remarks, 'in that the common seamen with us are so besotted on their beef and pork as they had rather adventure on all the calentures and scarbotts in the world than to be weaned from their customary diet, or so much as to lose the least bit of it' (p. 84).

permissible under the contract for the victuallers to deliver the necessaries themselves, instead of their money equivalent. The pursers are in all cases to 'indent' for the victuals delivered to them before the ship goes to sea.

The contract of 1677 contains a series of special provisions relating to the supply of water and water-casks, which appear to be directed to previous delinquencies on the part of the contractors. They are to allow each ship 'four hogsheads with eight iron hoops on each, the said hoops to be hammered hoops of good substance and well wrought, and not milled hoops, for water cask; with one bundle of wooden hoops and another of flags, for every 100 men a month;' but ships going to Guinea, or the West or East Indies, are to be supplied with more than this proportion, 'by five tuns for every 100 men for each month,' and ships going to the southward of 39° N. latitude are to have double. The cask furnished for foreign voyages is to be 'as good as those used in merchant ships on the same voyages,' and the contractors are to supply more than the proportion thus fixed, without extra payment, if ordered to do so by the navy board, provided that the cask supplied in the whole year to all the ships does not exceed the limits fixed by the contract. The water-cask delivered by the victuallers shall be delivered full of 'such good, sweet, fresh water as is commonly made use of at the ports where the said cask are issued,' but they are to be paid for freight and labour what shall be 'judged reasonable' by the navy board.

The arrangements for issuing the victuals were somewhat complicated, and appear to have been designed to prevent pursers having command of cash. Victuals to be spent at sea were to be issued by the warrant of 'the lord high admiral, or lords of the admiralty for the time being,' or of three or more of the navy board, or of 'the commander in chief of a fleet or squadron,' or of 'the particular commander of any ship in cases not admitting of the time requisite for procuring any of those before recited.' Victuals to be spent in harbour 'by the extraordinary' were to be issued on the warrant of 'the clerk of the check of the port where the same is to be issued,' and 'by the ordinary' on that of 'the clerk of the check and master attendant, where any is.' The victuals named in the warrants are to be delivered by the contractors in kind, unless the captain or master of the ship 'shall under his hand certify . . . the incapacity of his ship to receive the same,' in which case, 'and that only,' they are to be allowed to make up the warrant 'by such credits as shall be readily answered unto them . . . at the very next victualling port where the same shall be demanded,' unless the ship so victualled be intended for foreign service, 'in which case, and that only, the purser shall receive from the said victuallers ready

money' for so much of the victualling as the navy board shall 'by warrant under their hands' direct.

Victuals thus issued by warrant were to be delivered at the ship's side within twenty-four hours after demand, without charge to the king. The ship's company were to assist in the unloading of the hoys and lighters, and the king was liable for demurrage if these were detained above five 'working days' in delivering sea victuals, and one day for harbour victuals, 'from the time of their arrival to the king's ships.' The master of the hoy or lighter was entitled to a receipt from the purser or steward 'for the just quantity of victuals delivered by him.' For the purpose of this delivery of victuals, however, the king's ships were required to be 'within the limits of the ports from whence the said victuals are to be sent,'

which limits are as followeth, viz. : From Milford unto any place within St. Anne's Head ; from Bristol unto Kingroad or Hungroad, or any other place where the king's ships usually anchor at ; from Plymouth unto the Sound, or any other part of the harbour within the Ramhead and Mewstone where ships usually anchor at ; from Portsmouth unto Spithead, Stokes Bay, or St. Helen's Road ; from Dover unto Dover Road, and into the Downs ; from London unto the Buoy of the Nore, and up to Chatham ; from Harwich into the Rolling Grounds and Oasely Bay ; from Newcastle unto any place within the bar ; from Leith unto Brunt Island or within five leagues of Leith to any other place of safety ; from Kinsale unto any other place within the Old Head ; from Tangier into the boats of the ships which are to be victualled, the said boats lying at the Mole at the time of loading, and the crews of the said boats assisting in the taking in of the said victuals ; and from Lisbon to the common and usual places where merchant ships take in their goods, not further distant from Lisbon than Bell Isle.

If the contractors were required to deliver victuals beyond these limits, they were to be entitled to reasonable freights.

The victuallers undertook to keep 'a constant store or staple of sea-provisions' to answer emergencies, for 4,000 men for two months of twenty-eight days each—for 2,700 men at the port of London, and for 1,300 men at the port of Portsmouth. This distribution might be altered from year to year by the navy board by a declaration made for the following year by or before 15 Oct. in the year preceding, 'or the former distribution to stand ;' but the victuallers were not to be required to supply from this magazine more than once in one year. In addition to this 'staple,' they were to provide 'such further quantities of sea-provisions in any of the ports whose limits are before mentioned, and in such proportions in each port as shall be yearly declared' by the navy board for the following year by or before 15 Oct. in each year ; and again, 'what further quantities shall at any other time in like manner be required' at fourteen days' notice by an additional declara-

tion made any time before 31 Dec., and at twenty-eight days' notice if made within the victualling year itself. The victuals provided under these 'declarations' were to be provided in such manner that the king's ships would not be forced 'to stay above 48 hours (wind and weather permitting) for any part of the provisions in any of the ports so annually declared for;' provided that warrants for the victualling of each ship be sent to the contractors at the same time as the ship is ordered to be fitted for sea, and that they receive notice from the captain of the ship, 'or any master attendant or clerk of the check,' when the ship is 'in areadiness to receive' the victuals. If any 'extraordinary occasion' should arise, the victuallers undertook, over and above the 'staple' or reserve for 4,000 men, to supply additional victuals at the aforesaid ports after twenty-eight days' notice in writing from the navy board up to the value of 60,000*l.*, provided that 'this credit . . . is not to be given . . . more than once in any one year.'

The 'charges of wastes and losses of all victuals' within the limits of the ports were to be borne by the contractors, except in cases where they were able 'by the oath of two credible persons' to 'charge the occasion of that waste or damage upon the king or his officers;' and waste arising at sea was also to be borne by them if it was 'other than the ordinary waste,' and due to the badness of the cask the victuallers themselves had supplied.

The arrangements in the contract for keeping the victualling accounts were very elaborate. The victuallers were to 'bring' quarterly or half-yearly to the navy board an account of the victuals issued by them during that period, 'together with the several warrants by which they issued the same, and the indents or receipts of the respective pursers or stewards,' which 'for more certainty' were to be after a set form of words.¹⁴⁵ They were also to send duplicates

¹⁴⁵ 'I....., purser of his Majesty's ship....., do acknowledge to have received of R. B., S. V., and J. P., victuallers of his Majesty's Navy at the port of....., a compleat proportion of good and wholesome sea-victuals for..... men.....days, beginning the.....day of....., and ending the..... day of.....in the manner following, viz.—

—	Bis-quet	Beere		Beef	Porke	Pease	Fish	But-ter	Cheese	Caske	Iron Hoops	Biskt. Bags	Necess-ary Money			
	Lbs.	Tuns	Hogshds.	Galls.	4-lb. Pieces	2-lb. Pieces	Bush. Galls.	Sized	Lbs.	Lbs.	Tuns	Hogshds.	Ph	£	s.	d.
Whereof:—																
In water-cask																
In kinde																
In money																
By credit																

with which victuals, money, and credit before mentioned, I doe oblige myselfe to victuall (according to his Majesty's allowance) the said number of men for the said

of these indents to the comptroller of the victualling, 'viz. within seven days after its date for what shall be delivered in London, Harwich, Dover, and Portsmouth, and three days after their . . . receiving any from remoter ports.' With these materials before them the navy board were to 'forthwith examine and make up' the victualler's account. In addition to this, a general account of all issues was to be stated every twelve months, in which were to be 'expressly included' all extraordinary demands to be made by the victuallers 'upon the account of any service by them done, or charge or loss by them sustained or otherwise within the preceding twelve months,' and the navy board and the auditors of the imprests were empowered 'from time to time upon their passing the accounts . . . to give and make allowance for all such extraordinary services.' The accounts having been thus adjusted, any balance due on either side was then to be paid.

The victuallers were authorised by their contract to 'have the use and occupying of his majesty's brewhouses, bakehouses, mills, granaries, and storehouses, as well at the Tower hill as at Dover, Portsmouth, Rochester, and Kingsale in Ireland, with all the grounds, profits, or commodities to them or any of them belonging or appertaining,' on condition that they kept them in good repair and paid 'such rents as were heretofore paid his majesty;' but 'one convenient room' was to be reserved at each place 'for the use of such person as his majesty, or the lord high admiral, or lords commissioners for executing the said office for the time being, shall at any time hereafter see fit to appoint for the inspecting or otherwise attending to the business of the victualling.'

In case of provisions duly provided by the contractors according to declaration, and then not used 'by reason of the sudden discharge of the mariners or otherwise,' the loss was to be borne by the contractors unless the amount exceeded victuals for 4,000 men for two months; in that case the king was to allow the contractors three-half-pence a man *per diem* on the victuals then left upon their hands over and above this limit, but he was to have the option of purchasing them at the ordinary contract rates. These were fixed at '6*d.* a day for harbour victuals and 7½*d.* a day for sea-victuals; but 'for every man's allowance to be spent' to the southward of the Canary Islands, or of 27° N. latitude, 8*d.* a day, as also for victuals put on board at Tangier or Lisbon. This fixed payment was for whole proportions, as ordinarily served on board ships victualling for sea. 'Broken provisions' were only to be issued 'upon

time.' The indent was to be dated 'in words at length, and not in figures,' by the purser who was to sign it, and 'the provisions which are therein mentioned to be upon credit, shall be repeated at the bottom or on the back side of the said Indent, and against each of the said species the true quantity thereof which was not delivered in kind, but remains to be made good by credit.'

extraordinary accidents,' under special warrant, and then they were to be charged according to the following tariff:—

	For the Harbour	For the Seas to the Northward of the Canaries, or 37 degrees [sic] of North Latitude	For Guinny, East and West Indies, Tangier, Lisbon, and for Ships Victualled in the Mediterranean
Bread, per lb.	1 <i>d.</i>	1½ <i>d.</i>	1½ <i>d.</i>
Beer, per tun	£1 7 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	£2 11 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>	£2 11 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>
Beef, per 4-lb. piece	9 <i>d.</i>	10 <i>d.</i>	12 <i>d.</i>
Pork, per 2-lb. piece	6½ <i>d.</i>	7 <i>d.</i>	7½ <i>d.</i>
Pease, per bushel	3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	4 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>s.</i>
Fish, sized	7 <i>d.</i>	8¾ <i>d.</i>	9½ <i>d.</i>
Butter, per lb.	4 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>d.</i>	5½ <i>d.</i>
Cheese, per lb.	2 <i>d.</i>	2½ <i>d.</i>	2½ <i>d.</i> and ½ farthing.
Beveridge, per tun . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	£10 5 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Figolas, per bushel . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	5/-
Rice, per lb. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	2½ <i>d.</i> and ½ farthing.
Oyle, per lb. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	5½ <i>d.</i>

In the matter of payment the king makes promises with something more than his usual zeal. For 'the better encouraging' the victuallers 'to undergo the said service' they shall 'have and receive infallibly (by God's assistance), the last day of every month . . . out of the money payable upon receipt of his majesty's exchequer by the commissioners or farmers of his majesty's Great Customs . . . the sum of £467, which is the sum that the harbour victuals of his majesty's ships in ordinary will probably amount unto;' and for the annual declaration for sea and petty warrant victuals 'by 10 equal monthly payments without any imprest advanced, and October to be reputed the first month of the ten.' Supplementary declarations were also to be paid monthly in so many equal portions as there remain months in the year unexpired after the supplementary declaration was made. Victuals issued from the 'staple' or reserve were to be paid for on demand. Remains at the end of a voyage were to be fetched away by the contractors, who were to allow the king for them three-quarters of the price originally paid. These might be served out again to ships in ordinary by consent of the navy board, but in no case to ships in sea-victuals. The contract was to begin from 1 Jan. 1677-8, and was to continue indefinitely, with a year and a quarter's notice on either side. During its continuance the contractors were to have a monopoly, since 'no other persons' (except as provided in the separate contract for the Mediterranean) were to 'intrude or meddle with' the victualling, unless through their failure.

An important clause in the contract, and apparently a novel one, provided that

inasmuch as the said [contractors] are to bear the over prices, waste, and losses of all victuals, and all charges incident thereunto, his majesty doth agree that they shall have one servant or deputy (if they think good) in each ship that his majesty setteth out unto the seas, to be entered by the

clerk of the check into victuals and wages, as one of the ship's company, in the capacity aforesaid, and to be well used and entreated, to the end that if they think fit he may see to and direct the orderly stowage and expending of the provision of victuals, and witness such wastes and losses as shall fall out at sea.

They were also empowered by another clause,

as often as the want thereof shall appear to the lord high admiral, or lords commissioners appointed for executing the place of lord high admiral, or the principal officers and commissioners of the navy . . . to impress such labourers and artificers, and also such carts, ships, hoys, lighters, boats, and other vessels for the land and water carriage, as his majesty's service shall from time to time require, they paying unto each of them such hire, wages, and freight, as shall be at the same time commonly given for the same by other merchants and tradesmen.

The elaborate provision in the contract for the proper packing and weighing of the victuals is curious. No beer was to be issued but in such casks as have been measured by a sworn gauger; and flour casks are to be 'wind and water tight.' The contractors undertook that their beef and pork 'shall always hold out such weight as that every 28 pieces of beef cut for 4-lb. pieces, took out of the cask as they rise, and the salt shaken off it, shall weigh 100 lb. averdupois weight; and every 56 pieces of bacon or salted pork cut for 2-lb. pieces, and took out of its cask and shaken as in the beef, shall weigh 104 lb. neat averdupois.' In case of shortness of weight, the purser shall be empowered to make allowance to the seamen in money, and the contractors shall 'make present satisfaction to the purser without delay in the next victualling port where it shall be demanded.' The contractors also agree to supply only 4-lb. and 2-lb. pieces, 'and that at no time there shall be any unusual pieces put up with the other flesh, or apart for the use of the ships' companies, such as leg bones, shins of oxen, or the cheeks of hogs, or ox-hearts;' ¹⁴⁶ and undertake to allow the navy board 'at all times to survey the flesh slaughtered for the use of his majesty's navy before the same be cut into mess-pieces, and to refuse such thereof as shall be found unfit . . . by leanness, or unfirmness, or measliness in the pork, or any other bad quality in the flesh.'

Although the Mediterranean victualling is not included in the contract of 1677, it was provided that after 31 Dec. 1678, when Sir Thomas Clutterbuck's contract expired,¹⁴⁷ this also would be taken over by the ordinary victuallers at the rates of the ordinary contract. But for this purpose, instead of 1 lb. of

¹⁴⁶ Cf. complaints of this in Hollond's *Discourses* (*N. R. S.* vii.), 178.

¹⁴⁷ The contract with Sir Thomas Clutterbuck, dated 31 Dec. 1674, is entered in *Naval Precedents* (p. 455), as also a supplemental contract (p. 473), by which it was amended, on 19 Feb. 1676-7.

biscuit they were to supply 1 lb. of rusk, 'equal in fineness to the biscuit that is to be issued in England;' instead of one gallon of beer, 'one quart of good, well-conditioned beverage wine of Naples, Provence, Turkey, Zante, or other places whose wine is of like goodness, without mixture, and of such strength as that it shall be able to preserve the water from stinking when three times the quantity of the wine shall be added to it in water, together with so much water as shall be commonly mixed with the said wine at the time when it is used by the seamen;' instead of 1 pint of pease, 1 pint Winchester measure of 'figolas;' instead of a piece of beef, 3 lb. of flour and 1 lb. of raisins 'not worse than Malaga,' or in lieu of raisins, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of currants, or $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of 'beef suet pickled,' for one day in each week, 'the captain of the ship approving thereof;' instead of an eighth part of a sized fish, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of Milan rice, or a fourth part of a stockfish at least 16 inches long, or 1 lb. of 'well savoured Poor John;' and one quarter and half a quarter of a pint of sweet olive oil, in lieu of 2 ounces of butter and 4 ounces of Suffolk cheese. The rate at which these victuals were to be supplied was fixed at 8*d.* a man per day. In Sir Thomas Clutterbuck's contract the rate was 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* In case of disputes arising between the victuallers and the king's officers concerning matters for which the contract did not provide, the contracting parties pledged themselves to abide by 'the ancient practice of the navy in that case, the said practice to be reckoned from before the eighteenth year of the reign of his late majesty of blessed memory.'

The credit of this improved contract of 1677 was claimed by Pepys,¹⁴⁸ and if the victuallers failed to carry out their engagements it was certainly not for want of precision or minuteness in the legal instrument by which they were bound. But Pepys also notes¹⁴⁹ the fatal connexion between unpunctual payment and a bad supply.

Bad payment of the victuallers and other contractors (he writes) has always been made use of and prevailed in excuse for every failure of theirs wherein the service suffered; and yet has entitled them to get payment afterwards, when those failures and the consequences were slipt out of mind, or at least might be extenuated; or the heads of the king's officers full of other business, or otherwise tempted not to make the most of them, and in the meantime under those necessities of the king's service anything is accepted instead of good, because the service must be supplied, and better was not to be had.

Pepys himself appears to have expected much from the new contract. In a long letter of 19 Nov. 1677, written to Sir John Narborough in the Mediterranean,¹⁵⁰ he speaks of the 'great

¹⁴⁸ 'I was the first that took the pains to bring the victualling contract to what it now is' (*Naval Minutes*, p. 61).

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 95.

¹⁵⁰ *Adm. Letters*, vi. 228.

assurance' given by the new contract 'that his majesty's service shall be no more liable to any disappointment upon the score of victualling,' and meets Sir John Narborough's complaints of 'the want of necessary money to the pursers, as also for beverage wine and allowance for the sick and wounded,' and the 'ships being pestered with the pipestaves, through victuallers' agents at Tangiers his refusing to discharge the ships of them,' by urging that these 'are but several branches of that greater defect about the victualling of the navy, which his majesty and my lords of the admiralty do look on as thoroughly provided against by their coming to a new contract.' But an administrator of Pepys's experience of the methods of the navy can scarcely have been surprised to find his own expectations in this matter unfulfilled. The first serious complaint of delay is dated 11 March 1677-8;¹⁵¹ on 13 May we hear of the badness of the victuals supplied¹⁵²—'the serving of the king's ships with shanks, which,' says Pepys,¹⁵³ '(as I remember) have always been excepted against, and yet if my information be true, no less than 21 leggs was found in 58 pieces of beef lately delivered on board the Cambridge, and bread so mouldy as that within 5 or 6 days' time the poor men were forced to cut away above one-third of it before it was fit to be eaten, by reason of its mouldiness.' On 26 July there was a further complaint of delay, and of the 'ill quality of the brandy' supplied;¹⁵⁴ on 7 August Pepys writes to the navy board¹⁵⁵ that he is 'extremely sorry to meet with such daily complaints touching the badness of the provisions sent on board his majesty's ships,' and refers to a letter just received from one of the captains, 'complaining of the badness not only of his beer but his other provisions, and setting forth the very ill effects thereof upon the healths of his men.' At the end of the year, in another letter to the navy officers, Pepys refers to the 'backwardness' of the victuallers as 'that great point which gives both you and me so much pain,'¹⁵⁶ and again as 'matter of mighty affliction' to himself.¹⁵⁷

In the year following matters were even worse. In March 1679 Sir Robert Robinson's fleet for the west was delayed 'many days' at Portsmouth, which led Pepys to declare: 'I know not how possibly to lament enough the wretched state his majesty's service must be in while it lies under this uncertainty of being supplied with stores and provisions' at this port, and to admit at the same time 'the yet greater uncertainty of . . . meeting with any despatch at Plymouth.'¹⁵⁸ On 26 March the victuallers are informed that 'his majesty and my lords of the admiralty' have 'taken solemn

¹⁵¹ *Adm. Letters*, vi. 422.¹⁵³ P. 153.¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* viii. 365.¹⁵⁴ P. 391.¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* viii. 370.¹⁵² *Ibid.* vii. 151.¹⁵⁵ *Adm. Letters*, viii. 15.¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* ix. 140, 142.

notice of the great delays daily met with,' notwithstanding the 'frequent solicitations' of the navy board, and that they have appointed a meeting at eight o'clock in the morning 'expressly for receiving what satisfaction' the victuallers 'shall be then prepared to give them in reference to' the 'said delays.'¹⁵⁹ What the result of this desperate measure was we do not know, and Pepys went out of office in May; but it is clear from many of the references in the 'Admiralty Letters' that the main cause of the trouble was want of money, and this was not removed.

The period 1673-9 witnessed certain attempts to effect an improvement in naval discipline. An abuse of very long standing had been the taking of merchants' goods in the king's ships. This had been noticed by Slingesbie in 1660 as an abuse 'lately much practised,' which made it easy for the officers to sell the king's stores under the pretence that they were merchandise; to waste time in the ports which ought to be spent at sea; to so fill the ship's hold 'that they have no room to throw by their chests and other cumbersome things upon occasion of fight, whereby the gun decks are so encumbered that they cannot possibly make so good an opposition to an enemy as otherwise they might;' and lastly, to defraud the custom-house.¹⁶⁰ The first complaint of the practice in the 'Admiralty Letters' is under date 14 Aug. 1674,¹⁶¹ when Pepys observes that the matter has come under the notice of the admiralty commission 'by common report,' and notes that the abuse had grown to such dimensions that the captains not only took in and transported merchants' goods, but published beforehand 'their purpose of so doing upon terms of freight and other conditions.' In a later letter¹⁶² he complains of the difficulty of obtaining information such as would enable the admiralty to convict offenders, and remarks that the merchants themselves tempted the captains to violate their instructions, 'with pretence of want of shipping and perishableness of their commodities, to take in their goods at under freights.' The king was disposed to take severe notice of offenders,¹⁶³ and on 3 Nov. 1674 we hear that the captain of the 'Deptford' ketch was removed from his post for an aggravated form of this offence, the king being greatly 'moved' thereby.¹⁶⁴ Soon after instructions were sent to the consul at Genoa, and later to the other principal Mediterranean ports, to report any such irregularities as might come under their notice.¹⁶⁵

In August 1675 a particularly flagrant case of breach of

¹⁵⁹ *Adm. Letters*, ix. p. 151.

¹⁶⁰ Hollond's *Discourses of the Navy* (*N. R. S.* vii.), p. 353. Macaulay describes the abuse, but is silent concerning the attempts made to remedy it (*History of England*, i. 148).

¹⁶¹ *Adm. Letters*, iii. 276.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* iii. 360 (21 Oct. 1674).

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* iii. 367.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 376, 378.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 409 (4 Dec. 1674); iv. 11 (1 Feb. 1674-5), 182, 184 (12 July 1675), 254.

discipline came to light.¹⁶⁶ Sir William Poole, a captain of good reputation, who was in command of the 'St. David,' continued his ship six months in a foreign port, 'contrary to the express letter of his majesty's orders, without one hour spent by the ship in the service of the king, from the time of her arrival there to her coming thence, while she might have been of so much use, either at home or abroad elsewhere.' During the whole of this time he was 'attending upon his own occasions,' and he crowned his offence by bringing home merchants' goods. These misdemeanours, when 'put together,' 'arose' in the judgment of the king and the lords of the admiralty 'to the most exorbitant instance of contempt of orders and breach of discipline' that had 'yet appeared in the navy.' They therefore 'concluded that the passing by of a misbehaviour like this could be construed no other than the delivering up his Majesty's Honour, Service, and Treasure (by the example of it) to irrevocable ruin,' and decided in spite of Poole's previous character to make his punishment 'in some degree exemplary.' He was therefore offered the choice of remaining in custody 'until an opportunity shall fall of making . . . defence before, and abiding by the censure of a court-martial, which (through the want of commanders) cannot be presently called,' or of forfeiting to the king the whole of his pay for the voyage, and 'making good to the poor of the Chest' out of his own purse the value of the freight of the merchant goods carried by him. The delinquent wisely chose the latter alternative, and the money being graciously accepted by the king, an order was made for his release.

The measures taken to check this particular abuse do not appear to have been entirely successful, for on 28 July 1678 we find Pepys writing to Sir John Narborough in the Mediterranean:—

I hear so much of our commanders making occasions of going into port, and spending their time between one port and another, that I cannot but press you to the having great regard to the discovering and curing that evil, as being a matter his majesty's honour and service is much concerned in, and yet more in the liberty which some are said to take of coming home to England with convoys, without, if not contrary to order.¹⁶⁷

The absence of captains from their ships without leave appears to have given a good deal of trouble during this period, and especially towards the end of it. On 1 Oct. 1673 the lords

¹⁶⁶ *Adm. Letters*, iv. 233, 243, 246.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* vii. 361. In connexion with this the names of Sir William Poole and Sir John Ernle are mentioned, though only 'upon bare hearsay.' The prohibition against transporting merchants' goods did not extend to money and plate (see *supra*, p. 73), but Pepys was disposed to regret this. On 23 Jan. 1676-7 he writes with regard to the 'inconveniency which this trade of carrying plate draws upon' the service; 'For every penny that a poor commander gains this way it were better husbandry for his majesty out of his own purse to give him twopence' (v. 327).

of the admiralty, then new to their work, and full of reforming activity, called the special attention of the navy board to the liberty daily taken by commanders, 'upon the coming in of the fleet, to leave their ships, and stay at their own pleasures on shore,' in contravention of the 7th article of the lord high admiral's instructions, which forbade the captain during the time of his commission 'to lie any one night from on board' his ship, without the permission of his superior officer. The board were instructed, by 'effectual orders to the clerks of the check, and by all other ways,' to see that the captains are 'pricked out of pay' for absences from on board, and 'for the time to come' to establish it as 'a standing rule in the navy' that captains

from the day of their first coming to reside on board be subject to the musters of the clerks of the check and muster-masters, and their absences from on board noted upon the books in the same manner as the absences of the rest of the ship's company are, and their pay thereupon stopped

until they can justify themselves by showing that they have acted under orders.¹⁶⁸ In another letter of the same date, that passed between the same correspondents,¹⁶⁹ the lords speak of 'frequent' and pressing instances of 'the ill consequences of that liberty which we find universally taken by commanders of neglecting their duties,' and they again urge upon the navy board the necessity of insisting upon a strict compliance with the lord high admiral's instructions. The effect of the new arrangements was not quite what was desired. On 22 October the lords understand that their late orders 'obliging the commanders of the king's ships to give their due attendance on board by subjecting them to be mustered by the clerks of the check and muster-masters,' 'is liable in the manner of its being executed to be converted to the diminution of the authority of the commanders, in case they be exposed to a public call in common with the rest of the ship's company.' They therefore explain their original intention to be that the clerks should only inform themselves of the captain's absence and note it upon the books, without requiring him 'to be called and pricked, and thereby by the practice of the navy rendered liable to be made "Runn" after the accustomed number of absences.'¹⁷⁰ On 25 May 1675 the lords of the admiralty observe 'with much trouble' that their regulations 'are already forgotten' owing to neglect on the part of the clerks of the check, commanders 'appearing daily in the town' without leave; and on 9 July Pepys himself 'spied' the captain of the 'Lark' 'at a distance sauntering up and down Covent Garden.'¹⁷¹ Three years later com-

¹⁶⁸ *Adm. Letters*, ii. 162.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 184.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 250.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* iv. 110, 178.

plaints of this kind became very frequent, and so to the end of Pepys's administration. On 24 March 1677-8,¹⁷² Pepys remarks, 'I must confess I have never observed so frequent and scandalous instances as I do this day by commanders hovering daily about the Court and town, though without the least pretence for it,' and suggests that an example should be made of some offender in the hope of checking the evil. Three months later (29 June)¹⁷³ he recurs almost passionately to the same subject.

I would to God (he writes to Sir Thomas Allin) you could offer me something that may be an effectual cure to the liberty taken by commanders of leaving their ships upon pretence of private occasions, and staying long in town, to the great dishonour of his majesty's service, and corrupting the discipline of the navy by their example; . . . it seeming impossible as well as unreasonable to keep the door constantly barred against commanders desirous of coming to town upon just and pressing occasions of their families, and of the other hand no less hard upon the king, that his gracious nature as well as his service should be always liable to be imposed upon by commanders, as often as their humours, pleasures, or (it may be) vices shall incline them to come ashore. Pray think of it and help me herein, for, as I shall never be guilty of withstanding any gentleman's just occasions and desires in this matter, so I shall never be able to sit still and silent under the scandalous liberties that I see every day taken by commanders of playing with his majesty's service, as if it were an indifferent matter whether they give any attendance on board their ships, so as they have their wages as if they did.

The king seems after this to have taken more than ordinary notice¹⁷⁴ of this kind of delinquency, and letters appear in which Pepys himself refuses permission, or gives it grudgingly, to officers applying for leave; ¹⁷⁵ but in April 1679 the lords of the admiralty are still 'resolving most fervently to rectify this evil with all the strictness that may be.'¹⁷⁶ On this occasion they decided on the advice of Pepys that, in future, leave should only be granted under the hand of the king, or of the lords themselves, 'I having shown them,' he writes, 'that whatever is less than that is too little.' Unfortunately for this late decision, a disastrous change in the administration of the navy was then close at hand.

The part taken by the secretary of the admiralty in enforcing naval discipline in this and other matters, as it appears in the 'Admiralty Letters,' although it reveals a condition of great laxness, places the character of Pepys as an efficient and vigilant official in a favourable light. Corruptible as he had shown himself to be in his earlier years in certain directions, he had a high sense of the honour of the service, and showed himself at once firm and humane in his dealings with those who were not in a position to corrupt

¹⁷² *Adm. Letters*, vi. 480.¹⁷³ *Ibid.* vii. 296.¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* ix. 97.¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* ix. 137, 177, 187.¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* ix. 220.

him. He was at some pains to keep himself well informed of the proceedings of the captains, urging the navy board, where it appeared to them that captains were 'not so steady in their attendance on and solicitous for the despatch of their ships fitting forth as their duty obligeth them,' to 'be at the trouble of advertising' him.¹⁷⁷ Where breaches of discipline were reported to him he took the greatest pains to arrive at the facts, often at considerable trouble when the delinquencies occurred in foreign ports,¹⁷⁸ and his admonitions to the offenders, though sometimes rather unctuous, are often in the best Pepysian style.

But, in spite of the personal vigilance and efficiency of the secretary to the admiralty, there can be no doubt that the discipline of the navy during this period was extraordinarily bad, as was admitted by Pepys himself. On 3 Feb. 1674, not very long after he had taken office, he had noted

the universal loss of discipline amongst the seamen of England, to the degree of their making no difference between his majesty's service, where the want of payment of their wages may in some measure give excuse for it, and that of the merchants, where they not only have their pay certain but their wages excessive, a vice which I pray God grant I may see satisfied before it prove too fatal, not only to his majesty's service, but to the whole navigation of the country.¹⁷⁹

Five years after, on 15 April 1679, when his tenure of office was about to come to an end, he made use of expressions which differed from these only in being rather stronger.

I will discharge my part (he writes) towards his majesty and my lords of the admiralty, in the preservation of the good discipline of the navy, as long as I shall have the honour of serving them in it, by making due representations of any violences I see offered to it, whereof (God knows) few days together escape without some fresh instances, and as few of them without giving me fresh censure and disquiet for my non-compliance with them, even to the rendering my employment as truly burdensome to me as others (who know not this) make it the subject of their envy.¹⁸⁰

That this was partly due, as far as the ordinary seamen were concerned, to bad payment is suggested by Pepys himself, and is consistent with what we know of the period that preceded this. But, as the cases already quoted will serve to show, the breakdown of discipline in the Restoration period not only affected the seamen, but also the higher ranks of the service, and it was impossible to keep the officers up to a reasonable standard of conscientiousness in the discharge of their duties. In fact, so deeply did the disease strike down into the system of the navy, that in 1679 no less a person than Sir Robert Robinson refused to answer concerning the misdemeanours of one of his captains, when applied to

¹⁷⁷ *Adm. Letters*, iv. 191.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* v. 281, 329. See also vi. 51.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* iii. 78.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* ix. 203.

by Pepys with a view to a reprimand from headquarters; whereupon that official remarked, with some force, that it was 'very little to be hoped that sobriety and good discipline should ever be supported in a fleet where those in chiefest trust are either unwilling or afraid of detecting even their inferiors in their misdoings;' 'besides,' he added, 'it goes a great way with me towards the lessening the credit of persons in their certifying for the virtues and to the benefit of those they would advance, when I find them in other cases desirous to conceal the vices of those that are already in employments.'¹⁸¹

There is reason for thinking that the decay of discipline in the Restoration period is associated to a certain extent with the practice of appointing 'gentlemen captains' without experience to important commands at sea. The matter is discussed by Macaulay with exaggerated picturesqueness;¹⁸² Pepys makes allusion to it in the 'Diary,'¹⁸³ and a Restoration paper printed in Charnock's 'Marine Architecture'¹⁸⁴ very much shocks that author by its 'illiberal and improper observations' on the subject. He admits, however, that 'there certainly appears much truth and solidity in the general principle of them,' though 'it might have been wished for the sake of decency and propriety he had conveyed his animadversions in somewhat less vulgar terms.' The writer, Mr. Gibson, 'whose opinion appears to have been specially asked by government,' traces every kind of evil to the year 1660, when 'gentlemen came to command in the navy.' These 'have had the honour to bring drinking, gameing, whoring, swearing, and all impiety into the navy, and banish all order and sobriety out of their ships;' they have cast their ships away for want of seamanship; they have habitually delayed in port when they should have been at sea; a gentleman captain will bring 'near 20 landmen into the ship as his footmen, tailor, barber, fiddlers, decayed kindred, volunteer gentleman or acquaintance, as companions,' and these 'are of bishop Williams's opinion, that Providence made man to live ashore, and it is necessity that drives him to sea;' the gentleman captain 'destroys his breed of seamen by casualties of his own making;' and so the author works up in a leisurely fashion to his conclusion—that 'the Crown will at all times be better able to secure trade, prevent the growth of the naval strength of our enemy, with £100,000 under a natural sea admiralty and seaman captains, . . . than with three times that sum under land admirals and gentlemen captains not bred tarpaulins.' And the same point is made by Pepys at the close of the period under review. In a letter to Sir John Holmes of 15 April

¹⁸¹ *Adm. Letters*, viii. 459; ix. 44.

¹⁸² *History of England*, i. 147-9.

¹⁸³ On 2 June 1663, quoting Coventry, he writes: 'The more of the Cavaliers are put in, the less of discipline hath followed in the fleet;' and again, on 27 July 1666 he notes the 'unruliness of the young genteel captains.'

¹⁸⁴ Pp. lxxiv-xev.

1679,¹⁸⁵ he notes that certain officers whom he had had occasion to reprimand were uttering 'small menaces' against him as 'an enemy to gentlemen captains,' and takes trouble to repudiate the accusation; but he appears to agree with the view expressed in the House of Commons, that one of the 'present miscarriages' of the navy is that 'employment and favour are now bestowed wholly upon gentlemen, to the great discouragement of tarpawlings of Wapping and Blackwall, from whence . . . the good commanders of old were all used to be chosen.' In another letter to the same correspondent, dated 18 April,¹⁸⁶ he writes of 'that distinction so much laboured to be kept up by some between gentlemen and tarpawling commanders, and the liberty taken by the first of thinking themselves above the necessity of obeying orders, and conforming themselves to the rules and discipline of the navy, in reliance upon the protection secured to them therein through the quality of their friends at Court.' Pepys himself was probably an impartial witness, for he was denounced by each side for favouring the other.¹⁸⁷

It is in a way remarkable that it is during the period of these complaints against gentlemen captains that we come upon the first establishment of an examination for lieutenants. Towards the end of 1677 complaints reached the admiralty from Sir John Narborough, commanding in the Mediterranean, of 'the defectiveness of lieutenants in their seamanship.' The king and the lords of the admiralty 'reflected' for some time upon the importance of this information, and eventually decided for

a method to be established for the examining and approving of the fitness of persons to take upon them the office of lieutenant before any be admitted thereto; lieutenants having hitherto been brought into the navy without either any certain assignment of what is their duty, or any enquiry beforehand into their qualifications to perform it when they know it, but for the most part by mere solicitations of friends, or the kindness of commanders.¹⁸⁸

The result of this was the formal adoption, on 22 Dec. 1677, of a regular establishment 'for ascertaining the duty of a sea-lieutenant, and for examining persons pretending to that office,' which had been drawn up in the first instance by Pepys himself, and was adopted by the authorities, apparently without substantial alteration.¹⁸⁹ This, as copied into the 'Naval Precedents,'¹⁹⁰ points out the special importance of a proper qualification for a lieutenant, inasmuch as the supreme command of the ship might devolve upon him through the sickness or death of the captain, and then proceeds to lay down formal instructions, of the same kind as those already in existence to describe the whole duty of the

¹⁸⁵ *Adm. Letters*, ix. 206.¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* ix. 214.¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* ix. 242-3.¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* vi. 231, 264.¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* vi. 256.¹⁹⁰ P. 241.

captain of a ship. Lieutenants are to obey the captain's orders; are not to go on shore without leave; are to take charge of the ship in the captain's absence; are to keep a journal, and send a copy of it to the secretary of the admiralty at the end of the voyage; to inform the captain of all 'misdemeanours and neglects' of any of the under officers; and not to expect any pay until the navy board have certified their satisfaction to the treasurer of the navy. The establishment also set up a system of qualifications for candidates. A lieutenant was required to have served three years actually at sea, 'after abatement made for all intervals of voyages,' and of this one year at least must have been as an ordinary midshipman; he must be under twenty years of age at the time of admission to the lieutenancy; he must produce 'good certificates' from the captains under whom he had served of his 'sobriety, diligence, obedience to order,' and 'application to the study and practice of the art of navigation;' and he was also required to produce certificates from three persons—a member of the navy board who had served as a commander, a flag-officer, and a captain of a first or second rate—'upon a solemn examination,' held at the office of the navy, of 'his ability to judge of and perform the duty of an able seaman and midshipman, and his having attained to a sufficient degree of knowledge in the theory of navigation capacitating him thereto.' If the necessity should arise for constituting a lieutenant at sea, the appointment was to be made by the admiral, but the person selected was first to be examined by three of the principal captains, and their certificates, together with other evidence of fitness, were to be transmitted to the secretary of the admiralty for his inspection. There are a good many illustrations of the practical working of this system among the 'Admiralty Letters.' The candidate's application was made in the first instance to the navy board, who themselves summoned the examiners' meeting.¹⁹¹ Candidates were sometimes ploughed;¹⁹² thus, as Pepys notes in a letter of 29 March 1678,¹⁹³ it was an encouragement to the 'true-bred seaman,' and greatly to the benefit of the king's service; 'for I thank God,' he says, 'we have not half the throng of those of the bastard breed pressing for employment which we heretofore used to be troubled with, they being conscious of their inability to pass the examination, and know it to be to no purpose now to solicit for employment till they have done it.'

To about the same date as the examination of lieutenants (December 1677) belongs another minor reform—an establishment for the better provision of chaplains to serve in the navy. The first step in this direction appears to have been taken in April or May 1677, when the king and the lords of the admiralty resolved

¹⁹¹ *Adm. Letters*, vi. 302-3. The form of summons is copied into the book.

¹⁹² *Ibid.* vii. 4.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* vii. 17.

‘that no persons shall be entertained as chaplains on board his majesty’s ships but such as shall be approved of by the Lord Bishop of London.’¹⁹⁴ The proposal originated in the first instance with Pepys, who designed it to remedy ‘the ill-effects of the looseness wherein that matter lay, with respect both to the honour of God Almighty, and the preservation of sobriety and good discipline in his majesty’s fleet.’¹⁹⁵ By the practice of the navy the chaplain was borne as one of the ship’s complement, and captains were encouraged to nominate their own chaplains for the bishop of London’s approval; failing such nomination the choice was made by him.¹⁹⁶ In the first instance, the archbishop of Canterbury was named as an alternative to the bishop of London, but he did not act.¹⁹⁷

On 15 Dec. 1677 the details of this reform in the matter of chaplains were worked out much more fully by resolutions adopted on the admiralty board.¹⁹⁸ In future chaplains were only to be admitted on board in that capacity, and to enjoy pay in virtue of a special royal warrant on their behalf. This warrant was to be issued only to such persons as first delivered to the secretary of the admiralty, ‘for his majesty’s satisfaction,’ a written certificate, under the hand of either the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London for the time being, testifying to the ‘piety, learning, conformity, and other the qualifications of the said person fitting him for the said charge.’ In order to secure the appointment of a chaplain on board every ship going to sea, the secretary of the admiralty was to ‘timelily signify’ to either of the two prelates the names and rates of the ships appointed for the sea, the numbers of men to be borne on them, and the names of their respective commanders, ‘in order to their lordships proposing to his majesty fitting persons as chaplains;’

provided always that where the commander of any of the said ships shall make it his humble suit to his majesty that a particular person who hath been at any time within the space of three years before approved of and certified for by either of the lords the bishops beforenamed may be appointed to the place of chaplain on board his said ship . . . in that case the said commander shall be gratified in the choice of his chaplain,

and the royal warrant shall be issued without any fresh approval or certificate being required. The establishment was confirmed by James II

¹⁹⁴ *Adm. Letters*, vi. 3.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* vi. 18, 45. See also vi. 19, and *Naval Minutes*, p. 81. Pepys also takes credit for remedying an abuse of long standing by which the ‘moneys arising out of the seamen’s contribution for a chaplain, upon ships where (by the remissness or impiety of the commander) no chaplain is provided,’ were appropriated by the captain himself. By an establishment which in 1677 was already of long standing and strictly observed, these were to go instead to the Clerk of the Poor at Chatham. On the method of the ‘seamen’s contribution,’ see Hollond’s *Discourses of the Navy* (*N. R. S.* vii.), 347–8. This *Ad.* a month was over and above an ordinary seaman’s pay (*Naval Precedents*, p. 161).

¹⁹⁶ *Adm. Letters*, vi. 36, 209; vii. 143–4.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* vi. 139.

¹⁹⁸ *Naval Precedents*, p. 161.

on 13 March 1686-7, with the substitution of the bishop of Durham for the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London.¹⁹⁹

The general control of the bishop of London over naval chaplains was recognised in a quaint and unexpected fashion towards the close of 1678. Sir Robert Robinson's chaplain preached a sermon with which Sir Robert Robinson was greatly pleased, and accordingly he sent it up to Pepys for presentation to the bishop of London. Pepys, foreseeing, perhaps, the tide of sermons that would begin to flow towards Fulham if this one were accepted, did his best for the bishop, and that as courteously as might be.

As for your chaplain's sermon (he writes²⁰⁰ in a letter which does not miss the more subtle humours of the situation), were it fit for me to give him advice, it would be that he would not have it exposed to my lord Bishop's perusal and censure till it were fairer writ, and writ more correctly, this being done so slightly as to its manner of writing, and with so many blotts, interlineations, false spelling, and wrong pointing, that I doubt, besides the prejudice the author may receive to his credit, the Bishop may think himself a little neglected in his having it presented to him in noe better Dresse, and with so many errata's. Upon which consideration I shall, in friendship to him, and out of respect to you, respite the offering of it to my lord Bpp., until upon conferring with your chaplain I hear again from you about it, I being mightily of opinion that he should either have it sent him back from me to Portsmouth, there to have it well corrected by himself, and got more fairly and legibly wrote, or committed to some friend of his own order and acquaintance in town, who may have leisure to see it done for him. Nor do I think the gentleman will receive any considerable delay by this means to the satisfaction you and he expect from its being published, in regard that it is so busy a time here in Parliament, and matters of so much importance there under debate, that were the sermon now in my lord Bishop's hand, I cannot expect his lordship's being at leisure to overlook it till some of those matters be passed, and our sitting in Parliament adjourned, which I suppose it may for some little time be at Christmas, which is now at hand. In which last consideration I do upon second thoughts think it best (for saving of time) to send it you back again without expecting your answer hereto, forasmuch as you may return it up to town again by the very next post, in case the author shall think fit to commit it to some friend here.

The 'Admiralty Letters' contain a good deal of correspondence during this period that bears on one of the important questions of the day—the use of the press. The right to press sailors was a prerogative inherent in the crown, which had not been called in question; but it was very unpopular, and was not exercised during our period except under the pressure of necessity. On 9 June 1677, Pepys, in refusing further press warrants, refers to the 'clamour' which would be 'raised upon it, as if the pressing of men and interruption of trade thereby were unnecessarily continued,'²⁰¹ and

¹⁹⁹ *Naval Precedents*, p. 163.

²⁰⁰ *Adm. Letters*, viii. 432.

²⁰¹ *Adm. Letters*, vi. 52. See also iii. 66; vi. 330, *et passim*.

similar allusions are frequent throughout the correspondence. It is clear that when the council decided to press they did so very reluctantly, and with public opinion always before their eyes.²⁰² The right to press seamen was as a rule reserved for time of war. In time of peace it was used very sparingly, and on foreign voyages only,²⁰³ nor was it regarded as 'a laudable thing' to need it.²⁰⁴ It appears to have been allowed twice only during the period. In September 1677 the number of desertions was so great that press warrants were issued in time of peace to enable commanders to repair their losses;²⁰⁵ and again at the close of the same year a memorial was presented by the lords of the admiralty to the council table urging the necessity of a press for the Mediterranean fleet, 'whose commanders, after all means used for gaining of volunteers, do declare their incapacity of manning the said ships (through the greatness of the employment and heighth of wages given by the merchants at this day) without power of impresting.'²⁰⁶

Before the pressing of seamen could begin, the case for the use of the press had to be considered in the privy council, and a warrant to be issued from the council to the lords of the admiralty empowering them to give authority by warrant to individual captains to make up their complements by this means.²⁰⁷ But other persons also received press warrants and were recognised as authorities for this purpose. In 1673 men were requisitioned from Watermen's Hall, collected by the 'rulers' of the Hall at the Tower, and shipped off to the fleet on which they were to serve.²⁰⁸ At the same time men pressed in the west country were collected at Plymouth by the vice-admiral of Devon,²⁰⁹ and warrants were issued through the navy board to the bargemen for the Thames about Reading, Windsor, and Henley, care being taken to place the warrants 'into the discrettest of the hands you can choose for the execution of them.'²¹⁰ In 1678 we find proposals for a contract for pressing allowed by the king and the lords of the admiralty, subject to the approval of the navy board, though it is not clear whether it was actually signed and put into practice.²¹¹

Seamen were liable to press in time of war, but it must not be forgotten that artificers and labourers were liable to be pressed into the service of the navy in time of peace also. The victuallers had been 'in all times' authorised, by virtue of a special clause in

²⁰² *Ibid.* vi. 237; viii. 124, *et passim.*

²⁰³ *Ibid.* iv. 272.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 362.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* vi. 178, 181.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.* vi. 249.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.* vi. 52, 76, 78.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 11.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 13.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 17.

²¹¹ *Ibid.* vii. 90. By these proposals James Dunbar, owner of the 'Mary' of London, 40 tons, was to be employed 'for the impresting and carrying of seamen for his majesty's navy.' He was to be allowed 22 seamen, 6 guns, small arms, 'and other necessaries,' and was to receive 18*l.* a month and a capitation fee of 2*s.* 6*d.* 'for every scaman which he shall so imprest, . . . which shall not be under the number of 800 at least.'

their contract, to press 'workmen and carriages of all sorts.'²¹² Under a statute passed at the beginning of the reign²¹³ carriages and horses might be taken by warrant of the lord high admiral, or two principal officers of the navy, or the master or lieutenant of ordnance, acting through two justices of the peace in the localities concerned, for the transport of timber and other provisions for the navy or ordnance by land, at a fixed rate of 1s. a load per mile for timber and 8d. a ton per mile for other provisions; and under the same statute ships and hoys could be pressed for water carriage at the customary freights, the Trinity House arbitrating in case of dispute. A commission of 1662 had empowered the surveyor of the navy to press workmen, 'also stockfish, biscuits, timber, hemp, posthorses, &c.,' also 'ships, lighters, and carriages to convey the same, at reasonable prices.'²¹⁴ In order to carry out the increased shipbuilding programme of 1677, on 12 May²¹⁵ the navy board were empowered to press a hundred shipwrights for Deptford and Chatham. On 17 Nov. 1677²¹⁶ the bailiffs of Yarmouth were required by warrant from the lords of the admiralty to press certain shipwrights named 'for the service of the new ships now in building at his Majesty's yard at Harwich;' and the same thing happened again on 16 Sept. 1678.²¹⁷ In May 1679 the king's commands were issued to the rulers of Watermen's Hall 'to choose and send down to the Mary yacht forthwith . . . one hundred able watermen for the rigging and fetching about of the Sandwich to Chatham, where they are to be discharged and left at liberty to return to their ordinary occasions.'²¹⁸

But it should be noted that even in time of war there were in practice certain important limitations to the action of the press. It sometimes happened that the warrants themselves were only made to apply in certain cases, as in May 1677, when they applied only to ships coming into the river.²¹⁹ Again, it was 'a thing contrary to all practice, even in time of war, to press men out of ships outward bound;'²²⁰ and this was interpreted strictly, as when two men were discharged who had been pressed from a vessel bound to London which had put into Plymouth owing to stress of weather,²²¹ apparently on the ground that the voyage was not complete, and therefore the use of the press in this case involved an interference with trade. In March 1678 a lieutenant was required by Pepys to justify his action 'in pursuing men into alehouses,' in excess of the authority conferred by his press warrant, which only allowed him to press from homeward-bound ships.²²² Care was also taken to prevent (as far as precept could do it) the press being used by the captains in such a way as to interfere with

²¹² *Adm. Letters*, vi. 242.²¹³ 14 Car. II, c. 20.²¹⁴ *Cal. State Papers Dom.* 1661-2, p. 521.²¹⁵ *Adm. Letters*, vi. 12.²¹⁶ *Ibid.* vi. 225.²¹⁷ *Ibid.* viii. 131.²¹⁸ *Ibid.* ix. 264, 267.²¹⁹ *Ibid.* vi. 23.²²⁰ *Ibid.* viii. 104. See also vi. 293, 309, 325.²²¹ *Ibid.* vi. 356.²²² *Adm. Letters*, vi. 435. The MS. in error reads 'outward bound.'

the navigation of the merchant vessels from which the men were taken, though it was difficult entirely to prevent abuses. In December 1678, Pepys refers to cases which had lately arisen in the Downs, 'to the scandal of the navy,' which he hoped would meet with 'severe correction,'²²³ and he remarks a little later, 'Till this liberty of pressing men without consideration to the safety of the vessels they press out of be once severely corrected, the king's service can never be free from clamour.'²²⁴ To press officers out of a merchant ship was admitted to be 'contrary to the known practice of the navy.'²²⁵

In addition to these traditional limitations on the press, certain classes of persons were specially exempted; protections being given from time to time to the coal trade,²²⁶ the fishing trade,²²⁷ the government transport service,²²⁸ 'the barge crew of his Grace my lord of Canterbury.'²²⁹ In 1673-4 a protection was given to a vessel employed by the City of London,²³⁰ and early in 1678 his majesty was 'pleased to direct' by order in council 'that no Scotchman shall be impressed into his service.'²³¹ Particular persons were protected by special warrant; as certain Swedes on the certificate of the Swedish envoy;²³² English sailors by direct action of the lords of the admiralty;²³³ a whole ship's company under special circumstances;²³⁴ and persons who violated such protections were called to account before the lords themselves.²³⁵ On 6 June 1677, Joseph Kechman, a shipwright of Ratcliffe, received a protection against being impressed as an artificer by special order from the king, at the instance of the duchess of Portsmouth, because his wife had been nurse to the duke of Richmond.²³⁶

The period under consideration ends in May 1679, when Pepys was driven from office during the excitement occasioned by the Popish plot. In the last letter of his secretaryship, dated 21 May,²³⁷ he alludes to the 'reproach' which he is 'no less unjustly than unfortunately fallen under in Parliament,' but ascribes it to a charge of embezzling navy stores. Meanwhile other charges were being made against him, and on the following day he was committed to the Tower under the Speaker's warrant, and Hayter succeeded to his office at the admiralty, which was vacant through what was in form a voluntary resignation.²³⁸

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(To be continued.)

²²³ *Adm. Letters*, viii. 373, 375.

²²⁴ *Ibid.* viii. 389.

²²⁵ *Ibid.* ix. 37.

²²⁶ As appears by inference from vi. 23.

²²⁷ *Ibid.* vi. 20; vii. 92.

²²⁸ *Ibid.* vi. 368, 388.

²²⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 36.

²³⁰ *Ibid.* iii. 109.

²³¹ *Ibid.* vi. 412.

²³² *Ibid.* iii. 49.

²³³ *Ibid.* ii. 85.

²³⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 42.

²³⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 85; iii. 59.

²³⁶ *Ibid.* vi. 48.

²³⁷ *Ibid.* ix. 284.

²³⁸ *Ibid.* ix. 282. An account of some circumstances connected with this episode in Pepys's life has been given by the writer, in an article contributed to the *ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW* for April 1892, under the title 'Pepys and the Popish Plot.'

John de Robethon and the Robethon Papers

I

FOR some years after his accession to the English throne George I kept in attendance three of his Hanoverian ministers—Count Bernstorff, Baron Bothmer,¹ and John de Robethon. The three formed a kind of inner cabinet, advising on all affairs, domestic and foreign. Bernstorff was a wealthy nobleman, of tried capacity and long experience in affairs of state ;² Bothmer had for many years, at the Hague and in London, conducted delicate diplomatic negotiations with success ; but it seems to have been Robethon who had the most real influence. Various statements about this man have been put on paper. Spittler's eulogy I quote later. Agnew, in his 'Protestant Exiles from France,' will hear nothing of him but praise. James Macpherson puts him down as indefatigable, industrious, and faithful, not a man of striking abilities, but of a good deal of address.³ Coxe admits him to have been a man of address and great knowledge of the world, but avers that his situation with the king rendered him insolent and presumptuous, that his necessities were great and his venality notorious.⁴ The passage in which Lord Mahon describes him as 'a prying, impertinent, venomous creature, for ever crawling in some slimy intrigue,' does that historian discredit.⁵ But, whatever his character, it is agreed that the influence which Robethon exerted over Bernstorff, and over the king, was exceptional. But it was exerted from the background. Confidential secretary to three princes in succession, he held no important office ; notices of him in contemporary writings

¹ Bothmer always signed his name thus, not Bothmar. The former spelling is adopted in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*.

² 'A tout prendre c'estoit un des plus grands ministres de son siècle, mais grand en tout, qui ne s'amusoit pas aux petitesesses et qui fut honneur à l'Allemagne' (Bodemann, quoting Thomas Eberhard von Ilten, in the *Zeitschrift des hist. Vereines für Niedersachsen*, 1879). The Prince of Wales in 1714 compared him to Heinsius, as an unselfish worker for the good of his country (Neuburg, Stowe MS. 227, f. 456, British Museum). There is a biographical notice of him in Spiel's *Vaterländisches Archiv des Königreichs Hannover*, v. 111.

³ *Original Papers*, i. 619.

⁴ *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, i. 83.

⁵ *History of England to the Peace of Utrecht*, chap. vi. *ad fin.*

are few; and almost the only evidence of his worth lies in the papers which he has left behind.

He was the son and namesake of an advocate of the Parliament of Paris. His family were Huguenot; his mother, a sister of the well-known pastor, Claude Grosteste de la Mothe. When the time came to choose between exile and apostasy, he preferred the former, his father and brother the latter; ⁶ they remained in Paris, and James, the brother, became attorney-general of the court of the Mint.⁷ I have not learnt in what country Robethon took refuge; perhaps with his uncle in London. Agnew states that he entered the service of William III when still prince of Orange, and shows that he was naturalised in England in 1693. He was then secretary to Baron Schütz, the duke of Celle's envoy,⁸ and as such attended William's court in London and in the Netherlands, and had a very good knowledge of what was going forward. To this period of his life belong a pamphlet entitled 'A Letter written to one of the Members of Parliament about the State of the Present War,' ⁹ and the interesting diary which he kept from 1694 to 1698 (below).

When the earl of Portland went as ambassador to Paris in 1698, he took Robethon as a secretary. The Dutch statesman Dykvelde congratulated him on this appointment, called him *une personne de grand talent et application extraordinaire*, and hoped he would receive on his return *un établissement et employ, qu'en tant d'occasions vous avez mérité par vos services, et que par les belles qualités que vous possédez vous remplirez parfaitement.* ¹⁰ Robethon acquitted himself with much credit, and; as his correspondence shows, remained greatly in Portland's favour till the latter's death. In September 1698 he had left Paris and entered the personal service of William III.¹¹ We shortly find him drafting the king's private correspondence. His credit was sufficient to make

⁶ And this though the father had formerly denounced the conduct of a Protestant minister who had turned priest (La Mothe to Robethon, 26 Sept. 1710, Stowe MS. 223, f. 381).

⁷ Robethon's will at Somerset House, C. P. C., 81 Marlboro; quoted by Agnew.

⁸ James Cressett, envoy to Celle and Hanover, who hated Robethon, wrote on 24 Oct. 1695: 'Mr Ropton Schutz secretary I doubt but you see plying about y^e office, if he be minded, his ather is a converted French Avocate at Paris, and indeed y^e less all y^e gang picks up any where, the better, for all will goe into France that ever they can learn, and Mr Schutz passes as one of y^e Cabinet in England.' And again, 18 Feb. 1701: 'Ropton, . . . a French refugié that was secretary to Mons^r Schutz and now belong's to our Master.' And again, 23 Aug. 1701: 'I never knew more of him, than his being y^e lean affected Baron's secretary in y^e first place, and afterwarde I know he pass'd into Portland's service' (To Ellis, Add. MSS. 28897, 28907, 28909).

⁹ Hanover, Stadtbibliothek, MSS. vol. 93. Robethon states that he composed the pamphlet in 1692, and that it was translated by Wickard, the king's chaplain. It was printed in London.

¹⁰ Stowe MS. 222, f. 13, 12 Feb. 1698.]

¹¹ *Ibid.* f. 15.

persons of Lord Galway's rank solicit his good offices.¹² In November 1699, Portland congratulated him on receiving a *logement à la cour*,¹³ and in December Palmquist, the Swedish envoy in Paris, on further advances in William's favour.¹⁴ Industry, probity perhaps, a knowledge of the world, and a particular aptitude for drafting despatches, seem to have been his chief recommendations. Specimens of his work preserved among the papers for 1701 attest his skill. Among his correspondents in these years we find Portland, Dykveld, Galway, Christopher Count Dohna, Palmquist, the Danish statesman Plessen, Counts Auersperg and Wratislaw, Ezekiel Spanheim, Earl Rivers, and James, afterwards Earl Stanhope.

After William's death Robethon passed into the service of that king's great friend, George William, duke of Celle. If Cressett is to be believed, he had maintained a correspondence with that court while still in William's service.¹⁵ Bernstorff was the duke's chief minister, and he, discovering Robethon's merit, soon gave him his entire confidence, an advantage which stood the secretary in good stead throughout his life. At Celle, Robethon was attached to the department of foreign affairs, working both for the duke and for the elector.¹⁶ His papers include a regular correspondence with Adam Cardonnel, the duke of Marlborough's secretary; English and Scotch news from Sir Rowland Gwynne and others; long letters from the Hague from his friend D'Allonne and from the Hanoverian resident, Klinggræff; and private despatches from Paris from the duke's secret agent, Martines; in fact, he had correspondents at every court. Coxe notices his activity in procuring intelligence for Marlborough, and says that that duke supplied him with large sums of money for the purpose, which the number and value of his communications proved to be not ill bestowed.¹⁷

Becoming a person of importance, Robethon was shortly afterwards ennobled, and admitted to the duke's council. In 1704 we find Prince Eugene and Count Loewenstein writing to him directly on matters connected with his office; the former addresses him as 'Hofrath' or 'Conseiller Aulique.' In 1703 he married a widow named Maxwell, a lady of some standing at the court of Celle, whose maiden name was Claudine de Berenger. She had already a son,

¹² Stowe MS. 222, f. 16, 21 Jan. O. S. 1699.

¹³ *Ibid.* f. 31.

¹⁴ Hanover, *Stadtbibliothek*, MSS. vol. 96.

¹⁵ Cp. note 8. Cressett wrote further to Ellis on 4 Jan. 1701: 'This ministry is alerte, and watches narrowly about y^r office. One Ropton tho now in the King's service gives light, as is to be taken care of. He is too intimate wth Cardonnel, this between you and me' (Add. MS. 28907, f. 12).

¹⁶ Five of the elector's letters of this time, in Robethon's hand, are preserved among the papers (Stowe MS. 222). Pauli, in the *Nachrichten von der kön. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen*, 1881, says that he worked chiefly for the electress Sophia.

¹⁷ *Life of Marlborough*, ii. 206, note.

afterwards Colonel Maxwell, and commandant of Celle, where he died in 1750. Robethon's son by her was born $\frac{2}{3}\frac{3}{4}$ Oct. 1704, and was baptised by the names of George William Frederick in the reformed church at Celle on 29 Oct., his sponsors being the duke himself, the Electress Sophia, and Madame de Lescours, a lady of the court.¹⁸

The 'good old' duke died in the autumn of 1705, and the whole of the dominions of Brunswick-Lüneburg passed into the hands of Elector George Louis. The courts of Celle and Hanover were united; the duke's ministers—Bernstorff, Bülow, and Fabricius—joined the elector's privy council, at the head of which was Baron Goertz;¹⁹ and Robethon became confidential secretary to the elector. All the latter's correspondence, preserved among the Robethon papers, is in Robethon's hand. Early in 1709 he received the appointment of 'conseiller privé des ambassades,' an honour which brought no increase of salary, but gave him the rank of colonel, and precedence over the gentlemen of the chamber.²⁰ This advancement would seem to have been the work of the princess royal of Prussia, whom, after her marriage, Madame de Robethon had attended to Berlin, remaining there nearly three years.²¹

Towards the end of 1710 the change of ministry in England obliged the electoral court to devote special attention to the prospects of the succession. The elector himself professed indifference thereto, though he was bitterly opposed to the idea of a peace.²² In this indifference he was abetted by Goertz, who ever since Bernstorff's advent from Celle had opposed him in the council.²³ But Bernstorff and Robethon devoted themselves heart and soul to the cause; and the overtures made by St. John to Robethon having come to nothing,²⁴ they allied themselves closely with the whig party.

The elector's envoy in London, Louis Justus Sinold von Schütz, had died in February 1710. The present situation necessitated the appointment of a successor; and Bothmer being selected, Robethon was chosen to fill his place at the Hague. He proceeded thither in March 1711, and stayed till August. The

¹⁸ Pauli, *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereines für Niedersachsen*, 1883.

¹⁹ Edmund Poley's *Account of the Elector and Princes of the House of Brunswick*, the original at the Record Office, Home Office papers, Regencies 3, a copy in Stowe MSS. 241.

²⁰ Isaac d'Alais, Record Office, *ibid.* 5, 23 Feb. and 17 May 1709.

²¹ Copy of a letter from the princess to her father, strongly recommending Robethon, April 1709 (Stowe MS. 223, f. 215; cp. Creutz's letter, *ibid.* f. 214).

²² Cp. Felix Salomon, *Geschichte des letzten Ministeriums Königin Annas von England*, pp. 62, 122.

²³ Clarendon to Bromley, and Horace Walpole to Etough, in Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, ii. 44, 48. The original of the former is in Stowe MS. 242.

²⁴ See note 42.

whole of his papers relating to this mission have been preserved,²⁵ and their perusal gives an excellent idea of the work of which he was capable: of his astonishing industry, his knowledge of character, and his talent for diplomacy. It is not too much to say that an examination of these papers is indispensable to the historian of this year. Besides Robethon's own lengthy despatches, there are copies of Bothmer's from London, and many extracts from the correspondence of Hanoverian envoys elsewhere. Everything that passed in Europe was discussed at the Hague, and everything that was discussed at the Hague came to the receptive ears of Robethon. Three subjects were specially confided to his attention: (1) The negotiations which, it was known, were secretly in progress between England and France, and, in connection with them, the whole question of the Hanoverian succession; (2) the difficulty which had re-arisen with Prussia respecting Hildesheim and Nordhausen; and (3) the measures to be adopted to carry out the provisions of the Hague Convention of March 1710, for preventing the extension of the northern war into the provinces of the Empire. The Hildesheim affair he succeeded in arranging; but in regard to the other matters the death of the emperor changed the whole situation. In August Russian and Saxon troops marched with permission from Berlin through Prussia into Mecklenburg,²⁶ and a few weeks later Mesnager signed in London the preliminary articles of peace.

For the next three years Robethon was mainly occupied with the question of the succession. The efforts of the tory leaders to obtain a peace with France had brought them under suspicion of favouring James, whose cause the French king had espoused. By every post came frantic appeals from the whigs that the elector should immediately take measures of an active kind—he was even invited to invade England with an army; but, on the other hand, the tories were emphatic in their assurances that in settling the terms of peace they would have nothing more at heart than to secure the protestant succession, and that the elector might have every confidence in the queen's good intentions. In the direction of the electoral policy in this delicate situation Robethon took a conspicuous part. There is not much among his papers for the year 1712, but at the end of that year begins a notable series of despatches addressed by him to Thomas Grote, the new envoy to England. These are in his own hand, and bear his signature or initials. They are very full, and the tone adopted is the authoritative one of a responsible

²⁵ Hanover, Stadtbibliothek, MSS. vols. 94, 95. Spittler has given an account of this mission of Robethon in the *Güttingisches historisches Magazin* for 1787.

²⁶ Augustus of Poland was encamped with the combined army at Strelitz by 25 Aug. The Prince Royal of Prussia and the Markgrave Philip went to see the troops pass, and were splendidly entertained by him (*London Gazette*, Nos. 4884-4890.)

minister. But Grote had not been three months in London when he fell ill and died. This was a misfortune for the Hanoverians, as he had conducted himself in his difficult post with great tact and propriety. Robethon's name was mentioned as a possible successor; ²⁷ he had, indeed, been thought of for the post when Schütz died in 1710. But he would certainly have been unacceptable to the tory leaders, who attributed to him ²⁸ in a great measure that preference of the Hanoverian court for their opponents which could not be concealed. Yet, had he gone, he would no doubt have avoided the errors of the younger Schütz, who, captured by the whigs immediately on his arrival in September 1713, remained their instrument until extinguished by the catastrophe of the following April.

When the elector ascended the English throne, Robethon retained his appointment of secretary of embassies, and the influence which he had enjoyed at Hanover. This is not the place to trace his work in detail. Bernstorff, Bothmer, and he formed, as has been said, a ministry within the ministry, and nothing could be done without their assent. Lord Stair corresponded with Robethon from Paris as with one who controlled the whole range of British politics. Horatio Walpole and Cadogan explained to him their negotiations at the Hague. Dubois and other ministers of foreign powers wrote to him familiarly and directly. Nor did he confine himself to foreign politics, his proper sphere: he was constantly interfering in domestic matters also. This conduct of the Hanoverians could not but excite the anger and jealousy of the English ministers. Stanhope, whose active and far-sighted continental policy suited their aims, and Sunderland, were not so much affected, but Townshend and Walpole complained bitterly. Especially they resented the activity of the one whom they regarded as an upstart.²⁹ We may be sure that the Hanoverians reciprocated the ill-feeling, and that it had much to do with the quarrel which split up the whig ministry at the end of 1716.

After that happened Stanhope and Sunderland worked with

²⁷ Schulenburg to Leibnitz, in Kemble's *State Papers*, p. 512.

²⁸ *E.g.* Swift, *History of the Four Last Years*, Book iv., Scott's ed., v. 352-3; St. John to Thos. Harley, 18 June O.S. 1712, in Bolingbroke's *Despatches*, quoted below.

²⁹ Thus Walpole wrote to Stanhope, 30 July O.S. 1716: 'Robethon's impertinence is so notorious, that we must depend upon it he does all the mischief he possible can; but if the heads can be sett right, such little creatures must come in in course, or may be despis'd.' Townshend on 25 Sept. O.S. 1716 complained of Robethon's interference in Scotch affairs. Stanhope apologised for him (to Townshend, 10 Oct. 1716): 'As for Robethon, you know he is naturally impertinent and busying himself, but at present the man does not certainly mean ill, and tho' he did, I do not think it would be proper to complain to the King of him at this time, I will endeavour to give him some advice, and shall, I believe, prevent him doing any hurt' (Coxe, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, ii. 59, 93, 109). In the House of Commons, Walpole alluded to Robethon as 'a mean fellow, of what nation I cannot tell' (23 Mar. O.S. 1717, Tindal's continuation of Rapin, iv. p. 534, note).

the Hanoverian ministers on a fairly amicable footing until the quadruple alliance had been happily concluded. But then came disputes, the chief of them, according to St. Saphorin, on the alliance with Prussia.³⁰ Bernstorff resisted this, as he had previously obstinately resisted the admission of that power to the triple alliance, in spite of the insistence of the regent and Dubois.³¹ His present opposition cost him his power. Stanhope wrote on 10 July 1719: 'We have . . . at last got a complete victory over the old man.'³² The treaty of alliance with Prussia was signed in August.

This was nearly the end of Robethon's political career, for he had faithfully supported Bernstorff. Bothmer, who opposed them, wrote to St. Saphorin on 15 April 1721, that Robethon had been the chief cause of the schism, but had gained nothing thereby; that he was excluded from all public affairs, chagrin had ruined his health, and his chief friends were dead.³³ He died on 14 April 1722 (Agnew). In the last year of his life he had been appointed governor of the French Hospital on the death of Philibert d'Hervart. He is described in his will³⁴ as 'Privy Councillor of Ambassage of H. B. M. lodging in his palace of St. James.' His wife and son survived him. The latter's guardian was James Robethon, a cousin, residing in Poland Street, St. James's.

The following estimate of Robethon's political position is by Spittler, who examined a portion of his papers in the last century: ³⁵ —

No secretary in Germany ever did work of the value that Robethon did in Hanover and in England; seldom has a man of his position effected under less capable ministers, of his own efforts, so much as Robethon did under the great ministers who served George Louis as elector and as king. In the matter of the English succession he carried on almost single-handed the chief correspondence from Hanover. Without him, as no one who has read Macpherson³⁶ will think too boldly said, Elector George Louis would never have become King George I; perhaps without him the English succession would have cost at least the half of what the Polish crown cost the poor Elector of Saxony.

³⁰ Pauli, *loc. cit.* (note 16).

³¹ Stowe MS. 230; see especially Dubois' long letter to Robethon of 17 July 1717. Writing to Heinsius on 4 June, N.S. 1717, Bernstorff alleged as the reason of his opposition 'le grand projet que l'on avoit en vue pour la pacification de l'Europe' (the plan, that is, which produced the quadruple alliance), and the consequent necessity of doing nothing which might offend the emperor. Dubois wrote on 29 Oct. 1718: 'Je conjure Mr. de Bernstorff de sacrifier ou de dissimuler l'eloignement qu'il peut avoir pour cette liaison' (Stowe MS. 231).

³² Lord Mahon, vol. i. App. p. lxxxiv.

³³ Pauli, *loc. cit.*, p. 433.

³⁴ See note 7. The will is dated St. James's Palace, 19 Feb. O.S. 1722, a codicil 2 March O.S.; it was proved 21 April O.S.'

³⁵ Translated from the *Göttingisches historisches Magazin*, vol. i. 1787, pp. 546-8.

³⁶ Macpherson's *Hanover Papers* are, on the whole, unlike his *Stuart Papers*, to be trusted.

Almost alone also he regulated the measures which George I adopted immediately after his arrival in England, to the astonishment of all politicians, in relation to Anne's ministers. He was Bernstorff's right hand, and Bernstorff was the King's right hand. . . . Yet he was not a man of extraordinary ability: he understood English, could write a good letter in French, was methodical in his official work, punctual in his correspondence, true to the master whom he served, but went no faster than an ordinary man should, was neither bold nor cowardly, and, without knowing it, possessed the fine talent of never reminding Bernstorff either directly or indirectly of how little he could have effected in the most important affairs without him. . . . After the accession he gave the first direction to the King's choice of ministers, and fixed the whole system of English politics. Bernstorff advised only what Robethon thought good, and Robethon never advised what did not at the time recommend itself to Bernstorff.

This high German estimate will not, to any one who has studied the Robethon papers, seem unjustified. Robethon's individual importance, while he was still at Hanover, is shown by the direct and familiar correspondence which he conducted with distinguished men. In the critical years 1710 to 1714 he was the moving spirit of the party in the council at Hanover, which Bernstorff led, and whose policy was to take an active interest in the question of the succession, while discountenancing the extreme and dangerous measures urged by the whig alarmists. Nothing, in fact, was done, either before or after the king's accession, without Robethon's connivance. His opponents testified to his political influence by their hatred and abuse. Here is a specimen from Swift:—

There was likewise at the elector's court a little Frenchman, without any merit or consequence, called Robethon, who by the assistance and encouragement of the last ministry had insinuated himself into some degree of that prince's favour, which he used in giving his master the worst impressions he was able of those whom the queen employed in her service.

One from St. John:—

As little a fellow as Robethon is, I have reason to believe that most of the ill impressions which have been given at that Court, have chiefly come from him; and as I know him to be mercenary, I doubt not but he has found his account in this his management.³⁷

Lord Clarendon wrote: 'Mr. Bernsdorf is governed by Robethon, who is as bad as bad can be.'³⁸ Ker of Kersland, too, whose abuse is praise:

Even Bernstorff himself is led by the Nose in those matters by an ignorant Fellow, called Robatham, who has nothing to recommend him but his own private Interest, Party Rage, and Insolence enough to do too

³⁷ See the references in note 28.

³⁸ Clarendon to Bromley, 15 Aug. 1714, Stowe MS. 242, printed by Coxe, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, ii. 44.

much Mischief at this critical Juncture, upon which all our future Happiness depends.³⁹

And similarly he had enemies at Hanover :—

Ropton est habile, mais ses grandes passions et l'esprit des factions le font quelquefois charier à travers : il est haï et poursuivi du Ministère d'Hannover, excepté de Bernstorff, qui est dans ses intérêts.⁴⁰

The dislike which Robethon inspired in England seems to have been in a great measure personal.⁴¹

That Robethon was faithful to his masters' interests seems clear ; certainly he retained their confidence. But of course it may be doubted whether this fidelity was not due to a knowledge that his own interests were bound up with theirs. Suspicions may be entertained of his behaviour with regard to St. John's overtures in November 1710. He had offered, it seems from D'Hervart's and La Mothe's reports, to conduct a correspondence with St. John. The latter was disposed to view the offer favourably, and hinted that Robethon might hope for the same private advantages from his party that he enjoyed from the whigs. But when St. John put his acceptance in writing, Robethon took care to show the letter to the elector, and declined.⁴² In England, Robethon certainly had a reputation for venality. As we have seen, St. John and Swift believed him to be in the pay of the whigs. That his necessities were great, as Coxe asserts, can hardly be true. He had his regular salary from the king, much increased, no doubt, by perquisites ; and the contents of his will show that his private estate, ' very much diminished by the misfortunes of the South Sea Company,' was in 1722 still considerable, including a capital sum of 3,000*l* saved for him, presumably out of his father's estate, by the care of his brother James, and an annuity ' upon the public funds of the Generality in Holland,' worth 66*l*. a year. His wife, too, had a pension of five crowns a week from Hanover. But that he did make money out of his influence with the king is established by Lady Cowper :—

This day Monsieur Robethon procured the grant of the King of Clerk of the Parliament, after Mr. Johnson's death, for anybody he would name. He let my brother Cowper have it in reversion after Mr. Johnson for his two sons for 1,800*l*.⁴³

³⁹ To Leibnitz, Hanover, 25 Aug. 1714, in Ker's *Memoirs* ; see also *ibid.* p. 103.

⁴⁰ Schulenburg to Leibnitz, 12 July 1714, *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereines für Niedersachsen*, 1852, translated by Kemble in his *State Papers*, p. 512.

⁴¹ Cp. Lady Cowper's *Diary*, 2 Apr. 1716.

⁴² See the correspondence in Macpherson, ii. 199-204, 242, from Stowe MSS. 223-4. Swift will have it that St. John's offer came too late. ' A delay in conveying a very inconsiderable sum to a very inconsiderable French vagrant gave the opportunity to more industrious party of corrupting that channel ' (*An Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry*, book v., Scott's ed. vi. 59). Cp. Klopp, *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart*, xiv. 11 foll.

⁴³ *Diary*, 25 Dec. 1714.

And in July 1716 she makes notes of negotiations to gain over Robethon to the Prince of Wales's side by a pension of 300*l.* But, after all, few politicians of the time followed the example of Stanhope and Townshend.

Robethon was the author of a number of political pamphlets, copies of which, or of some of which, are preserved among his papers. He also attempted verse; for instance, an 'Elogue' on the death of the Queen of Prussia.⁴⁴ Perhaps in the cultivated atmosphere of the electress's court he could not help this.

II

The great mass of papers which Robethon left behind him is now divided into three, or perhaps four, parts.⁴⁵ The large majority of them are originals. This fact, and their confidential character, render them of first-class importance. Any account of them to be given here must be of the briefest possible nature.

(a) The largest division was sold, according to an account which must be by Thomas Astle,⁴⁶ about the year 1752 among the effects of Colonel Robethon, the secretary's son. They were bought by Matthew Duane, who gave James Macpherson the opportunity to make the copious extracts and translations which appear in the Hanover division of his 'Original Papers.' From Duane they passed successively to Michael Bray, Thomas Astle, the duke of Buckingham, and Lord Ashburnham; and they have now found a resting-place at the British Museum, where they fill volumes 222 to 232 of the Stowe MSS., and are known as the 'Hanoverian State Papers.' They have been conveniently arranged in a chronological order and calendared.⁴⁷ When at Stowe the collection was transcribed under the direction of Dr. Charles O'Connor, the duke of Buckingham's librarian.⁴⁸ The transcript has little pretence to exactness. It occupies volumes 234 to 240 of the Stowe MSS. A thin volume

⁴⁴ Poley to Stepney, 2 April 1705, Add. MS. 7072, f. 111. Dubois refers to a poem of Robethon's, 13 June 1717, Stowe MS. 230, f. 143.

⁴⁵ Colonel Maxwell, in his letter alluded to below (note 56), expresses the belief that some of Robethon's papers were handed over at his death to President Hardenberg in London. Whether these are identical with one of the three divisions here described, or form a fourth portion, I have not discovered. There is, further, much of Robethon's writing among the State Archives at Hanover.

⁴⁶ Stowe MS. 233. The hand resembles Astle's, but is thought to be not his. But the writer says, 'I offered Mr. Bray a considerable sum for the papers, which he would not accept, but after his decease I purchased them.' And it was Astle who did this.

⁴⁷ For further particulars, and for an account of the original arrangement of the papers in ten volumes, see the *Stowe Sale Catalogue* of 1849, pp. 96-98, the *British Museum Catalogue of the Stowe MSS.* i. pp. iii, 287, and the *ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW*, i. 756, in a notice by Mr. P. M. Thornton. This last, it must be remarked, contains several errors.

⁴⁸ The *Bibliotheca MSS. Stowensis* of this author is, as regards these papers, a marvel of inaccuracy.

(233) contains the account by Astle alluded to above, with an attempt at an index. Astle also added the two volumes of transcripts 241 and 242. These are interspersed with a number of other papers, and are entitled 'Astle's Collections for English History.'

The following is only a list of the more important papers of this division.

In 1695 there are copies of correspondence which passed between Louis XIV and Marshal Boufflers defending Namur.

Drafts by Robethon for despatches of William III to German princes and generals are numerous in the years 1701-2. In a very interesting letter of 28 Feb. 1699, William gives most wise advice to Queen Christine of Poland on the conduct she should observe in relation to her husband's change of religion.

The correspondence of the elector of Hanover and of the electoral prince and princess, 1705 to 1713, amounts in all to some 235 numbers. Included are three original letters from Queen Anne,⁴⁹ about thirty from Marlborough, a goodly number from other English noblemen and statesmen, who assured the elector of their devotion, a holograph letter from Stanislaus Leszczyński, six from the Jesuit father Vota, and many others. Among the English correspondents are Sir Rowland Gwynne and Dr. John Hutton, the queen's physician. The elector's letters are drafts by Robethon. Nearly the whole of the English portion of this correspondence appears in Macpherson.

The correspondence of the Electress Sophia, 1706 to 1714, comprises a variety of curious and interesting letters. A great deal of this also has been reproduced by Macpherson. It includes a long correspondence with the earl of Strafford, whose long-winded and garrulous scribbles contrast strongly with the electress's pithy and well-turned replies. Most of the earl's letters discuss the proceedings at Utrecht, in which he was a principal: the first is a long account of a tour made in Italy in 1709, under the name of Mr. Yorke, when he was supposed to be taking the waters at Carlsbad. Among other letters are one of 20 May 1713, from James Macky, describing a portrait of James I left at Mons by the elector of Bavaria, and the original of Dr. Hugh Chamberlen's well-known account of what he knew about the birth of James prince of Wales.

Marlborough is well represented by original letters to the elector and to Robethon. Most have been printed by Macpherson, Lediard, Coxe, or Murray. A document of particular interest explains the plan concerted with Prince Eugene in June 1711 for keeping the cavalry on the frontier during the ensuing winter, so as to be beforehand with the French in opening the campaign. The

⁴⁹ A fourth letter, of 20 April 1706, is not now among the papers. There is a transcript of it in Stowe MS. 241, and Macpherson prints it (ii. 38).

plan was never carried out, partly owing to Marlborough's own subsequent success, and partly through the lukewarmness of the British and Dutch governments.⁵⁰

Other important letters to Robethon in the years 1702 to 1712 are too numerous to particularise. Several are from British envoys at foreign courts. Five originals of 1704 from Prince Eugène, the imperial ambassador at Frankfort Loewenstein, and a certain Neust, relate to the deciphering of intercepted letters, for which special facilities seem to have existed in the chanceries of Celle and Hanover. Letters from the influential Count Wratislaw are spread over the years 1705 to 1711. Another notable correspondent was the celebrated composer and diplomatist, Agostino Steffani, named in 1706 bishop of Spiga.⁵¹

A series of lengthy epistles from Robethon's uncle, Claude Grosteste de la Mothe, have for their chief subject the declaration of the university of Helmstedt in favour of the change of religion of Elizabeth Christine of Wolfenbüttel, preparatory to her marriage with the Archduke Charles. The affair created a great stir in England, and the Archbishop of Canterbury took active measures. La Mothe also has a good deal to say about the projected union of the various protestant churches.

Lord Stair, in March to May 1710, describes everything appertaining to his mission to Warsaw. Charles Whitworth relates his experiences in this year at Moscow. News from Turkey, full of authentic and interesting particulars, came in 1711 from Captain James Jefferyes, accredited to Charles XII, and from Frederick Ernest de Fabrice,⁵² who had in 1709, before Pultava, sent Robethon news from Poland.

Despatches of the Hanoverian ministers in London and at the Hague in 1713-1714 fill the greater part of three whole volumes. Besides those to Thomas Grote before mentioned, there are an enormous number from the younger Schütz, and more than a hundred from Bothmer, in their own hands. Others are from the inferior officials, Kreyenberg and Gaetke, from the Dutch resident, L'Hermitage, and one or two from Sunderland.

A series of letters came to Bothmer from George Ridpath in 1713-1714. With them is the MS. of one of his pamphlets, 'The New Project Examin'd.'

⁵⁰ The plan seems to be unknown to historians. Allusions to it have been misunderstood by the editors of Marlborough's and Bolingbroke's despatches—Sir G. Murray and Gilbert Parke.

⁵¹ For the real facts of his biography see the *Yercinschriften* of the Görresgesellschaft of Bonn for 1885-6. The dictionaries differ sadly.

⁵² Second son of the Hanoverian minister, Weipart Louis Fabricius. His letters to his employer, the administrator of Holstein-Gottorp, and his minister Goertz, were printed in 1760, under the title *Anecdotes du séjour du Roi de Suède à Bender*.

Other series are from St. Saphorin⁵³ in Switzerland; from Nicholas Clignet,⁵⁴ postmaster at Leyden, and his nephew, De Neufville; and from Martines, the elector's secret agent in Paris; all in 1714 and the following years.

The congratulatory letters after Queen Anne's death include four, very humble and apologetic, from Strafford. The chief correspondent from Hanover, after the court had left, is the privy councillor Baron Elst. There is also a series in the autumn from Arent Baron Wassenaer van Duvenvoorde.

Captain Jefferyes's despatches recommence in 1714 from Adrianople, and are continued in 1715 from Stralsund. They contain very interesting information with regard to Charles XII.

In relation to the Jacobite rebellion there are four anonymous letters from Preston in July 1715; others from Scotland, from Charles du Bourgay at Stirling, F. Sandos, attached to Cadogan, Sir Peter Fraser of Durris, Cadogan himself, and Lord Rothes;⁵⁵ and from Ireland from Sir Gustavus Hume and Clotworthy Upton, M.P.s, Charles de la Faye, and Lord Galway. Two are from Ker of Kersland; and a very interesting one from a minister at the Hague named Saurin relates the experiences and escape of Bulkeley, the duke of Berwick's brother-in-law, and of Lord Tynemouth.

In a remarkable letter to Bernstorff of 1 Aug. O.S. 1716, Barrington Shute desires to be relieved of his commission to conciliate the nonconformists.

In the latter half of 1716 there are despatches of Bothmer and others from London, and important ones of Horatio Walpole, Cadogan, and the resident Klinggraeff from the Hague. The chief subjects of the latter division are the negotiations for the barrier treaty and the triple alliance. There is also much correspondence in this and the following years with reference to the proceedings of Peter the Great and Charles XII.

Dirck Wolters, a merchant of Rotterdam, reveals in the autumn of 1716 a remarkable plan concocted by Goertz for the rehabilitation of the shattered finances of Sweden.

In April 1717, L'Hermitage, going home for change of air, undertook a secret mission from Bernstorff to sound the leading Dutch statesmen on measures to be concerted against Sweden, and on other points. He details his negotiations fully.

⁵³ Francis Louis de Pesmes de St. Saphorin, afterwards envoy of George I at Vienna. 'Peu de Suisses ont fourni une aussi brillante carrière' (*Biographie Universelle*, art. 'Pesmes'; see also Pauli in the *Nachrichten*, below, for 1889, pp. 267-8).

⁵⁴ 'Le plus habile, le plus entendu et le plus expert dans ces sortes de choses, et le plus zélé' (Heinsius, reported by L'Hermitage, Stowe MS. 230, f. 88.) Clignet was one of Robethon's chief intermediaries for the secret transmission of despatches.

⁵⁵ Four unsigned copies of July and Aug. 1716, or some of them, would seem to be from Lord Rothes's despatches.

Thoyras Rapin gives in May 1717 a long account of the progress and scope of his 'History of England.'

In March 1715 begins, and continues to November 1719, a series of 150 letters from the earl of Stair at Paris. These, dealing in the most confidential manner with the most confidential matters, are of the highest possible importance. They are supplemented in July 1718 by some from Luke Schaub, secretary to Lord Stanhope; and closely connected are nineteen letters from Dubois, 1717 to 1719, a correspondence of which Stair was not informed. The progress of the negotiations for the quadruple alliance is very closely detailed.

There is much in Martines's letters of 1718-19 about the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, from whom he had now credentials, and the Rheinfels difficulty.

Volume 232 contains a mass of intercepted Jacobite correspondence of the years 1717 to 1719, mostly translations, deciphers, &c., in Robethon's hand. The chief writer is Sir Hugh Paterson.

Interspersed through the volumes are a variety of political and other documents, and pamphlets printed or in manuscript: the printed ones particularly in volume 231. Also several copies of verses.

(b) A second portion of the Robethon papers is in the Stadtbibliothek at Hanover. When Spittler examined these in the last century there were eight volumes—seven quartos and a folio—but one of the quartos is now missing. These volumes came into the possession of Colonel Maxwell, Robethon's stepson; he sent them in 1743 to De Reiche, chamberlain at Hanover,⁶⁶ from whose family they came as a legacy to the Stadtbibliothek in 1777.

The first three volumes of this collection contain a diary which Robethon kept in the years 1694-97. A fourth volume, now missing, had his account of Portland's embassy at Paris in 1698.⁶⁷ The diary opens with a full copy of proposals for peace, dated London, 19 Dec. O.S. 1693, presented on behalf of Louis XIV by Scheele, the Danish envoy. It continues with particulars of further negotiations for peace, of the state of affairs on the continent, of the course of English politics, and of military and naval movements and 'orders of battle,' up to July 1697. Interspersed are a large number of news-letters from Paris, Vienna, and elsewhere. There are, further, at the end, a series of forty-four letters from H. Kotzebue at the Hague to Robethon's

⁶⁶ Letter from Maxwell, 'Lünebourg ce 4^e May 1743,' prefixed to Vol. 93.

⁶⁷ Can this be the Paris MS. journal used by Grimblot for his *Letters of William III and of Louis XIV*, and by Dr. Schotel in his folio work printed for the London Exhibition of 1851?

master, Baron Schütz, and ten reports thence in German. These give valuable particulars of the peace negotiations conducted by Caillières and at Ryswyk.

Volume 96 is a thick quarto filled with letters to Robethon, which would be in their proper place among those at the British Museum. The writers are Palmquist, Swedish envoy at Paris; Klinggræff, Hanoverian resident at the Hague; the famous George Henry Goertz; Lord Raby (Berlin); Count Auersperg (Vienna); and the agent Martines. A budget of letters from Robethon's wife from Berlin has been cut out.

Volumes 94 and 95 relate solely to Robethon's mission to the Hague in 1711, of which mention has been made. The former contains the original instructions and credentials and electoral rescripts. The latter has the important correspondence.

Lastly, Volume 93 contains a miscellaneous collection of tracts, some eight of which are by Robethon.

(c) A third collection is in the possession of the 'Historischer Verein für Niedersachsen' at Hanover.⁵⁸ These papers were sorted and arranged in separate covers by the late Dr. Pauli, and many of them have been printed by him or by Onno Klopp. They are in four divisions.

In the first are papers relating to the mission of Lord Rivers to Hanover in 1710, to the preliminary negotiations for peace, and to the missions of Grote, Schütz, and Bothmer in 1713-14. Robethon's 'Raisonnement touchant l'invitation du successeur,' 1 Oct. 1705, is accompanied by remarks from the elder Schütz. Another document is the 'Raisonnement des Whigs pour justifier la revolution,' November 1710. Other papers have reference to the affair of the duchess of Gordon's medal. There are four lengthy despatches from Kreyenberg in June 1713, treating of all the topics of the time. Last comes a collection of papers on the 'Vieux et nouveaux Instruments concernant une Regence,' the latter required in consequence of the Electress Sophia's death.

Among the papers in the second division are a number of forms of appointment to the great offices of state. That for Marlborough to be captain-general is an original commission, with the elector's autograph and seal, dated $\frac{6}{17}$ Aug. 1714; others are drafts, some bearing initials of the elector and certain privy councillors.

The third division contains a number of interesting documents and pamphlets. First come original papers concerning Roger Acherley's proposal to establish a member of the electoral family in England.⁵⁹ An immense letter of six pages folio is from George

⁵⁸ The opportunity to examine these was very kindly afforded by Dr. Adolf Köcher.

⁵⁹ J. M. Kemble wrote from these papers an article for the *Zeitschrift des hist. Vereines für Niedersachsen* for 1852, and has much on the subject in his *State Papers*.

Ridpath, on Scotch affairs; and there is a pamphlet of his, 'Some Humble Thoughts about the Succession.' The contents of another pamphlet without title, name, or date, suggest Ker of Kersland as the author. A third is Robethon's answer to 'English Advice to the Freeholders.' A memorial on the affairs of the Dutch Republic is from St. Saphorin, under cover of 2 Jan. 1714.

Lastly, a fourth cover contains some copies of accounts and lists of the household at Hampton Court in 1717-18-22-28, and some remarks, attributed to Robethon, but not in his handwriting, on the treaties of Ryswyk and Utrecht.

A paper on the Stadtbibliothek collection appeared in the 'Göttingisches historisches Magazin' for 1787, from the pen of its editor, Spittler. It has been already referred to.

Dr. Pauli has published three articles, two in the 'Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen' for 1881, and one in the 'Zeitschrift des historischen Vereines für Niedersachsen' for 1883. The first is concerned with Robethon's correspondence in the State Archives. Pauli knows enough of him thence to call him 'die Seele der diplomatischen Kanzlei.' In the other two he draws from the two collections here described, and gives many interesting particulars about Robethon. A good many of the papers of the 'Historischer Verein' he prints.

Onno Klopp, too, has examined the latter, and has printed many of the pieces in the appendices to vols. 13 and 14 of his great work, 'Der Fall des Hauses Stuart.'

J. F. CHANCE.

Acherley, an English barrister, had reopened the question in correspondence with Leibnitz in Aug. 1712; see Acherley's *Free Parliaments*, pp. 205, foll. On the whole subject of the 'invitation to the successor,' see the work of Felix Salomon before referred to (note 22), pp. 90, 173, 224.

Notes and Documents

THE DATE OF KING ALFRED'S DEATH.

MODERN writers assign the death of the great West-Saxon king to 26 Oct. 901. The principal authority for this is the Parker MS. (A) of the Old-English Chronicle, which seems to have been written at Winchester, where the king was buried. It states under 901 that Alfred died six nights before All Saints' Day—that is, on 26 Oct. In this it is supported by two other manuscripts of the Chronicle¹ (B and C), whilst three others give the same date in the terms of the Roman calendar (7 Kal. Novemb.) The evidence for the day of the month is very complete, for the king's death is entered under this date in a probably contemporary hand in the Junius calendar,² and in a slightly later hand in the so-called 'Psalter of King Æthelstan.'³ It is also given under the same date in two eleventh-century calendars, one of which dates from the early part of the century,⁴ the other being somewhat later.⁵ Moreover, four manuscripts of the Chronicle (A, B, C, D) record that King Æthelstan's death on 27 Oct. (6 Kal. Nov.) 940 was forty years all but a day (*sic*) later than Alfred's death.⁶

The question of the *year* of Alfred's death is, however, involved in uncertainties. The Parker MS., followed by B, C, D, E, states that King Æthelred, Alfred's predecessor, died after Easter 871.

¹ The Canterbury MS. (B) cannot be cited for chronological purposes, since the year numbers from 652 to 915 are 'supplied in a modern hand' (Thorpe's edition, i. 190, note). It is here quoted, for what it is worth, in order to include all the manuscripts in our survey.

² Junius MS. 27, in the Bodleian: 'vii. Kal. Nō. Aelfred rex obiit.' Wanley (*Catalogus*, p. 76) ascribed this calendar to the reign of Æthelstan. This calendar is described by Westwood, *Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria*, pl. 41, fig. 3, and *Facsimiles of Miniatures of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.* p. 100; Ferdinand Piper, *Die Kalendarien und Martyrologien der Angelsachsen* (Berlin, 1862), p. 68.

³ Cotton. Galba, A. XVIII. See R. T. Hampson, *Medii Aevi Calendarium*, 1841, i. 395, 416; Piper, p. 48; Westwood, *Palaeographia*, p. 22, *Facsimiles*, p. 96.

⁴ Cott. Titus, D. XXVII; Hampson, i. 444; Birch, *Trans. Royal Soc. of Literature*, xi. 496, and *Liber Vitae* of Hyde, p. 272; Piper, p. 104; Westwood, *Facs.* p. 123.

⁵ Cott. Tiberius, B. V; Hampson, i. 395, 416; Piper, p. 48.

⁶ Æthelwerd (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 519, A) states that Alfred died on the *seventh* day before All Saints' Day, probably by a corruption of the (lost) manuscript. The evidence adduced above renders it unnecessary to consider Lappenberg and Pauli's conclusion that Alfred died on 28 Oct. See Piper, p. 48, note 3. Winkelmann (*Geschichte der Angelsachsen*, Berlin, 1883, p. 182) was not aware of Piper's exposure of this error.

In that year Easter fell on 15 April.⁷ Under 901 we are told by all the manuscripts of the Chronicle that Alfred reigned $28\frac{1}{2}$ years.⁸ If we add this period, also given by later writers, to 15 April 871, we reach October 899 as the date of his death. This is, strange to say, the year given by the Northumbrian annals represented by Simeon of Durham and Roger of Howden.⁹ As these annals are at this period little more than reproductions of the Worcester chronicle or of Florence of Worcester, we cannot ascribe to them the superiority in chronological accuracy over the West-Saxon annals vindicated for them at an earlier period by the bishop of Oxford.¹⁰ But it would seem that the Northumbrian compilers in continuing the ancient Northumbrian annals had before them a copy of the Chronicle or some independent source¹¹ in which Alfred's death was assigned to 899 and not to 901. The former date is given three times by Simeon, and in one case it is a deliberate correction of Florence's date. Other indications point to the same date. Eardwulf, bishop of Chester-le-Street, died, according to Simeon, in 899,¹² and the 'Historia de Sancto Cuthberto,' which probably represents a late tenth or early eleventh century compilation, says that Alfred and Eardwulf died at the same time.¹³ Florence, who ascribes Alfred's death to 901, enters Eardwulf's death under 900. But he places in the same year the death of Bishop Heahstan or Ealhstan of London, whose death is entered under 898 in the Parker and three other manuscripts of the Chronicle. We cannot, in the face of these difficulties, correct the Northumbrian date of Eardwulf's death, and consequently of Alfred's death, to 900 or 901, in order to bring about an agreement with Florence. Thus we have one set of authorities that places Alfred's death in 899.

⁷ It might seem at first sight that Æthelred's death is recorded in Ælfsin's calendar (Titus, D. XXVII) under 9 Kal. May (=23 April), but this is the obit of Æthelred the Unready, who died in 1016 (Chron. C, D, E), as has been recognised by Piper, p. 104, note. Florence, ed. Thorpe, ii. 85, records that the earlier Æthelred was buried at Wimborne on 23 April 871. The date 871 for his death is evidently correct, for it is given by the Lindisfarne Annals (Pertz, *Scriptores*, xix. 506), Asser Æthelwerd, Simeon, and Florence.

⁸ Florence of Worcester's statement (ed. Thorpe, i. 116) that Alfred reigned $29\frac{1}{2}$ years has, no doubt, arisen from overlooking the word 'oðrum' in the passage 'he heold þæt rice oþrum healfum læs þe xxx. wintra.' The omission of this word would make the passage mean $28\frac{1}{2}$ instead of $29\frac{1}{2}$ years, since 'oðrum healfum' corresponds to the German 'anderthalb.' Florence's error has been copied by Howden.

⁹ Simeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, ii. 92, 120, *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, i. 71; Roger of Howden, i. 50. Simeon at ii. 120 copies unthinkingly Florence's indiction for 901, but this is no reason for rejecting his date with Lappenberg. The indiction seems to have been calculated by Florence.

¹⁰ Roger of Howden, i., p. xc.

¹¹ The source was, no doubt, the original of the Lindisfarne Annals. Pertz's text places Alfred's death in 899.

¹² ii. 92, 121. This date also appears in the Lindisfarne Annals, p. 506.

¹³ Cap. 21, ed. Arnold, i. 208. Simeon, *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.* c. 16 (i. 72), states definitely that Eardwulf died in the same year as Alfred.

Another set places his death in 900. As we have seen, four manuscripts of the Chronicle state that Æthelstan's death on 27 Oct. 940 was forty years less one day from the time of Alfred's death, so that they assume that the latter king died on 28 Oct. 900. But we cannot attach much importance to this evidence, as in the Parker MS. the year has been altered from 941, and the interval reduced from forty-one years. None of the manuscripts of the Chronicle can be trusted for the chronology of this period. The tenth-century manuscript of the 'Annales Cambriae' records Alfred's death in 900,¹⁴ and Æthelwerd, who was born within a generation or so of this year, also places his death in 900.¹⁵ There are also two charters coming from a highly suspicious source, the twelfth-century 'Codex Wintoniensis,' in which Alfred's death is assigned to this year.¹⁶ It is very remarkable that this evidence comes, like the Parker MS., from Winchester, where Alfred was buried, and that the date is not derived from the Parker MS.

Great respect has naturally been paid to the statements of the Parker MS., because it is the only one of the manuscripts of the Chronicle that can claim to go back to Alfred's time. It has even been regarded as the original manuscript of the Chronicle, but it is clear that it is copied from an older text, for better readings, derived evidently from the archetype, are occasionally preserved in the later manuscripts.¹⁷ The first hand of the Parker MS. ends in 891, which is apparently the date of the writing, for the scribe entered in the margin at the foot of the page the date of the following year (*An. DCCC. XCII.*), leaving a blank for the insertion of the events of that year. Another scribe, overlooking or ignoring the entry of the date of 892, continued the annals of 891 by adding overleaf a notice of the comet, commencing with the words 'ond þy ilcan gear ofer Eastron' (=and in the same year after Easter).

¹⁴ Ed. Phillimore, *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 167.

¹⁵ *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, 519 A. The calculation is, like many of this writer's dates, somewhat uncertain. But he tells us (519 B) that Edward the Elder was crowned on Whitsunday (8 June), a hundred years after Egberht's accession, and that this was nine hundred years from the Incarnation. This would necessarily place Alfred's death in October 899.

¹⁶ Birch, *Cart. Saxon.* ii. 235: 'Haec autem cartula in Wintonia civitate scripta est, anno dominicae [Incarnationis] DCCCC, quo anno et Ælfred rex defunctus est, Indictione III.' *Ibid.* ii. 241, 243: 'Anno autem dominicae Incarnationis DCCCC, Indictione III, quando rex obiit et Eadward rex filius suus regnum suscepit.' Mr. Birch has, as the present article will show, needlessly altered the date to 901. As frequently happens, these apparent blunders in copies of charters are presumptive evidence in favour of their authenticity. It is, however, difficult to believe that the two charters last cited are genuine.

¹⁷ E. Grubitz, *Kritische Untersuchung über die ags. Annalen*, Göttingen, 1868, p. 6 sqq.; M. Kupferschmidt, 'Ueber das Handschriftenverhältniss der Winchester Annalen,' in *Englische Studien*, xiii. 165; Karl Horst, *Zur Kritik der altenglischen Annalen* (Darmstadt, 1896), p. 25 sqq., and 'Beiträge zur Kenntniss der altenglischen Annalen,' in *Englische Studien*, xxiv. 10.

The comet thus recorded is that of 891,¹⁸ and manuscripts B, C, and D have no new year-date before it, assigning it with the other events of 891 in the Parker MS. to 892. The presence in the latter manuscript of the unerased marginal date of 892 before the passage just quoted has had a disastrous effect upon the chronology of the next portion of the manuscript. The events of 892 were added after the passage about the comet, and that date was written in the margin, thus producing two marginal dates of 892. Noticing this, another scribe solved the difficulty by boldly altering the second 892 to 893, increasing the year numbers by one until 924, when the early tenth-century scribes who continued the annals from 891 ceased writing. Manuscript B gives the blank date 892 after the account of the comet, which it ascribes to 891, not 892, as the Parker MS. inadvertently does. Manuscripts B, C, and D give under 893 the events that appear in the Parker MS. under 893 (altered from 892) whilst E and F enter them in 892. The latter two manuscripts are supported in their date by the continental chronicles, for the march of the Northmen to Boulogne recorded by both groups of manuscripts took place in the autumn of 892.¹⁹ We lose the guidance of E and F between 892 and 901, when they agree with the other manuscripts in recording Alfred's death. It might be held that the dates of the other group of manuscripts are a year in advance of the real dates after 892 or 893, especially as the arrival of the Northmen in the Seine, which is given under 897, occurred in 896 according to the continental writers.²⁰ But the foreign events from 878 are also recorded a year later than their true date,²¹ and therefore if another year had been added in 892 they would thereafter be recorded two years after the real date. In 890 and 891, however, some of the foreign events are correctly dated, and some of the other discrepancies are probably to be ascribed to the lapse of time before the news reached England, or to the chronicler narrating a chain of events under one year, although some of them may have happened before or after the year in question. This striving after continuity of narrative has been one of the most fruitful causes of chronological mistakes in our later chroniclers.

Whether another great cause of chronological discrepancies, the unsettled customs as to the commencement of the year, has also been at work, it is hard to decide. It is clear that at a later

¹⁸ The comet of 891, which Pingre thought was the comet of 1661, is recorded in China as being seen in the fourteenth moon, which commenced about 11 May; Pingre, *Cométographie, ou Traité Historique et Théorique des Comètes* (Paris, 1783), i. 350. The Chronicle records its appearance as 'about Rogations or before,' i.e. on or before 10, 11, or 12 May. Pingre thinks that the place of the comet of 892 does not permit of its being confounded with that of 891.

¹⁹ E. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, ii. 351; Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, ii. 281.

²⁰ Dümmler, ii. 434; Steenstrup, ii. 282.

²¹ This has been already pointed out by Steenstrup, ii. 74.

time the Old English year began on 25 Dec.²² At an earlier period Beda speaks of this English custom of commencing the year on this day as having fallen into desuetude.²³ When this ancient popular system again came into general use we do not know, and we are ignorant of the custom in use in Alfred's time. In reading the chronicle of his time we come across several instances where the first events recorded in a given year happened late in the autumn or in October or November. In the continental events it may be urged that, assuming that the year commenced on 25 Dec., the events are entered in the year, although they occurred before Christmas, because the news did not reach England until after that day. But this does not explain why the death of Karlman on 12 Dec. 884²⁴ should be recorded in 885 (=884) as occurring 'in this same year before mid-winter,' or why in 893 (=892) the march of the Northmen to Boulogne, in the autumn of 892,²⁵ should be the first event recorded in the year, or why in 896 the events in the summer in England precede those of the winter, since if the year began on 25 Dec. the events of the summer should have been assigned to the previous year. These instances would follow in the order given in the Chronicle in a year beginning 25 March, which would have been the proper commencement in the era of the Incarnation.²⁶ If the year commenced on 25 March preceding

²² Thus Ælfric's *Homilies*, composed shortly before the year 1000, commence with 25 Dec.; cf. Piper, p. 89. So also the poetical *Menologium* begins at Christmas. Byrhtferth, in his *Handboc* (ed. Kluge, *Anglia*, viii. 305, 27), mentions January first of the months, because it is the beginning and ending of the year; but this is, no doubt, from the point of view of the church calendar.

²³ *De Temporum Ratione*, c. 15: 'Antiqui Anglorum populi . . . incipiebant autem annum ab octavo Calendarum Ianuariarum die, ubi nunc natale Domini celebramus.' In his computistic work (cf. cc. 18, 20, 22) Beda commences the year, after the Roman fashion (c. 26), on 1 Jan. But this was the scientific usage, and in dealing with the literature of the computists he could hardly do otherwise than fall in with the scientific practice of his day. Similarly his description of March as the first month is in accordance with the Hebrew year, and cannot be cited to prove that he commenced the year in that month. Cf. Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, ii. 227, 325.

²⁴ Dümmler, ii. 223.

²⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 351; Steenstrup, ii. 281.

²⁶ That is, if the *Incarnatio*, *σάρκωσις*, referred, as it clearly did in early times, to the Annunciation (Heinrich Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, Leipzig, 1880, 1885, i. 47, ii. 243, 249). When in later times it was applied to the Nativity (*ἐνανθρώπησις*), the commencement of the year must have been logically put back nine months; so that the *Calculus Pisanus*, which identified the Incarnation with the Annunciation, was correct in beginning the year nine months and seven days before our commencement. The *Calculus Florentinus*, which also began with the Annunciation, commenced its year two months and twenty-five days later than our commencement. This, although the most illogical system, was by far the most common. It is unfortunate that we do not know which system Beda or his great exemplar Dionysius Exiguus followed. The latter probably used the Pisan system. The computist who in 616 continued the cycles of Dionysius says that Dionysius commenced from the Incarnation in the year 532, indiction 10 (J. Guil. Jani, *Historia Cycli Dionysiani*, Vitembergae, 1718, 4to, p. 50, note f; Muratori, *Anecdota*, iii. 169).

25 Dec., and not on 25 March following that date, we should have an easy explanation of the annals being in so many cases a year in advance of the real date, since nine months of the year would, according to our system, be pre-dated one year. This would enable us to correct the date of Alfred's death to 26 Oct. 900, and there would remain the possibility of the error of a year, caused by the double date in 892, thus bringing the year of his death to 899. The evidence at our disposal does not enable us to affirm such changes or to disprove their possibility. We can, however, state that the chronology of this portion of the Parker MS. is far from being trustworthy, and we need not hesitate to set it aside upon good contemporary evidence.

Whether or not the preceding speculations account for an error of two years in the Chronicle as to King Alfred's death, it seems clear from the manuscript that I print below that his death did occur in 899 and not in 901. The Cottonian MS. *Vespasian D. XIV. fo. 223 verso (olim 220 verso)* contains the following *computus* for finding the year of the Incarnation. Although it is in Latin it is written in O.E. letters, which shows that it cannot be later than the early part of the tenth century, for after about 950 English scribes used a form of the Caroline minuscule in writing Latin. Consequently, when it states that the 'present year' is 912, we may conclude that it was written in that year, a date with which the handwriting and the title *Saxonum rex* agree. The writer has ignorantly applied the rule or 'argumentum,' which is derived from Beda,²⁷ who adopted it from Dionysius Exiguus,²⁸ so that the figures cannot be made to work out correctly.²⁹ There are several marks on the parchment that may be erasures, but are probably

²⁷ *De Temporibus*, c. 14, written in 703. It is copied unchanged into 'Athelstan's Psalter' (MS. Galba, A. XVIII) and Julius, A. XVI; Hampson, i. 394. The latter (ii. 207) quotes the rule with the same date from Beda's *Canones Lunares*, meaning the *Canones Lunarium Decennovenalium Circulorum*, printed in Beda's *Opera* (Cologne, 1688), i. 321. This is not a work of Beda's, but is a 'farrago' of various computists, many of whom lived after Beda's time; [Van den Hagen,] *Observationes in . . . Prologas et Epistolas Paschales* (Amsterdam, 1734), pp. 205, 210. Other examples of the rule are given by this author, pp. 205, 206.

²⁸ Van den Hagen, pp. 207, 261. It occurs, with the reckoning of the year 522, at foll. 8 d, 72 d, of the invaluable Digby MS. 63, a ninth-century manuscript that preserves the Paschal tables and other works of Dionysius.

²⁹ It is easy to see how he went wrong. By adding 3 to 912 and dividing by 15 he obtained 61 as the number of indictional cycles. When the indictions were continued backwards to the birth of Christ, it was found that that event occurred in the fourth year of a cycle, so that an indiction cycle ended in 12 A.D. These twelve years were allowed for by adding the 12 'regulares,' and therefore to count the cycle from B.C. 3 to 12 A.D., as the Vespasian scribe has done, was to count this cycle twice; cf. Van den Hagen, p. 207. The years of the incompleting cycles were added to the sum according to the rule, but the year 912 was indiction 15. The scribe reckoned this as a completed cycle, and then added the indiction number of 15, thus counting the cycle twice. By thus reducing the number of cycles to 59 the 'computus' works out correctly 912.

merely natural rubbings of the page, which is the last one in the volume. But the figures that concern us—namely, that ‘the present year’ is the thirteenth year of the reign of Edward, king of the Saxons, and that it is the year of the Incarnation 912—have no signs of abrading, either accidental or intentional. We have, therefore, practically contemporary evidence that Alfred died in 899. According to Æthelwerd, Edward was crowned on Whitsunday 900, in which year it fell on 8 June. If his regnal years were reckoned from that date, as seems probable, his thirteenth year extended from 8 June 912 to 7 June 913. The *computus* was therefore probably written between 8 June 912 and the commencement, whenever it was, of the following year.³⁰ The indiction given is that of 912, so that we cannot assume a mistake in the year. As the length of Alfred’s reign added, as we have seen, to the date of his predecessor’s death also refers his death to October 899, we need not consider the possibility of there being a mistake in the regnal year given in this *computus*. We cannot possibly assume that the ‘XIII’ is a mistake for ‘X’ or ‘XI,’ which would be required to harmonise Edward’s accession with the placing of Alfred’s death in 901. Therefore, I think, we must reject the latter date, which conflicts with the statement in the Chronicle as to the length of his reign, and we may conclude that the great West-Saxon warrior, saint, and scholar died on 26 Oct. 899.

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Si vis scire quot sint anni ab incarnatione domini nostri, scito quot fuerint ordines indictionum, et his per XV multiplicatis, XII adde reg[ulares], et insuper indictionem anni cuiuscumque volueris, et annos domini sine caligine reperiēs. Verbi gratia, in presenti anno, qui est XIII regni Eadwardi Saxonum regis, Indictionum sume ordines, qui sunt LXI; hos partire; per XV multiplica: quindecies quinquaginta DCCL. fiunt, quindecies XI. c. v. [sic] fiunt. Adde Regulares³¹ XII et Indictionem XV, que est in presenti anno, et his priori numero coniunctis, DCCCC. XII reddunt: ipsi sunt anni ab Incarnatione Domini usque in annum predictum.

³⁰ As none of the year-commencements in use before the Conquest would enable June to be counted in the same year as the preceding October, it is clear that Alfred’s death must have happened in October 899. If Edward’s reign was reckoned from his father’s death, his thirteenth year would be 26 Oct. 911 to 25 Oct. 912.

³¹ These ‘regulares,’ which are not explained in the glossaries, were added to the number of cycles because the first completed cycle of indictions after Christ’s Incarnation began in 13 A.D. (Van den Hagen, p. 207). Compare the early ninth-century ‘Liber de Computo,’ in Muratori, *Anecdota*, iii. 201: ‘propterea autem auctores XII Regulares ad annos Domini adposuerunt, quia quando Incarnatio facta est, XII anni de illa Indictione remanserunt. Ideo autem Regulares dicuntur, quia numerum annorum Domini regulare videntur.’ So also the Digby MS. 63, fo. 20 d: ‘hi XII regulares de indictione remanserunt quando Incarnatio facta est, ideoque regulam annorum Domini tenere videntur.’

THE REVENUE OF HENRY III.

DR. STUBBS, lamenting the difficulty of estimating the royal income in the fourteenth century, observes that 'of the produce of a vote of tenths and fifteenths we have no computation after the reign of Henry III that is trustworthy.'¹ Of that reign he writes—

In 1224 a fifteenth produced 57,838*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*; in 1233 a fortieth produced 16,475*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.*; in 1237 a thirtieth produced 22,594*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* ('*Liber Ruber Scaccarii*;' Hunter, 'Three Catalogues,' p. 22.²)

The first point to strike one here is that the sum raised in 1224 is out of all proportion to those obtained in 1233 and 1237, which latter harmonise with one another. Now the 'fifteenth' of 1224, granted by the clergy and laity,³ is given in the Red Book as producing

iiij^{xx}vj millia deelvij *m.* ij *d.*⁴

The system of reckoning by Roman numerals is responsible for many of the errors in Domesday; and we have only to suppose here that the scribe wrote 'iiij^{xx}' for 'ij^{xx}' to obtain remarkable results. For the total of the fifteenth in 1224 would thus be 66,758 mares, and the 'thirtieth' of 1237, which should, in proportion, have produced 33,379 mares, did actually produce 33,811. Again, to take another test, as the 'fortieth' of 1233 produced 24,712 mares, the 'thirtieth' of 1237 should have brought in 32,950: its product, as I have said, was 33,811. Once more, for a 'tenth' in the fourteenth century, Dr. Stubbs suggests, 'we arrive at the sum of 60,000*l.* as an approximation to the total sum.'⁵ If my emendation be accepted for 1224, a 'tenth' on the same assessment would produce 66,758*l.* This is curiously close to Dr. Stubbs's estimate. But if we adhere to the scribe's figure a 'tenth' would have brought in 86,758*l.* Is it credible that the taxable property should have fallen so enormously in value between 1224 and the days of the Edwards?

J. H. ROUND.

NOTE ON A MANUSCRIPT OF YEAR-BOOKS, EDWARD II AND III,
IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, FONDS FRANÇAIS, 5577.

A MANUSCRIPT which has lately been identified at the Bibliothèque Nationale will be of value for the edition of the year-books of Edward II, and of 1-10 Edward III, which, it may be hoped, Mr. L. O. Pike will one day undertake. The thin folio volume 'Fr. 5577'

¹ *Const. Hist.* (1875), ii. 549.

² *Ibid.* note.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 37-8.

⁴ *Liber Rubens de Scaccario* (Rolls series), pp. civ, 1064.

⁵ *Const. Hist.* ii. 549.

contains 72 parchment folios, $14\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, closely written on both sides, and paged in modern French numerals. Both edges are pricked, as usual, to guide the scribe in ruling his lines. The volume is made up of three separate manuscripts, bound together, written in as many different and closely contemporary hands. The first extends from f. 1 to f. 24 inclusive, and is in single column; the second from f. 25 to f. 33 inclusive, f. 34 being a blank flyleaf; the third from f. 35 to the end, the two latter manuscripts being in double columns. With the exception of the face of f. 1, which is worn and so faded as to be in parts, especially the margins, difficultly legible, the manuscript is in excellent condition. The few holes and sewn-up rents existed when the scribe wrote, for he has passed across and around them. An examination of the folios, grouped according to the law terms of which they contain the reports, will facilitate collation with the MSS. which exist at the British Museum and elsewhere in England. The first of the three component MSS. (ff. 1-24) comprises reports for the following terms:—

Michaelmas 20 Ed. II (ff. 1 and 2, and nearly the whole of 3 r^o); *Easter* 1 Ed. III (the remainder of f. 3, 4 r^o, and nearly all 4 v^o); *Mich.* 1 Ed. III (the remainder of f. 4, 5 to 8, and three-fourths of 9 r^o); *Hilary* 2 Ed. III (the remainder of f. 9, 10 to 12, and three-fourths of 13 r^o); *East.* 2 Ed. III (the remainder of f. 13, 14 to 18, one-third of 19 r^o); *Mich.* 2 Ed. III (the remainder of f. 19, 20 to 22, 23 r^o, and lines 1 to 6 of 23 v^o); *Hil.* 3 Ed. III (the remainder of f. 23, 24 r^o and v^o).

Comparison with the black-letter edition, made below, will show that *Trinity* 2 Ed. III may be added to this list, the MS. having incorporated that term under Michaelmas of the same year.

At the bottom of f. 24 v^o the first component MS. breaks off, and the second (ff. 25-33) introduces double columns. Written in a much finer and a more delicate hand, and on parchment of finer quality, it comprises two terms only:—

Easter 3 Ed. III (ff. 25 to 27, 28 r^o, and a column and a half of 28 v^o), and *Trinity* in the same year (the remainder of f. 28, 29 to 32, the first column, and the first two lines of the second column, of 33 r^o).

The third line of the second column of 33 r^o consists of the title: *De termino Michaelis anno regni regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu tercio*, but with this unfulfilled announcement the MS. breaks off, and from *Trin.* 3 Ed. III to *Hil.* 9 Ed. III there is a long lacuna. The rest of f. 33 is blank, f. 34 is a flyleaf, and f. 35, in a third hand, finer still than the second, introduces the third component MS. (ff. 35-72), which contains:—

Hil. 9 Ed. III (ff. 35 to 37, the first $10\frac{1}{2}$ lines of 38 r^o), and under the same year *East.* (the remainder of f. 38, 39, 40 r^o, and a column and a half of 40 v^o), *Trin.* the remainder of f. 40, 41 to 43, the first quarter of

column 1 of 44 r^o, *Mich.*¹ (the remainder of f. 44, and 45 to 49): under the year 10 Ed. III its four terms—*Hil.* (ff. 50 to 54, the first ten lines of 55 r^o), *East.* (the remainder of f. 55, 56 to 59, the first two lines of 60 r^o), *Trin.* (the remainder of f. 60, 61 to 63, 64 r^o, and the first half column of 64 v^o), *Mich.* (the remainder of f. 64, 65 to 71, and a column and a half on 72 r^o, with which the volume ends).

A comparison of the *pleas* reported by MS. Fr. 5577 with those in the black-letter editions² will help in estimating its value for a new edition of the year-books.

For *Mich.* 20 Ed. II the MS. contains 28 pleas, the Black Letter none. For *East.* 1 Ed. III the MS. has again 28 pleas, 27 of which are absent in the B. L.;³ the latter has 49 pleas, none of which are in the MS. For *Trin.*, which is entirely wanting in the MS., there are 10 pleas in the B. L. For *Mich.* the MS. has 19 pleas, 3 of which⁴ are wanting in the B. L. The latter has 27, 12 of which are not in the MS. The pleas which for this term coincide in matter, differ in form. For *Hil.* 2

¹ In this term there is a confusion in the order of the folios—a not infrequent occurrence, as Mr. Pike observes, in year-book MSS. F. 47 v^o, for example, is headed *Trinitatis*; so also is f. 48 both r^o and v^o. F. 49 r^o also apparently belongs to *Trin.*, but 49 v^o is entitled *Michaelis Nono*.

² Or rather edition, since they are all reprints from the pioneer edition by Tottyll in 1562. The three great black-letter editions of the year-books 1-10 Edward III are those of Richard Tottyll, 1562, Jane Yetsweirt, 1596, Sawbridge and Co., 1679. The title page of Tottyll's parent edition runs: 'Regis Edwardi tertii a primo ad decimum (inclusive) anni omnes, qui nunquam ante hac typis excusi sunt, nunc primum . . . non sine accurata multorum manuscriptorum exemplarium collatione in lucem prodierunt, opera et impensis Richardi Tottelli . . . 1562.' He winds up his volume, f. dxlii, with Plea No. 67, *Mich.* 10 Ed. III, and adds: 'Imprinted at London in Flete-strete within Temple Barre . . . by Richard Tottyll . . . 1562.' Tottyll claims that the year-books 1-10 Ed. III are printed by him for the first time, and that many manuscripts have been collated. His edition remained definitive, for subsequent ones are, as they themselves state, verbatim reprints. The first reprint of Tottyll dates from 1596, when Jane Yetsweirt set forth an edition of which the ornamental title page is as follows: '1596. Anni decem priores Edwardi tertii, multo omnes quam ante emendatus aediti, signis istis * * in textu, principiis foliorum editionis prioris, prae-positis . . . Londini. In aedibus Ianae Yetsweirt . . .' Jane Yetsweirt's edition professes to be more accurate than Tottyll's 'prior editio,' 'multo emendatus aediti,' but in fact it is identical. It describes itself as a reprint, giving asterisks whereby to harmonise its pagination with that of the edition of 1562, and a glance shows that the amount of Yetsweirt's text which lies between two asterisks corresponds to each complete folio, r^o and v^o, of Tottyll. Tottyll is also the immediate parent of the third edition, by George Sawbridge and others, 1679, whose title page is worded: 'Le premier part de les Reports del Cases en Ley . . . argues en le temps de . . . Roy Edward le Tierce, ore nouvelment Imprimees, Corrignes, & Amendes, avec les Notations & References a l'Abregement de . . . Juges . . . Brook & Fitzherbert. London. Printed by George Sawbridge . . . MDCLXXIX.' The agreement between the paging of the 1679 edition and the paging of Tottyll is also indicated; a capital B is prefixed to each word of the text which corresponds to the first word of the verso of each folio of Tottyll, so that between B and B lies a complete folio of Tottyll, v^o and r^o. The claim that the reports are 'Corrignes & Amendes' merely amounts to this, that, whereas Yetsweirt's edition repeats literally the edition of Tottyll, this latest edition modernises the orthography.

³ MS. plea 26 = B.L. plea 26 of *Mich.* 1 Ed. III.

⁴ Viz. Nos. 2, 5, 12.

Ed. III, of 17 pleas in the MS. 1 only is wanting in the B. L., which contains 21 pleas, with a supplement of 10. The 16 pleas which coincide agree verbatim. For *Easter*, of 31 MS. pleas 18 are wanting in the B. L.,⁵ which contains 11 pleas and a supplement of 4, the latter 4 being absent in the MS. The 11 coincident pleas agree verbatim. For *Trin.*, the title of which is wanting in the MS., the B. L. has 7 pleas and a supplement of 23. Of these, 6 (namely, Nos. 2 to 7) correspond to MS. Nos. 1 to 6 of *Mich.* in this year, and agree therewith verbatim. For *Mich.*, of 35 MS. pleas none are wanting in the B. L., which contains 26, with a supplement of 35; the coincident pleas agree verbatim. For *Hil.* 3 Ed. III, of 11 pleas in the MS. 10 are wanting in the B. L.,⁶ whose 39 pleas are, with one exception (No. 29), not in the MS. For *Easter*, the 41 pleas of the MS. are all⁷ in the B. L., which has 38; the 38 coincident pleas agree verbatim. For *Trin.*, of 45 MS. pleas 7⁸ are absent from the B. L.: one only of the 39 B. L. pleas (No. 28) is wanting in the MS.; the 38 pleas which are in common agree verbatim. For the years 9 and 10 Ed. III, which occupy the rest of the MS., the identity with the B. L., both as regards the number of pleas and their nature and form, is very close: thus *Hil.* 9 Ed. III has both in MS. and B. L. 23 pleas, which agree verbatim and occur nearly in the same order. *East.* has 30 pleas in the MS., none of which are absent from the B. L.; of the 31 in the B. L. it is No. 29 which is wanting in the MS. Here, as in the next two terms, the pleas agree verbatim. For *Trin.*, of 20 MS. pleas none are absent from the B. L., of whose 25 the 5 which do not appear in the MS. are Nos. 8 to 12. For *Mich.*, the 61 MS. pleas all appear in the B. L.; the 8 out of the B. L. 69 which are absent from the MS. are Nos. 62 to 69. For *Hil.* 10 Ed. III, 30 MS. pleas all appear in the B. L., of whose 36⁹ pleas 6¹⁰ are wanting in the MS.; the coincident pleas here, as in the remaining three terms of the year, not only agree in form, but also occur in the same order. For *East.*, of 55 MS. pleas 2 only are wanting in the B. L., which contains 64 pleas. For *Trin.* the MS. has 35 pleas, all of which occur among the B. L. 45. For *Mich.*, of 66 MS. pleas 3 only¹¹ do not appear among the B. L. 67, 4 of which¹² are thus wanting in the MS.

From this comparison it appears (i) that the MS. contains in all 98 pleas which do not figure in the B. L. edition; (ii) that part of the first of the three component MSS. and the B. L. represent independent reports, viz. for *Mich.* 20 Ed. II, *East.*, *Trin.*, and *Mich.* 1 Ed. III, and *Hil.* 3 Ed. III; and that they represent the *same* report for the remaining terms. There is thus a family relation between the greater part of Fr. 5577 and the MS. (or MSS., as Tottyll claims) from which the first B. L. edition and its descendants were printed.

⁵ MS. plea 1 = B.L. plea 21 of *Hil.* 2 Ed. III; MS. 2 to 12 = B.L. 1 to 11 of *East.* 2 Ed. III.

⁶ MS. No. 8 = B.L. No. 29. ⁷ MS. Nos. 6-8 occurring in B.L. under *Hil.* 3 Ed. III.

⁸ Viz. Nos. 31-37. ⁹ In reality 35. ¹⁰ In reality 5, viz. 23, 26, 30, 31, 35-36.

¹¹ Nos. 50, 55, 56.

¹² Nos. 22, 32, 36, 65.

The manuscript was identified by accident. M. Maurice Prou, Keeper of the Department of Medals at the Bibliothèque Nationale, desiring a specimen of English fourteenth-century hand for a collection of palæographical facsimiles which he was preparing,¹³ had his attention drawn to MS. 5577 of the Fonds Français. He submitted the manuscript to M. Charles Bémont, who decided it to be an excellent manuscript, not of the Exchequer Pleas (as the catalogue describes it) but of the Year-books of the Common Pleas for Mich. 20 Ed. II and for several of the first ten years of Edward III. The manuscript belonged formerly to the great collection of Colbert; but how the manuscript came into his possession it has not been possible to discover. The purchase of that collection by Louis XV, in 1732, after the minister's death, for 300,000*l.*, doubled the Cabinet du Roi, enriching it with about 8000 volumes.¹⁴ The catalogue of Colbert's collection (in which our manuscript was No. 3138) was made by Etienne Baluze, who contented himself with the description: *Registre de divers jugemens rendus du temps du Roy Edouard III.* And when Codex Colbert 3138 became in 1732 part of the Cabinet du Roi as 'Regius 9986, 1, a,' the description by Baluze was merely repeated. From 1741 to 1759, however, the Cabinet des Manuscrits was in the zealous charge of Melot, who pushed rapidly ahead the preparation of the catalogue of the French manuscripts,¹⁵ and on the paper flyleaf of our volume under the date 1745 is the following entry in a French hand: 'Journal des Audiences de l'Echiquier d'Angleterre pendant les années 1, 2, 3, 9 et 10 du règne d'Edouard troisième de ce nom depuis la Conquête, et le 6^e de ce nom en y comprenant les rois anglo-saxons qui ont porté le nom d'Edouard.' This description is signed M., and the same hand adds: *Ce MS. est d'une écriture angloise de la fin du 14^e Siècle.* 'M.' is undoubtedly Melot, who thus kept the count of the Anglo-Saxon Edwards, but wrongly described our manuscript. His error has been perpetuated, and in the present catalogue of French manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ancien Fonds Fr. vi. 1887) under the number 5577, Melot's note is virtually reproduced: 'Registres des Audiences de l'Echiquier d'Angleterre pendant les trois premières années, la neuvième et la dixième année du règne d'Edouard III, roi d'Angleterre: in fol., parchemin, xiv^e siècle.' JESSE A. TWEMLOW.

¹³ *Nouveau Recueil de fac-similés d'écritures du XII^e au XVII^e siècle.* Paris, 1896. (Published since this present note was written). Facsimile No. iv. reproduces the upper portion of f. 25 r^o.

¹⁴ Léopold Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, i. 439.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* i. 416.

BISHOP DE QUADRA'S LETTER AND THE DEATH OF AMY ROBSART.

IN the first volume of this REVIEW, in the number for April 1886, there appeared an article of mine on the death of Amy Robsart, in which I endeavoured to weigh, as carefully as I could, all the evidences that I then knew of bearing upon the subject. The conclusion at which I then arrived, and to which I still adhere, was that her death was accidental; although a letter of the Spanish ambassador, Bishop de Quadra, published by Froude in his 'History' (vol. vii. pp. 277-281), was certainly calculated to produce a different impression. Nor was I surprised that my arguments did not satisfy everybody; for I was perfectly aware that my view of this letter, taken by itself, was not altogether convincing. But the problem was to find some mode of interpreting it in conjunction with other evidences that would make out a consistent story between them. If I failed I felt sure the error must be in the interpretation of this particular letter, not in the interpretation of the other evidences, which were all tolerably clear and distinct in their own way. And this has since proved to be the case. I had, unfortunately, no correct copy of the text of Quadra's letter of 11 Sept. 1560; but I felt the inferences drawn from it by Froude must certainly be erroneous, however natural they seemed; and I ventured to supply an explanation which Mr. Andrew Lang, and no doubt others, considered to be strained and artificial. I was not, however, concerned to vindicate Queen Elizabeth if a darker view of her conduct could be shown to agree better with the evidence of other documents and with the course of her whole reign. But not only did her guilt in this matter seem to me quite irreconcilable with the high esteem in which she was subsequently held, but it did not seem even compatible with other documents written, some immediately after the event, some only a few years later. I am, however, perfectly willing now to admit that my treatment of the evidences in this letter of Quadra was erroneous, for I could have furnished a much simpler explanation if I had had the true text before me.

A German critic, Dr. Ernst Bekker,¹ who is totally opposed to my view that the death of Amy was accidental, has done me the great service of pointing out that the correct text of this important letter was published by the baron Kervyn de Lettenhove in his valuable work on the 'Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le Règne de Philippe II.' As the full text, however, has never yet been printed in this country, either in the original language or in

¹ In a paper entitled 'Das Ende Amy Robsarts,' published in the *Jahresbericht über die Victoria-Schule und das Lehrerinnen-Seminar zu Darmstadt für die Schuljahre 1895-96 und 1896-97.*

translation, and as there are several serious inaccuracies in the fragmentary translation given by Froude, I venture now to present the English reader with a complete and, I think, entirely accurate rendering of the whole letter.

*The Bishop of Aquila to the Duchess of Parma.*²

(TRANSLATION.)

Since I wrote to your highness many new things have occurred of importance, of which I have thought right to inform your highness with diligence. I came to Windsor, where the queen is, five days ago, and found, in the affairs of Scotland, that the parliament, by common consent of the clergy and regulars, has made an heretical confession of faith agreeing nearly with that of this kingdom. I will send a copy of it to your highness when I can get one. Only the archbishop of St. Andrews³ has declined to sign it, saying that he was not yet well informed. I do not know if the clergy of that kingdom have been intimidated by the seculars, who were armed. But, whatever may be the case, the faith is lost in that kingdom; and to prevent its being so easily recovered there now come hither the earl of Huntley, the earl of Morton, and my lord Lethington to treat of the confirmation of the league made between this queen and that kingdom; which league, I know now, was made before the war commenced; and it was then agreed to by the rebels on the part of the kingdom, and by the duke of Norfolk on the part of this queen, who not having yet declared war did not wish to be named, that she might not appear to be the invader. Now already by virtue of that article made between her and the French touching matters of Scotland it appears to her that she may treat of another league without disguise. What the French may feel about that, and what quiet may ensue thereof to our neighbours, your highness may judge. I have not omitted to tell the queen that this appears to me a serious thing, and that I do not know how the French will take it. But to her it seems that it is the most proper course, and that the greater occasion that is given for a breach between the king, our lord, and the French, through these hindrances she gives them, the more prudently she conducts herself with a view to her proposed end. She has told me that what Fragmahton⁴ has agreed to with the cardinal of Lorraine about the coming of the galleys has been done without her commission, because it nowise concerns her if the French sail galleys on that sea or do what they please, as she is sure on the side of Scotland; and she also says she has written to Fragmahton not to speak any more about it except to ask them if they will ratify the capitulation lately made,⁵ and if they do not agree to do so let them do as they please, for they will have enough to attend to at home during the next two years. I begged her to tell me truly how she understood that affairs stood between her and the French. She told me that she was certain that the French lacked not the will to do her injury, but only time and

² From Kervyn de Lettenhove's *Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le Règne de Philippe II*, ii. 529-33.

³ Archbishop Hamilton.

⁴ So the name of Nicholas Throgmorton is here spelt.

⁵ The treaty of Edinburgh made in July, which, of course, the French could not possibly relish.

forces, and that she knew that they had not despatched any men-of-war, and that *manet alta mente repostum* the injury that they pretend she has done them in Scotland. I replied, showing much dissatisfaction with her about her marriage, in which on the 3rd of last month she had told me she was already resolved and that she assuredly meant to marry. Now she has coolly told me that she cannot make up her mind and that she does not intend to marry.⁶

After these conversations with the queen I happened to speak with the secretary Cecil, who I understood was in disgrace, and my lord Robert was trying to drive him out from public affairs, and after many protestations and entreaties that I would keep it secret he told me that the queen was conducting herself in such a fashion that for his part he thought best to retire. For he was too bad a sailor, when he saw a storm coming, not to take port when he had the power to do so; and he saw the queen's manifest ruin occasioned by this great influence of Lord Robert, who has made himself master of the business of the state and of the person of the queen, to the extreme injury of the whole kingdom, intending to marry her, and that he keeps her⁷ all the day at home, to the great danger of her life and health. He concluded by remarking that he did not know how the realm would agree to it; for which reason he was resolved to go home, though he believed they would sooner send him to the Tower than give him leave. Finally he begged me for the love of God to warn the queen as to her irregularities and to persuade her not to abandon her business so entirely as she did, but look after herself and her realm; and then he repeated to me twice over that Lord Robert would be better in Paradise than here. I replied, merely regretting what he had told me, and said he knew how earnestly I had always sought the remedy of the queen, and had told her what she ought to do, in accordance with the instructions given me by the king, my lord, which were to recommend her to live peaceably and to marry, and that nevertheless he knew how little good it had done, except that the queen always showed that she heard me with good will. But with all this I would not weary nor forbear to do the same duty and repeat to her these two points, to live in peace and marry, whenever I found occasion to do it, although as to peace I understood that matters between her and the French stood in such terms that there was very little hope of them, she concealing from the king, my lord, the grievances of this kingdom, and I having to draw them out by pure importunity and questioning, as I did. He replied to me on this point in such a fashion that I thought he wanted to excuse the French to some extent. He told me, moreover, that the queen did not care anything for foreign princes, nor did she think she had any need of them, and that she was burdened with a very great debt, without ever thinking how to pay

⁶ Mr. Froude's translation (?) of this passage is as follows: 'On the third of *this* month the queen spoke to me about her marriage *with the archduke*. She said she had made up her mind to marry, *and that the archduke was to be the man*. She has just now told me drily that she does not intend to marry, and that it cannot be.' The first word in italics, 'this,' is an error for 'last;'; the others about the archduke are entirely without warrant in the original text.

⁷ The reading given by Kervyn de Lettenhove is 'y que la traya,' not 'y quella traya,' as in Froude's transcript, which I followed in the *ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW*, i. 239.

it, so that she had entirely lost her credit and the means of getting money from the merchants of London, which was a thing that she should have made her foundation; and finally he said that they were thinking of putting to death Robert's wife, and that now she was publicly reported to be ill, but she was not so; on the contrary she was quite well and was taking good care not to be poisoned; and God would never permit such wickedness, nor could such a business have good success. I finished the conversation by showing, as I said, that I was sorry for what was taking place, and wished it could be mended, without entering on any matter that might cause me to prejudge anything, although I am certain that he speaks sincerely and does not dissemble.

This misfortune of the secretary cannot but produce great effect, because it is terrible, and I think he has many companions in discontent, especially the duke of Norfolk, whom he named to me as one of those aggrieved and principal enemies of Robert, which is true.

The day after this took place the queen told me, on her return from hunting, that Lord Robert's wife was dead or nearly so, and begged me to say nothing about it. Assuredly what they are doing in this matter is a most shameful and scandalous thing; yet with all this I do not know if she means to marry him at once, nor even if she care to marry at all, because it appears to me that she does not keep firmly to any purposes,⁸ and, as Cecil says, she means to do like her father.

No injury to public affairs can come of the rupture between these persons so far as regards the removal of Cecil from affairs, for a worse man cannot possibly succeed. But it might give rise to something of importance if they were to shut up the queen in a tower, and make the earl of Huntingdon king, who is a great heretic, and if French forces were employed for the purpose, seeing that those of his majesty will never be employed in anything against religion and in favour of that nation. Of both these things I have some suspicion. That these heretics wish to make Huntingdon king is certain, and Cecil himself has told me that he is true heir of the kingdom of England, because Henry VII usurped it from the House of York. That they may use the French I fear, because I see great friendship between Cecil and the bishop of Valence.⁹ It may be that I am excessively suspicious; but with people such as these I do not think one can go wrong in always expecting the worst. It is certain that the cry is that they do not wish any longer a woman as queen, and this one is in a fair way to spend the evening at home, and be in the morning in prison, she and her favourite too. Nevertheless it is certain that the French do not sleep, and the same Cecil has said to me, *Non dormit Judas*. What is likely to take place cannot but be troubles and changes. If I chose to place myself among them, I think they would trust me and tell me everything; but I have

⁸ The Spanish is, 'que no trae pensamientos tan firmos' ('she does not keep her designs so firm, or unalterable'). Froude translates the words, 'she wants resolution to take any decided step,' which is not the meaning at all, and which completely destroys the significance of what Cecil says, that she means to do like her father. The difficulty of all ambassadors with Henry VIII was to bind him to anything at all. No one knew what he was after, for he had always an *arrière-pensée* in his mind, which he did not even tell his ministers.

⁹ Jean de Monluc, bishop of Valence, was then the French ambassador.

no orders what to do, and until I have I do not intend to do anything but listen to each party and temporise. It is very necessary that your highness should give me directions about these matters. To these catholics I show all the kindness that is in my power. I think their party is not so downfallen but that, if his majesty wished it, they could resist the machinations of those others.

What it is important that your highness should tell his majesty is that he must not expect the queen ever to mend, or to do anything that is not against his majesty and against herself, as I have always said and notified. What has further to be seen to I know your highness will consider with much prudence.

From Windsor, 11 Sept. 1560.—Since this was written the queen has published the death of my lady Robert, and has said in Italian, *Si ha rotto il collo*. She must have fallen down a staircase.

I have thought it best to give the reader the whole text of the letter, although the first paragraph contains nothing directly bearing on the case of Amy Robsart, and only a very few lines at the end of that paragraph refer to the question of the queen's marriage. It is for this reason, I suppose, that all else in this long first paragraph has hitherto been passed over, not only by Froude but unfortunately even by Major Hume¹⁰ in his calendar of Spanish documents, as if it were of minor importance. But Amy Robsart really occupied a very subordinate place in De Quadra's mind when he wrote this letter; and the things which seemed to him of most importance were undoubtedly those he wrote about first. The queen's intrigues in Scotland had been amazingly successful; that country was now lost to the faith, and French influence was to be expelled in the northern kingdom if the treaty of Edinburgh were carried out. This was a most daring policy, and Quadra in vain insinuated to Elizabeth that it was rather hazardous. But when he had exhausted what he had to say on that subject, and found she was quite self-reliant, he came to the question of her marriage, on which he had spoken to her a month before, when she said she had quite made up her mind to marry some one or other. Here, too, however, the ambassador could get nothing out of her. She, in fact, went back on what she had said already, and told him she could not now see her way to marrying at all. Quadra then had a conversation with Cecil, who was simply in despair about the queen, finding, as he thought, that Lord Robert's influence was everything with her and his own nothing. He believed, too, that there was a scheme for getting rid of Lord Robert's wife by poison, with a view to his marrying the

¹⁰ In this letter Major Hume, like myself, followed Froude's transcript in the British Museum. In preparing his first volume he informs me that he took transcripts from Simancas of all the direct English correspondence, but before going to press he added abstracts from Froude's transcripts of the correspondence between England and Flanders. His marginal references in these cases show the source.

queen. Next day the ambassador sees the queen again, and she tells him Lord Robert's wife is dead, 'or nearly so'—news which, of course, harmonises only too well with what Cecil had said about the intention to poison her. The letter is concluded (if not begun also) on 11 Sept., and a postscript is added after the date that the queen had just published the fact of Lady Robert's death, with the statement that she had broken her neck in falling down a flight of stairs.

Such are the main facts in the letter relating to Lord Robert's wife; and it must be fairly owned that no theory in the world will make them pleasant reading for those who love Elizabeth's memory. Moreover the gossip that Lord Robert intended to make away with his wife and marry the queen appears in previous correspondence; and the queen herself, it is clear, while Amy was alive, could have done nothing to put a stop to it. She ruled, in fact, by mystification in some points, especially on the subject of her marriage; but that she should have allowed gossip to make free with her honour to such an extent as this seems almost incompatible with the idea of self-respect on her part. Nevertheless I think her subsequent history shows clearly she was not the weak woman she was taken for by some at this time; and, as I said in my first article, the actual death of Amy—coming just in the midst of these surmises—was a shock both to her and to Dudley.

That this was so I think I have already shown in that article from other documents, such as Dudley's correspondence with Thomas Blount, and his letter to Cecil complaining that the 'sudden chance' has lost him all that influence with the queen which Cecil lately envied. The only natural interpretation of these documents seems to me to be that the queen at first suspected Dudley, and that Dudley, who himself half suspected Anthony Forster, was anxious for a very thorough inquiry to clear himself. And the inquest found a verdict which in modern language meant 'accidental death.' But Dr. Bekker insists that the evidence in this letter of Quadra's is incompatible with any view of the case except foul play; and it is only right to weigh his arguments.

First of all, the letter does not bear the date of 'London,' as Froude, followed by Major Hume, unfortunately gives it, but 'Windsor, 11 Sept. 1560.' And, secondly, attention is called to the important words at the beginning, 'I came to Windsor, where the queen is, five days ago.' As the words in the original might conceivably be interpreted 'where the queen has been for the last five days,' Dr. Bekker takes some pains to show that the queen really arrived at Windsor on 30 Aug., and that De Quadra can only refer to his own arrival there, which, indeed, is the natural supposition. Quadra, then, arrived at Windsor on 6 Sept., two days before Amy's death—at least if the letter was all written in

one day—and my old hypothesis that it was only finished on the 11th, but begun some days before, may now, I think, be dismissed as improbable, as the words ‘five days ago’ would be misleading if the date at the end of the letter were not the date on which it was begun.

Now, so far, I accept all Dr. Bekker’s corrections, besides a further one which is really of the highest possible significance, and which I made myself some years ago in a letter to the *Athenæum*.¹¹ My first attempt, indeed, to explain the chronology of the interviews mentioned in Quadra’s letter was completely vitiated by an error in Froude’s translation, which, for a long time, I did not discover, and which Major Hume unluckily has only repeated with a difference. That error is noticed in a foot note above (note 6). Froude’s translation made the world believe that Queen Elizabeth had given Quadra an interview on 3 Sept., when she told him she had quite made up her mind to marry the archduke, and that very shortly afterwards—apparently next day, but certainly only a few days later at the utmost—she completely changed her tune and told him that she did not mean to marry at all. In reality the first interview was on the 3rd of the preceding month (August), and even then, though the archduke was spoken of by others, it does not appear that the queen named him to Quadra at all. She only told him she believed she would have to make up her mind to marry soon, although it was sorely against her will.¹² So there was really no such violent inconsistency after all in telling him a month later that she could not see her way to it.

Now this rectification, to my mind, makes it far more easy than it was to maintain my original theory, that when the queen told Quadra that Lord Robert’s wife was dead, ‘or nearly so,’ intelligence of the actual fact of her death had already reached Windsor. For we know positively that it did reach Windsor on 9 Sept., two days before the letter was written, and we have no longer to combat the apparent chronology of a letter which seemed to date the statement that Amy was dead, ‘or nearly so,’ the day after 3 Sept. I believe that the Queen used that expression on the 9th, if not on the 10th, after she had herself received intelligence of Amy’s death—a piece of news which gave her so much perplexity that for two days she endeavoured to hush it up.

Against this view, however, Dr. Bekker argues as follows: As Quadra arrived at Windsor on 6 Sept., and must have been, in fact, the queen’s guest, whom she always received most kindly and gave him most patient audience, it is not to be supposed that his first interview with her took place only on Sunday, the 8th. It

¹¹ See *Athenæum* of 18 Feb. 1893, pp. 220–1.

¹² Hume’s *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, i. 174.

was much more likely, Dr. Bekker thinks, to have been on the 6th, the very day of his arrival, or at all events the day following. For Elizabeth had ratified the treaty of Edinburgh on the 2nd, and the bishop had hastened to Windsor for the very purpose of getting exact information about the new state of affairs between England, Scotland, and France—a most momentous subject on which he wished to inform his master fully. Moreover Dr. Bekker argues that the interview must have taken place the very day of his arrival; for if it had been deferred even till next day, the 7th, then the queen must have hunted on the day following, which was a Sunday—a thing which he considers incredible so soon after the passing of her Act of Uniformity (St. 1 Eliz. c. 2). I do not see that so clearly myself, as the act does not forbid hunting, though it enjoins attendance for part of the day at church, and it is notorious that pastimes on Sunday were never severely censured till a later period.

But surely the whole of this argument is built upon very doubtful assumptions. First of all, is it clear that the ambassador was the queen's guest at Windsor Castle? That would have been rather an unusual honour, for one hardly ever hears of an ambassador being lodged in a king's or a queen's palace, where the sovereign is actually resident at the time. And the letter, it should be observed, is not dated Windsor Castle, but only Windsor; so that it is really to be supposed that lodgings were found for him in the town. Then it is, on the whole, unlikely that he got an audience on the very day of his arrival, for audiences had to be arranged beforehand. And, moreover, if he was so very fortunate as to get one that very day, or even next day, the 7th, he may have had another on the 8th, for it was not always practicable to come to business at a first interview, and the queen, after some civilities, could easily have put him off. Indeed, as Quadra himself says that he had to worm out facts by degrees, it is quite possible that she did something of this kind, and Quadra in his letter may only have mentioned the audience at which he really did get a little information. But on the whole it is rather more probable that the queen did not give him any audience till the 8th, the second day after his arrival. If Dr. Bekker thinks this improbable, has he considered well what is involved in his own supposition? If we accept his view, Quadra had got all the information, he had to write about, except that mentioned in the postscript, as early as the 7th, and yet he deferred writing till four days later. Would that be consistent with the statement at the beginning of his letter that he was going 'to inform your highness with diligence' of the important facts he had ascertained?

JAMES GAIRDNER.

THE RELIEF OF THE POOR BY THE STATE REGULATION OF WAGES.

THE state regulation of wages is generally supposed to have been either ineffectual or to have supported the interests of the employers, and not those of the employed. But between 1629 and 1640 there are several instances in which the privy council interfered with wages with the object of helping the poor. One of these seems to throw considerable light on the vexed question of the working of wages assessments. It is recorded in the Register of the Privy Council under the date 29 Sept. 1630.

Four letters of the tenor following directed to the justices of the peace of the counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex.

Forasmuch as wee have bin informed that divers poore people as well husbandmen as spinsters, weavers, keymers and other artificers doe complaine for want of a due proceeding with them for their wages according to the Law and these hard and necessitous times doe require some better care to be had in that behalfe; we have therefore thought good at this tyme to recomend the same to yo^r extraordinarie care. For the statuts of 5. Eliz. and 1. Jac. haveing so carefully provided against these inconveniencies, it were a great shame if for want of due care in such as are speciallie trusted with the execution of those lawes, the poore should be pinched in these tymes of scarcitie and dearth. And his Ma^{tie} and this Board cannot but be exceeding sensible of any neglect or omission which may occasion such evill effects, as are like to ensue thereupon. And therefore since neither you nor any other can pretend any want of legall power to have prevented all just cause of complaint in this kinde wee doe hereby in his Ma^{ts} name will and require you to use such care and dilligence that his Ma^{tie} and this Board may not be troubled with any complaint for want of due execusion of the aforesaid statute. And so etc.

The letter for Norff. was likewise directed to the justices of the peace of the Cittie of Norwich.¹

The signatures which were appended to these letters are noted in the margin, and it is interesting to see amongst them those of Laud, Coke, Falkland, and Dorchester.²

Apparently in accordance with these instructions the Norwich justices drew up a new wages assessment, and reported the fact to the council.³ It is curious, however, that one of these letters should have been directed to the justices of Suffolk so soon after they had drawn up the assessment of April 1630, recently printed in the *ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW*.⁴ Probably the news of the complaints of the workmen had reached the council, but not the news of the

¹ *Privy Council Register*, 29 Sept. 1630.

² The full list of signatures is as follows:—Lo. Keeper, Lo. Trēr., Lo. President, Ea. of Holland, Lo. Visc. Dorchest., Lo. Visc. Falkland, Lo. Bishop of London, Mr. Trēr., Mr. Secretary Coke.

³ *Dom. State Papers*, Chas. I, vol. 176, No. 1, 1 Dec. 1630.

⁴ *The ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW*, April 1897.

assessment. The existence of this entry is a strong argument that wages assessments were enforced, or at least that they had a great influence on the wages actually paid. Otherwise the workmen would not have cared to complain, and the council would not have been so anxious to interfere. The record certainly shows us that in this instance the assessments were ordered to be made in the interest of the men, and not in that of their masters. It suggests that the justices were negligent, but it brings into prominence the fact that the justices were supervised by the privy council.

This was not the first time that the council had acted in this manner. In 1629 the depression in the cloth trade had already become serious. The council insisted that work and relief should be provided for the workmen out of employment, and also made efforts on behalf of those that were still employed. In July 1629 they write to the earl of Warwick and justices of Essex concerning the weavers of bays in the neighbourhood of Bocking and Braintree. Wages were already low, and the men hardly able to live by their labour, yet the employers were trying to force their workmen to make a greater length of cloth for the same money. 'Wee thinke it very fit and just,' write the members of the council, 'that they (the weavers) shoulde receive such payment for their worke as in reason ought to be given according to the proportion thereof, and lykewise that the saide Bayes which are woven in the saide Countie be made of one length.'⁵ This question dragged on for some time. The masters of Sudbury complained of competition, and said all of their trade had decreased the amount paid to the weavers, but that if a general rule were made binding on all the employers, they would be willing to agree to any wages thought reasonable.⁶ A rate was fixed by an order in council, but the decision was not obeyed. Lawsuits were brought by clothier against clothier, until another attempt was made to settle the matter, and in 1636 Charles I issued letters patent fixing the length of the reel, and ordering that the wages of all the workpeople should be raised in proportion.⁷ It is thus evident that in 1629 the masters of Braintree and Bocking were trying to take advantage of the competition of their workmen to force down wages, and that in this particular trade the council tried to prevent anything of the kind being done.

It is perhaps worth while to notice one other instance of protection given to workmen by the privy council. In another time of depression of trade, in 1637, Thomas Reingolds, a baymaker of Colchester, made his workmen accept 'dead commodities' instead of money for their wages. The men complained; the council found it was a second offence, and ordered Thomas Reingolds to be sent to

⁵ *Privy Council Register*, Chas. I, vol. v. f. 399, 3 July 1629.

⁶ *Calendar of State Papers*, 27 April 1631, p. 22

⁷ Rymer, xix. 720.

the Fleet until he had paid his workmen double the amount they had lost and their charges for bringing the complaint besides.⁸

E. M. LEONARD.

CORRESPONDENCE OF RICHARD CROMWELL.

THE following letters of Richard Cromwell are now in the possession of my cousin the Rev. Richard E. Warner, Stoke Rectory, Grantham, and the Rev. Thomas Cromwell Bush, descendants of Henry Cromwell. They were left, with some portraits and other things, to Henry Cromwell's grandsons by Elizabeth Cromwell, eldest daughter of Richard, and it is to her that most of the letters are addressed. Elizabeth had no nearer relations than her cousins Richard and Thomas Cromwell. The letters are not dated from any place: the first three probably were written from Paris or Switzerland; the later ones are from Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, and Richard is supposed to have lived near Newmarket when he first returned from abroad in 1680. At all events he was certainly not far from London. I have selected the most interesting in the collection.

AUGUSTA S. BURN.

I.

[Undated, but written to his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, during his wife's illness, therefore before 1676, and written probably from Paris.]

Deare Betty,—I would write unto yo^r mother but I know not how: for I feare her weaknes: ffor truly untill M^r Prit: his letter I was in great thoughtfulness & could not tell what the next letter would send: but blessed be the Lord for any remaining hop's. Ah, the stroke would have been severe, and the dispensation is much exercising, God can isshew all for good & turne o^r feare, and sorrowings into joy. will he be pleased to let us praise him? Your Aunt S.¹ will at last answer desires & expectation: and I hope shee may come oppertun'ly, I can assure you she comes not without advice. M^r C.² hath been freindly according to his skill. Yo^r ffather hath expressed himsef very generous in sending the nose of the skull wth an upper mandable he says yo^r mother knows how to order it. He hath sent of the Snakes root of Verginnia prescribed by M^r C as the best of cordials; you must powder it, and give as much as will ly upon a sixpence in a spoonfull of sack, take another spoonful to washe the mouth & throate of that w^{ch} sticks behind. Pray finde out yo^r mothers receipt of the Lucutelles balsome³ take a coppie out of it to be sent to yo^r old ffather, belike yo^r mother promised to give him a receipt of it. be full and plaine in yo^r draft of it. Send it when yo^r Aunt S returns. Pray desire your mother to quiet her minde concerning me, and let her strive to be cheerfull, bid her consider

⁸ *Privy Council Register*, 10 May 1637. On 17 May an order was made for the release of Thomas Reignolds, as he had given the weavers full satisfaction.

¹ Probably an old servant; S. Smith is mentioned as a servant or friend.

² Mr. Cooper, the doctor.

³ Locatelli balsam, used for coughs.

that in a few dayes the Sunn will be turning towards her and that her blood may be refreshed. Let her sattisfy herselfe of the love of God, and what he doeth shall be for her soules advantage; the love of God is unchangeable, and he hath the tender bowells of a ffather. the L^d encrease faith. I cannot now goe further, but desire that we that are specially concerned may be plying the throne of grace for your mother, with my sincere love and affections to her, as alsoe my prayers for you all desiring boeth the rod & we may be sanctefyed I rest

Yo^r loving f
[Signature torn off.]

II.

[Written from Paris—probably about 1675-6—to his daughter.]

Deare Betty,—I had yo^{rs} by the hand that visited you, noe pleasing account as to yo^r mothers falling again towards her former distempers, they greatly move me; and that of M^r R.⁴ his letter since startles: truly my heart is heavy & I could better make my Eys to run then my pen, I confesse I have not freedome of expression what is it that the Lord will doe with us? Oh that he would spare, that he would looke upon a poore afflicted ffamily. . . . I know not the present strength of your deare mother I am persuaded she is very weake my great greife & sorrow. I am unable to help, what can such a poore creature direct? yet would the Physician be against sweets? your powder Cordialls I think not alwayes the best, what if she should try Curdes, balm, Rosemary or Rue, this last is nautious. The Lord direct the good Lord step in in this our great perplexity. . . . Oh the heart breakings of some & the crying of children! Hast thou Oh L^d snatched once nay twyce out of the jawes of death, Let thine handmaiden yet be raised, restored to her place to be a living monument of thy praise, let her yet be continnewed a blessing to a poore distressed famuly. . . . The Lord instruct us, thy rod is sharpe. Pray imbrace thy mother for me, I doe love her, she is deare to me. Desire her to keep up her spirits beg her to be cheerfull. A good mother & a loving wyfe—her name is a sweet oyntment, her soule is precious, Lord let her yet live to praise thee; my prayers & love is for her & you all. . . .

I rest your poore & sorrowing freind.

[No signature.]

III.

[Undated, but written most likely from abroad to his daughter, and soon after his wife's death in 1676.

These first three letters are written on similar paper and appear to be of about the same date.]

Deare,—I have received your letter which gives my oppressed soul a little ease & my troubled mind some space of quietness: from a burning fyre, relaxation, and hopes that we may have the exercise of paternal affections, love & reason and to that end you seem in yours to invite which shall be performed with the best judgment & the most screen candidness of minde the Lord (who is earnestly sought unto by me) shall be pleased to afford & bless me with; hoping that you will lose no

⁴ Mr. Rayner, the steward of the Hursley estate.

time in your addresses to the God of your Spirits & your Father in covenant that you may be made free to discharge the most inward of your thoughts that both our souls may be as with skill searched and dressed that no corruption may be secretly hid to occasion new inflammation to the casting us into new distempers, relapses being most dangerous. Dear child, for my hopes are in thee & in my greatest troubles deprivements of dearest & nearest relations, in my solitary life, when I have looked about and cast my thoughts upon my children, praises & thanksgivings to the God of my choicest mercies have so (through His divine goodness) flowed that my whole soul hath been refreshed, that love & dutifulness your health & that deportment that graced you made you so acceptable where the Providence of God casts & removes you that from a crown of thorny troubles my head hath been as it were wrapped in soft silk & solacing itself in the comforts & hopes of my children as upon a downy pillow, I can rightly say that I have been as much concerned for your condition, & the Lord is my witness I have been as solicitous for your present as well as changing state (my circumstances considered) as the best of fathers. The Lord hath given us the wound & it is he that must heal us, our sins brought the stroake let us repent & humble & turn unto the Lord^r whoe is infinite in mercy & hath saied the rodd shall not alwayes be upon the back of the righteous & if it be well with them, doubt not of a good portion of the things of this world: but get a heart fitted for them or else your soule may too late repent the eager desiring of them, they being given rather out of judgement than mercy. Your mother knew full well how I was concerned for you, take notice that Mr Goddard in that point was not true either to me or you or others, you see the hand of the Lord: certainly God reignes, & hath an Ey upon all his works, you are a chylde of many prayers, if he numbers our haire, taks care of sparrows, feeds the young Ravens, & cloathes the young lillys, how much of more worth are yee of little faith. Stir up your graces use faith & prayer in temptations, be vigorous in them importunate as the widdow, as a good souldier not to give over till you have got an irrecoverable victory—to conclude hoping I may drop something suitable and seasonable, desiring you not to be amaised & frighted as the children of Israel whoe had their enemys surrounding them and the sea before them, but with Moses faith be quiet, feare not, *stand still and see the salvation of the Lord*. And now to him that works all things in & for us, for without him wee can doe nothing, be Glory and praise for ever and ever. Amen.

Remember me to your sister Dorothy, my prayers for you both I rest your truly loving father

R. C.

To make all more plaine consult with my sister & the soonest I may see you to be better sattisfied of the occasion of yours & this answer.

IV.

[Undated, but probably written to Elizabeth in 1681, as mention is made of his daughter Dorothy, and of his landlord's son desiring an apprenticeship, and therefore written in England.]

Dear Childe,—I hope my distemper is turning, it hath been very sharpe, & a solitary time with me; Pray help me to acknowledge the

good rest of the Lord to me in it, ffor though my thoughts were troubled (not as to Death) but that rodd after rodd should come upon me, The condition of my poore ffamily & the love I have for my children, all these with other considerations, I should not (though I was torne as it were in peices with my distemp) but have a sense upon me, And truly I have been greatly supported. Deare children while you have strength provide against Sickness & weakness, its ill putting offe o^r accounts with God, watch then ; The industrious Ant layes up in the Su^mer for the winter. . . . Let not London's greatness nor glory, hinder us from making forward to the new Jerusalem, where we may imbrace true riches, contentment & happyess. I heare Dolly hath been ill of her old distemp— She must take heed of taking colds, old yong, yong old. My Land L^d in the country desired me to improve my interest amongst my acquaintance to finde oute a suitable trade & suitable master for his Son, He gives 10 or 12 pound wth clothes att setting oute, the Ladd is ingenuous about 19^{teen} yeares of age. A gold wyer drawer was propounded but the weakness of his Eys were doubted. S Smith propounds a Tin worker w^{ch} we do not disapprove off

I rest yo^{rs}

R CARY.

V.

[This letter, to his daughter Elizabeth, must have been written while his daughter Dorothy was ill. She died in 1681, a year after her marriage with Mr. Mortimer. She was born the same year her father left England, 1660, and was named after his wife.]

Deare Chyld,—Sickness of relations and other disappointments hath caused S. Smith to be so long a coming, I hope shee will find, when shee comes to you a better account of the goodness of the Lord then what we meet with by your uphill & downhill letters. Yet such distempers are not quickly removed they require time & great care & exercise of Patience. I need not be a nurse or Physitian, & I hope the L^d heares o^r prayers. I thanck you for your lynes, and you rejoyce my heart for the goodness of the L^d upon you. Our troubles rather increase than deminish, we are in the fyer the L^d purge us of all drosse. Truly Chyld there is cause of great wrestling wth the L^d for our strength is not great, the weight is heavy, oure way is rugged, and the night is very dearke. yet let us put o^r trust in the L^d comit thy wayes unto the L^d and hé shall bring it to passe. He shall bring forth thy Rightcousness like the light, & thy judgement as at noone day. I was very much concerned for thy sister D.—I hope you will give me a better account, an account that may ease my thoughts. . . .

I thank you for yo^r pott of Hayre venneson: it is spent and yo^r cooking was very well approved. All the things you wrote for are provided. Your brother wrote for the little gun, he may have it, but I think it is not so propper for shott it being a wreathed barrell as for a single bullet, wth w^{ch} he will not venture to shoote at a Pheasant. M^r R. had an excellent piece I believe he will not refuse your brother. ffor the pistolls pray let him be disuaded from such a ffancy, the day will not beare it. Shall he goe beyond sea then he may have what he desires in that matter. Remember me to them all, take a kisse to yo^r selfe &

give the rest each one, give my love to M^r and M^{rs} R. my kind thanks to Hersent and others, excuse my haste I pray for you all, and that the L^d would enable me to serve you I rest

Yo^{rs}

[Signature cut off; no date.]

Entertaine yo^r guesse with freedome.

VI.

[This letter is the first with a date.]

To the tow Ladyes E. C. A. C. att Hursley near Winchester these present.

25th 87.

Deare Ladyes,—I had yo^{rs} by this bearer, oh that I had the liberty to express my soule to you; The day is darke yet I am not wthout hope; the providences of the Lord are not to be compromised by mortals: therefore let us put o^r trust soly on him, who made all things & governs all things. his Ey is over all his works. I thank you for your kind expressions. this day I met with M^r R. your brother & selfe have declared what so ever is compliyant to your owne resolutions, fixe yo^r selves give us tim^{ly} notice: believe I have not been very right by reason of a cold these 5 weeks. This day I let blood, I thought I should not have writ, my affection over swayes, excuse my going no further than to assure you that I am yours to command

CRANDBERRY.

VII.

[Elizabeth Cromwell in her answer to this letter refers to the length of time she had been parted from her father—namely, twenty-eight years, from 1660 to 1688. Richard Cromwell evidently still lived a very retired life and shunned publicity; in the then disturbed state of England it was natural he should do so.]

7^{br} ye 8^h 88.

Madam,—I have yo^{rs} and according to yo^r one order my shaking hand returns. You will give me leave to query whether yo^r Brother & Sister understand & had knowledge of what yo^{rs} proposed. Know that yo^r company is more desired (nay I say your Sister & yo^r Brother principle to you both) then I can expresse: Iff yo^r affairs are for Towne I will waite uppon you; a lodgin you know to finde. I confess I know not how to invite you to a place that is upon reparation, alteration, & what not to please. I recomēd all to yo^r more serious thoughts. This is not to discouradge, though I add the present confusion that is uppon the greatest counsels in Europe. The Lord Raines Let all them that believeth, rejoice. The dayes are short, the wayes will be dirty: Padders & highwaymen, Lyons & beasts of prey are for the night. I am very ready to answer to M^{rs} Leadbeater's house setting up and am ready to contribute with your direction. My service to your brother & Sister.

I rest yo^r hunble servant

RICHARDSON.

fior Madam Elizabeth Cr^{ll} these.

[Written on the other side of the paper on which this letter is written is one in answer, from his daughter Elizabeth probably: the writing is like one letter signed 'E. C.']

Most Dr & ever Hon^r Sr,—I humbly beg your pardon for my giving you the trouble of answering my letter y^rselfe, it was to prevent mistakes (most being ready to give their own scuse) & to keepe my proposal private till I knew your mind about it, which I take to be for some other time rather than now, tell the happy time of seeing you shall offer, give me leave to assure you by writting that it was not any affair that I had in town, or any delight I have in a iorney that occasioned my asking leave to wait on you before winter, but only my desier to see you as often as may be, & thinking all things had been settled before youre move to y^r new quarters, I hoped to injy you there with greater freedome then I could expect in London, knowing what hurries usually attend that place, besides I thought some pretty gratuity which I might be capabel to return would save greater expence. My Bro: or any else knew of what I had proposed, till afterwards my Sis knows nothing yet of it nor doe I intend she shall. she having spent soe much time already I supose she would not desier to take a iorney againe soe soune, & I thought I might with my maide easily stepp up & downe againe without being missed; as for your desiers of seeing and inioying us I can never question being very senseibel of the greatness of your affection & love, I desier patiently to wait tell our good God who has soe wonderfully preserved us these 28 years wandering apart & together in all y^r shall bring us together, & in the mean time bee the strengthening our Faith & Patience that we may quietly wait doing our Duty tell he shall deliver us from those straits & difficultys which of a long time we have been exercized with, to whos protection I commite you beging yr blessing & leave to subscrib myselfe your most affec: & most duty-humbel sarvent.

VIII.

[There is no date to this letter, but it was probably written about the same time Richard is still afraid of living with his children and compromising them. I have put it among the letters dated 1689, as the writing and papers are similar.]

For the Ladys Æ, A. C. att Hursley near Winchester—these in Hants.

Deare ee,—I have received both that from you and another from y^r sister: and very much refreshed to finde soe good a temper of mind in you boath; you seem to hint that my last to you drew such dearke lines as if I was wrapt in the mantle of melancholly. Perhaps I might have some thoughts and to be wthout clouds, take my cercomstances, you cannot but excuse me. I doe assure you, nothing in this world could be more pleasing to me then to enjoy the company of my children: but lett me act as Fa: not to doe that w^b shall be prejudicial I think my removal should be wth advice, & I am ready to imbrace it: I would not be wanting to seeke it, though I have found hetherto no encouradgement, I have waited, lett the sinn lye at the doore of those that have only pretended, and by experience I have found very false, and my Eys are witnesses they have not in all their dealings & wayes anything to

boaste off. They may loade me as much as they please, & peradventure they at the same time are loading themselves. God will be judge. Yee are all blessings & comforts to me, I thank you for your Xtchian advice: tryalls calls for ffaith, a suitableness to the exercise keeps the head above the waves, hetherto God is good, he hath been very tender: happy are they that putt theire trust in him, I say in him alone. I have seen your brother, I am glad to see him soe well & greatly pleased to heare it was soe well wth you both, & that the distemper of your head was removed w^{ch} you exprest when you wrote; as also glad that the once taking of the Venice treakle was of that advantage to your sister as she exprest. would I could serve you both better. I am fore't to desire your sister to take her parte in this letter as answer to hers, so farr as to gaine a better time & leisure: ffor that your brother maks soe sudden a returne. Present me to M^r Leadbeater & his wyfe, I design'd the present to have been better. Remember me to M^r Rayner & his wyfe. Your sister may dispose of the puppy. I think nay intend (the Lord willing) to be in Towne tomorrow in the evening to see your Brother before he taks his journey, and if anything more occurs shall acquaint him, and having exceeded the modest bounds of my paper, I shall shut up desiring the Lord to bless you both in your outward and inward man, who am

Yo^{rs} in all affections & duty

R: C.

IX.

For Oliver Cromwell in King Street near Guildhall these.

8^{ber} 4th 89.

S^r,—Since I parted from you I have not had any account how it is wth you: I bless the Lord I gott home very well; it would have pleased me to have received a little hint how the B^{pp} entertained you, for I am very much persuaded he hath very good intelligence, and knows men as well as things, though I believe he is satisfied (as well as the wisest of our day) this is as criticall a time as times and times hath afforded. The 19th of this month the Parliament meets. The great silence as to affairs in Ireland maks people to muse as if things did not run currantly; the weather & the country no freinds to our new planters especially if they lye in the field. I have no more, but if your stay is longer continued I should (if with your conveniency) be glad to see you, especially to discourse what you intend as to the gentleman you mentioned about 20 miles from you towards Basing, if I see you not, make noe motion of the matter concerning me to him or any other untill further conference betwixt us either by person or writing. I have forgott his name, but I think you said the s^d gentleman marryed your Cosen Cutts sister. S^r I desire to waite upon the Lord for counsell unto whose care I recommend you and rest

Your affectionate & to serve you

C. R.

Black Robert and Madam Pen⁵ parts I believe you may have him upon reasonable terms, if you care to treat with him, the fellow is ingenious, a speciall kitchen gardener w^{ch} I esteem to be the most of use and profit.

⁵ Mrs. Pengelly, wife of Mr. Pengelly, afterwards Serjeant Pengelly, with whom Richard lived at Cheshunt.

X.

ffor the Ladies E. A. C. att Hursley near Winchester in Hampshire, these.

9^{br} 2nd 89.

Deare hearts,—I thanck you for remembrance. Its my duty, & through goodness you are minded specially morning & evening. I assure you, you cannot be compremised under any difficulty to express yourselves to me, I know you want not for affections, my cercomstances, providentiall make me rather to winde up my Colors then to display them, for time & seasons are beautifull however our Eys are: for att the best they may be mistaken in the very true laying of Colors. I know my love & duty to you all, I am satisfyed of yo^r Paradistical abode, yet I will moderate my passion & deny the appetite of my sense, & act faith; The better to discharge my duty: Indeed I love you. I have seen yo^r Brother much to my satisfaction & I hope the Lord is pleased wth the temper of his minde, Oh that we could caste o^r care upon him that careth for us. I charg'd his memory wth a supplement of the Sear cloth w^{ch} hath been beneficiall to me. for shirts & stockens I leave to yo^r owne conveniency I am obleiged & I assure you I am yo^{rs} most affectionately

CRANDBERRY.

Salute all freinds.

I desire the conveyance of this by Mr Rayner.

XI.

9^{br} 29th 89.

Madam,—Its not reasonable that yo^{rs} of the 23rd should be neglected; to answer yo^r apologies is unnecessary, & I will plaide my unskilfulness, therefore pray madam let us be swallowed up in the overflowing of affections it being little to use words, where there is such an Ocean that cannot be in danger of either Rocks or Sandes. I have received all that was put up, Shirts, Stockins and Sear cloth, the last of these was the more lookt for, & that it came noe sooner: you have satisfyed me, & it was needless, for though I had worne out that w^{ch} was imployed, it had effected so great an advantage that the supply may honestly attend a call, for the use of that w^{ch} you have sent. The worke of Shirts & Stockins are greatly praised, they shall not want my thancks, & it shall not passe wthout a sighe that I am att such a distance to kisse those fingers. Madam I dare not touche the last parte of yo^r letter, my joye is soe great that I must shake my penn, & then what lines should I drawe? you say the clouds are very darke: I confesse it: dark fryday, & black Munday. A Spanish Ambassado^r said in James the first time he had not seen his freind in England in six weeks time. The Sunn was: through vapours (black) interposed—blessed be God for yo^r Faith & hope. In this (give me leave to say) & in this, you & all those that have the same faith & hope, are unexpressible beautifull nay happy. Pray excuse me & present my affections to yo^r Brother Selfe & Sister. The contents of the inclosed I intend to observe, give it to peruse: The great God be our ffather & Counsellor I rest wth all hearty salutations to freinds

Yo^{rs} in all affectionate duty

R CRANDBERRY.

We have wth Mr Wa: & Mr Reed: sett the affaire of the deceased Mr W^{dc} as well as circumstances permitt, & when they are proceeded some hand or other will give yo^r yong gentleman an account. Things as to the Pub: goes on in such a method as all o^r high flowne imaginations are as loose as the dust. All are gazing not knowing where they shall be. the plane honest country converse is the best: Too forward buddings are soone snipt & consequently unprofitable, it is good to be sober, & its wisdome to be waiting upon God to see him to God first. Sir H I⁶ is coming up, his L^{tt} Col: is dead att Chester perhaps a favourable providence, He would have been talkinge, it was always a distemper incident to him. I must say noe more. excuse my scribble or game I reiterate salutations deare S^r and Ladyes.

Yo^rs most affectionate

R. C.

Yo^r letter was very acceptable to my Land lady. boeth of them presents theire affectionate services to you all. They have & are true freinds. Present me to both your Chaplens and their wives.

I suppose you have seen the declaration concerning Ludlow, the notes of the house are useful: lead me not into temptation but deliver me from Evill I will say noe more.

XII.

Jan 31st 89.

Madam,—Though I have nothing materiall, yet having the oppertunity by my landlady M^{rs} Ab: & my pen in my hand I adventured to scrible my affectionate service to your selfe, Sister & Brother: I hope he had mine of the receipt of those birds he was pleased to send me: & I assure you I tooke great pleasure to understand att the same time of your healths & welfaire of your ffamily. I hope Madam, your Brother received the Boxe of Tobacco w^{ch} was sent him by Winchester carryer some time since, it contened nett 25^{lb}: coste 2^{lb} 10^s: I have paid for it, & A. J. Bod: tells me it was his best Virginnea. Madam it would greatly please to see your Brother answer a duty both to God & his ffamily: He did incouradge me when I last saw him, but I confesse I have heard nothing, yet I would hope he would not dalley any longer with providence, but take a resolution to fixe his minde in a matter, praiseworthy and sattisfaction to his Relations & freinds. If you doe not understand me I tell you plainly yo^r Brother ought to marry. The Romans would not imploye any in the affaires of theire Co^{mon}wealth unlesse they were married, wyfe & children are rather Spirres than cloggs. my prayers are that the Lord would direct him & I wishe it were in my power & province to serve you all in that w^{ch} might be for the sattisfaction of all yo^r minds. I had a letter from your Cosen

* S^r H I was probably Sir Henry Ingoldsby, son-in-law of Sir Oliver Cromwell, of Hinchbrook, and first cousin of the Protector Oliver. Sir Henry was a strong parliamentarian and in the army; he was made a baronet by the Protector Oliver. At the Restoration he went over to the royalists and was confirmed in his baronetcy by Charles II.

H. C.⁷ whose signefys his wives being delivered of another Sonn. His name must be his wives ffathers name, it was exprest with an Apologie, & also he writt that his sister Russell⁸ was brought to bed of her eighth Child. It seems to me to be a breeding country. What shall we say? What is man or the Sonn of man that thou art mindful of him. Man is conceived in Sinn & brought forth in iniquity; to trouble & sorrow, The Lord give us ffaith in Jesus Christ, whose only can relieve us & deliver us from Sinn & Wrath. Let us with Eagles wings fly unto the Rock whose top is in the Heavens. Madam, we are oute of the Roade of news, & we please ourselve with the Hermits retirednesse more than wth the confusions of Tongu's in the Towne, I viset it very seldom; yet give me leave to tell you the Proroging of the Parlement was very surprising, soe many are the discourses, that I hope you will excuse my silence untill the noises of men's heads be quieted, when perhaps we may understand the true reason of the Prorogation. 3 or 4 days preceding the House of Coñons had named Dr Watson & Dr Scott to keep the 30th Jan: with them, but prevented. Taxes grumble the gizards of many: and the unequal distribution of the Assess^{ers} maks Complains. Some understand the Act of the Convention one way & some another, pray use not the word Convention too coñon. and yet some will say the reason for Proroging is in order to dissolving to make way of a more authenticke Parlement, as to its suñons. Be not others drudges, especially in the matter of moneys, As the members of Each country voted, soe they have time to order. Yo^r grand f: would never meddle in mony matters. be reserv'd yet civell, let noe man make you their hacny. Madam I hope you will excuse me, I cannot but blushe, yet give me leave to repeat my affections to you all assuring you there is none that more respects & vallews you then yo^r most faithfull and obleiged to serve

CRANBOURNE.

Gentleman, wyfe & sonn present all dues to yee. My hearty saluts to Mr Leadbeater & his best wyfe—the bordering ffenns affords bo'th ayre & Soyle for breeding. Pray alsoe present me to Mr & M^{rs} Reyn^r.

Madam E. C.

[Answer to above letter evidently a rough copy, as it is written on the back of the above letter. The signature 'dutifull C.' and 'E. C.' show it to be probably written by his child Elizth Cromwell. Elizabeth Cromwell was evidently the rich one of the family, and seems to have been applied to for a loan or her cousin Major Henry Cromwell. She speaks of the new baby, who was named Benjamin Hewling, after his grandfather. The writing of this letter is very careless and scrawled.]

Most deare & ever Honrd Sr,—I blush to say I have two of y^r most kind letters to return my humbled & hartly thanks for, since I must confess an oppertunity has slipt me that of the birds, for want of timely notice, & now been longer delayed by Mr Lead: kindness to their nece who is to be the bearer of this to London: chusing a private hand & to what I have to writ need not fear the coñon way, we are by the blessing of God in y^e injoyment of much merey, but the want of y^r presence & the fear, you have not that attendance you ought to have is very abating to our

⁷ 'Your Cosen H. C.' here referred to was Major Henry Cromwell, of Spinney Abbey, near Soham, second son of Henry, lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Major Henry's second son was born at Spinney in 1689, and was named Benjamin Hewling, after his maternal grandfather.

⁸ 'The sister Russell' was Elizabeth, seventh child of Henry, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, who married Mr. William Russell, of Fordham. She had fourteen children.

satisfaction, give but the word & I am ready to be your valet de chambre when ever you chose it is much my troubel I canott visit you as I would frequently, yet I hope when my brother marries (which he seems inclined to, tho I think he knows not how to goe about it) I shall be more at liberty to travel, I wish the hint in y^r letter may quicken him, could he acomodate his mony matter a littel I dont doubt but he would goe briskly on, Oh that it would please our good God to direct him in his choice & lead him as he did Abrahams servant in the right way. The Tobacco came safe my bro: was soe pleased with it. I thought he had acknowledged the resait for it. My Cosen H. C. gave me an account of his son with the double name & in that letter acknowledged my hundred pound promising principel & intrest desiring forbearance. I was glad to see he owned it & have defered his bond promising to be as I have ever ben his freind. The news we have here makes my bro: glad he is here quietly looking after his own concerns & admiring y^r foresight.

.
 pardon the roughness of these lines & be pleased to accept of humbol duty & sarvis from all here with her who is, Dearest S^r

Your most obliged & most dutifull C.
 in all affectionate sarvice
 E. C.

XIII.

ffor my hon^d Lady Madam Elizabeth Cromwell att Hurseley near
 Winchester Hants these

March 10th 89/90.

Deare Madame,—I began wth your Sister, & my penn rann me oute of bounds before I was aware & having spent much of my powder, I hope you will excuse me if I am not soe learge to you, nor is it want of affections nor matter but time our yong schollar whoe is to give them a lift to London & now waites (for the end of this) booted &c :⁹ I am glad it pleased you to have hint from me to call upon your Brother to settle: I have revived it againe to your sister, & I hope you will boeth see it soe reasonable & necessary that you will call upon him. It concern's your family in generall & you & your sister particularly. he is the Spring that must move your wheels. You pleased me to say he was inclined, & your drole (that you thought he knew not how to goe aboute it) made me smile. Well madam I thank you for your carefull affectionate expression concerning me, pray lett your Brother settle & that will be the best step for us to enjoye eache other according to what you desire. I would not have you att a distance from him when he is aboute a matter of such concerne for I know he will advise with you both. And it is my prayers to the Lord to direct that a blessing may succeed to you all, that we may experiment by what is brought together, that though we are forsaken of men yet we are not of the Lord. I had a transient view of a letter from your bro: to Coz: W. it startled me & to deale plainly (for that is best among freinds) it went against the haire, nor can I make head or foot of it, I suppose the Corporation hath chosen well, a couple of Monmouth-

⁹ This refers to Richard's anxiety that his son should marry.

tonians & the freeholders should choose together: it must come to the Committee for Elections & they are generally a Committee of Affections.¹⁰ I doe believe it had been better (upon what we have att present before or eys) that your brother had declined the choyce. It is not too late for him to take advice, whether the nature of the thing will allow to be dropte & soe prevent a public stain. Maynard & Runton who opposed Gerrard & Hawtry lost it for knights of the shire Middlesex. Our Church of England were allarumed & bravely bestirred themselves in the choyce of this Parlement: & it pleaseth our King very well: he loves not to see the Presbyterian to prick up his Ears, & the Commonwealths man hangs them down. The Lord appears to be breaking & pounding together all must be melted downe & then looke for som what, what thinck yee of the Kingdom of Christ. Pray do not call me ffannattique why all our world are mad. And is it not a strange sight to see a sober man in a mad world. Madam pray excuse me, I find my penn to comit errors it blotts & blurrs, I am not upon a right subject & I must not stay the yong schollar any longer; services are all presented: I shall know more when I see your brother, by whose light I shall know how (better) to direct my penn desiring the Lord to continnew his favour & blessings I rest Deare Madam

Yo^r most affectionate
& faithful servant
CANTERBURY.

Present me to yo^r Brother I write not to him for that he is soe neare his journey. To M^r & M^{rs} Leadbeater To M^r & M^{rs} Raynor & to whom so ever is in the way quallafyed let them know I present respects love nay service.

XIV.

[There is no date to this letter; it must refer to Richard's son Oliver. The writing and paper place it about 1690, when his son would be thirty-four years old. Yet Richard writes as if his son were quite a young man. Evidently Elizabeth Cromwel was the ruler of the family, the one to whom they looked for guidance.]

Dear Childe,—It will not be many dayes but yo^r Brother will be wth you, soe as the L^d prospers his returne. and you may acquaint M^{rs} S. wth it that she may not be surprisid. . . I intended it upon a rumo^r that the great one wth his followers were going down some time this weeke, w^{ch} is uncertaine; how ever meeting with that which wounds mee; had I a horse I thinck onlie of my duty & the trouble of my Soule rather then his returne should not be made & that speedily what ever hazard I should have met with as to my owne lyfe or Son I should have adventured. You know the caution boeth of us gave him & what care & cercomspection was necessary. I preceeded his setting forth with a letter to M^r Parr to have an Ey to prevent what ever might be of blemish to his name or behav^r. I followed him with cautionary

¹⁰ Richard Cromwell's son Oliver was elected member of parliament for Lymington in 1690, William and Mary's second parliament. However, the exigencies of the times caused all returns of members to be adjusted by the government, and Oliver's election was not allowed.

letters to keep his deportment fresh, that there might not be the least slip. I encouraged in my letters his manly liberty, strengthening his good minde & disposition, that this journey might prove every way to his profit. But the contrary I meet with, there being no regard of what was either said or wrott, And such are the clattering of tongues in this Towne concerning him, that I know not whether he hath not given a deadly wounde to his poore distressed ffather & sisters : nay let me tell you I know not but he hath ruined himselfe, I am certaine as things are represented to me & others' he hath eclipsed all the glory of his Travels. When he comes to you deale plainly wth him, & tell him he must humble himselfe before the L^d for he hath greatly offended his people, he hath prodigiously opened the mouths of o^r Enemyes to his & his ffamily's derision. And with all let him know subterfuges, & a dessembling tongue will doe him noe good, ffor I tell you the person that came to tell me of what he had heard at the relation of things, he protested he was ready to sinck under them. I say againe for him to smother his guilt will be a double iniquity. I protest I shall never trust him for the future if he gads aboute to smother anything. The general charge is keeping company with the baises of the country, horse racing, & whether it hath been accompanied with drinking, gaming, swearing or what not I cannot tell for I heare only things in general w^{ch} make my hearte to ake. What is this judgement from the L^d upon us, what are instructions, cautions etc. I am afraide he received noe good by the acquaintance wth y^e yong Lockharts. Pity, pity, pity me, is this a day to be careless, when every one is throwing at us. Oh that the L^d would deale wth his Soule, its a day of mourning, I have only this comferte to support my soule that I have used the best of my endeav^{ors} in the behalfe of my children. And say not that I have ruined you, nor for want of patience doe not ruine y^{re}-selves. The day is dearker & it is alsoe light. I have felt & feele & yet I intend to waite for the L^d only can deliver. You may show my letter to M^{rs} S. & yee may both as Christians deale with him, & prepare him to be ingenious : ffor I am resolved to goe to the bottome of things, & it is that I am concerned for his sisters & his owne soule more than I am for myselfe, having dealt plainly with you, I am at some ease of minde desiring the L^d would turne all for o^r everlasting good.

I reste your deare affectionate & truly loving
f. C R.

XV.

[To his daughter Ann Cromwell, who afterwards married Dr. John Gibson, a physician in London. The state of England and Europe at this time was very unsettled, and is evidently often in his mind.]

Decem^{br} 18th 90^{yr}.

Deare,—Think not I forget you, though I confess I have been silent too long in returning & owning of that of yours to me. that w^{ch} was one barr I knew not upon M^{rs} Abbots remouing how to send soe as my letter might come safe to you. And though we write nothing of State affairs they being above our providentiall spheer ; yet I am not willing to be expos'd, nor can there be that freedome when we are thoughtfull of

such restraint as a peeping Ey. The hand by whom this comes gave me a hint as if there were some foule play to letters directed to him. Deare heart I thanck thee for thy kind & tender expressions to me, and I assure (if there had been any cause) they would have melted me, there is a great deale of pittie, piety & love, (what I had before was soe full that I had not the least rome to turne a thought or surmise) but what shall I say, my heart was full, but now it overflowes; you have putt joye & gladness in it: How unworthy am I to have such a child & I know I may venture to say, that the like parrallell is not to be found: what I said was experienced matter for information, what you replied was in behalfe of those whoe protest themselves to be the Lord's people & they that are truly such are as tender as the Apple of his Ey. I rejoyce in that we both of us love them, yet we are not to deny our Reasons as to the mischeife some of them hath been instrumentall not only in particular to a ffamuly, but in generall to the Church of Christ, besides what woes are hanging over these nations, may we not goe further & bring in all Christendom. I have been above 30^y years bannished & under silence & my strength & safty is to be retyred quiet & silent, we are foolish in taking our cause out of the hand of God. Our Saviour will plead & God will do right he hath promised let us joyne our Prayers ffor ffaith & Patience, if we have heaven let whoso will have the world, my hearty, hearty, hearty affections & love to your sister and selfe. Salut all freinds I rest comending yee to the blessings of the Almighty againe fairewell who am

your truly loving father

R. C.

Present me to all freinds.

LandL^d & Land lady present respects & service.

fforth Madam Ann Cromwell att Hurs'ly near Winton South^{on}.

XVI.

[There is no date to this letter and the signature is torn off, but it is evidently from Elizabeth Cromwell to her father: the writing is similar to her letter signed 'E. C.', and the expressions are also similar.]

Is there noe hopes Dearest S^r that the turns made of late by the Wheel of Providence may lead you from your Cell & Hermits life that your famely may be made happy by your prescence, why should not you quit y^r thoughts of those as has soe unjustly deserted you & yours, and indeavour to settel your selfe soe as your Children may be serviceable to you then they can be in this way you are now in, I hope it will not be long erre you will give me leave to wait on you, at which time I must againe beg your pardon for the freedome I now take with my pen as I doe now, & also that I have been so remise in writing as to have two of your most affectionate leters to return thanks for at once, my De: Brother can informe you how much I long to be serving my Dearest F. & what news the Countrey affords therefore I will say noe more but heartily wish this jorney may be as sattisfatory to my Brother as the last for I thought I never saw him looke better in my life, desiering you & y^r's may be guided & counseld by the onely wise Counsellor to whos

protection I comitt you beging your blessing I take leave to subscrib
myselfe

Yours very
[No signature.]

XVII.

[Probably written to his son Oliver, and from the style of writing and paper
written about 1690.]

Feb. 22.

I blesse the Lord for his grace, I desire to love, & through his good-
ness all his works & dispensations are more than favourable. My laste
letter was the second, the first might have been worth yo^r observation as
to my Soule, the second worth consideration, bo'th oute of love & affec-
tion. The day requires holding the Anchor for how soon do'th the
marriner repent of his ffancy: ffaine would he be at Anchor but neither
winde or tyde will suffer it. I thanck you for yo^r first & second letter ;
whoe can you confide in better than in him that will tell you yo^r faults.
I blesse the L^d I have but few to tell you of. The Lord be acknowledged
for the welfare of yo^r Sisters ; This is to incourage you to write & speak :
I am not in haste therefore take yo^r best conveniency. Believe it, God
will be waited upon ; the pitt is open ready to swallow : & if I have
any observation, you have not as yet loste any time. I give you my
heart, Hearte to Hearte is good. My true respects love & kindness to
M^{rs} S. wth assurance that I wish all your happyness & that the L^d
will be pleased to begitt & maintaine a right understanding are the
prayers of

Deare Deare
yo^r most affectionate
freind C^r.

XVIII.

For Mr Edward Rayner¹² att Hursley neare Winchester These
Hants.

Aug^t 29, 91.

Deare madam,—When I had wrote the inclosed of the 27th I thought
good to stop it until we had gott Thursday & fryday evening over, for
that great voyding of blood¹³ was on Wednesday between 5 & 6 o'clock as
I think is mentioned. We have kept him in bed & to-night w^{ch} is fryday
he was taken out until it was made, and tⁿ returned blessed be the Lord
all quiet soe that o^r hop's beynn to return ; yet we must waite for it will
be some time before his strenght will be restored or to returne to the
place where he received yo^r letters. Therefore Madam be pleased to
direct your letters for M^r Thomas Pengelly att finchley East end near
Highgate, I know not why they should not come safe, for the Post Office
orders the letters for the penny posts in there several quarters. Or if
you like not this you may inclose to M^r Lee as you formerly did, and

¹² Mr. Rayner was steward at Hursley to Elizabeth and Ann Cromwell and their
brother Oliver, and some letters were evidently sent under cover to him.

¹³ Referring to a previous letter containing an account of the severe illness of a lad,
probably a young Pengelly, as Richard was most likely at Cheshunt at this time.

direct him to send either by y^e market people or Coache or penny post. I think we may write more slowly than we did att one time, a time that required it. The wings of the Almighty cover you.

Yo^r humble servant

RICHARDSON.

we all present o^r dues.

XIX.

ffor M^r Edward Rayner at Hurs'ley near Winton These in Hampshire.

7^{br} 17th 91.

Madam,—Yo^r Brother & Sister were in the right, one att a time is sufficient, for oure maine concern's is to understand how the howse stands; that my letters crowded one upon another, its difficult to passe them 4 or 5 miles to the Post Office. yours of the 12 arrived att evening on 14^{teenth}, & for those that come for any of you, your direction maks them performe their journey as quick & steady, nay better then stop & bate in London. . . . There is nothing would be more pleasing then to answer the invitation made by yee, & there is not a day but I cogetate upon the subject, there are difficultys which a little time may remove; I cannot digest the Par: usadge of Ludlow I believe we cannot parrallell a time of greater roguery & dissimulation & treachery as what we are in, & the time we are coming into is to be feared will be worse & worse. My shirts doe grow thinn. I am glad focky is with you. . . . S^r I had turn'd out my bay horse to grasse, these last 3 nights the weather being temperate I left him oute, this morning I went to look upon him, but he could not see me, the sudden alteration surprized me, I went for the ffarryer, who hath tooke out a hawe, his Ey was swelled, & it is swelled, I have tooke him to stable but whether he will come to see againe or noe I know not. I wish focky may please you, I believe you must tye him up & not let him be too full when you hunt him. one letter att a time is best, I am sorry to finde yo^r Sister E to compleane, I hope itt will goe offe againe. My hearty affections to you all, having out runn'd the Constable I rest wth all dues from all to all

Yo^{rs} in duty

C R.

XX.

For Oliver Cromwell Esq^{re} att Hursley near Winchester Hants These.

10^{br} 19th 91.

S^r,—Yo^{rs} of the 10th instant forces me not to delay longer for I have now by me wth this tow from you the other being that of the 29th of the last month as also one from yo^r Sister E & another from your Sister A. yo^r first as also these last have perplext my thoughts fearing I might creat thoughts of remissness in me towards you. I hope your candors will acquit me when I shall give you some touche of the true reason of my forbearance; the week preceeding the last I was invited by M^r Swan to come to Towne to discourse an acquaintance of his about an overture to be offered to you, oure first meeting afforded me very little light for my old man would not disclose the person, but altogether played upon one string, viz: that I should give an account of you,

yo^r estate etc : I thought I was bound to be cautious as he was reserv'd or might act the parte of cunning. I told him how providence had made me a stranger to my family, but he had the liberty (pretending friendship) to satisfye himselfe as to the person & his estate—with all Rancks whether high or low Lawyers, Divines, Phisistians, Marchants, Tradesmen in City Country freind or foe such is the generosity & free sperrit of the family. The old man would not be satisfiyed but I must give him another meeting, w^{ch} was the following week, & all the time & place we mett, it was my parte to heare, & when time was spent, I understood shee was about 30 years of adge worth 8000 baggs of nayles. And finding the old man as darke as he was before, resolving not to fall into a snare I repeated what I have above mentioned, & that he or any appointed might satisfy their Eys if they would take the paines as to the Estate, person & government of the ffamuly—telling him relations might be byassed, & as I tooke leave, I cal'd for M^r Sw : that if this gentlemau had anything more to say in this businesse if he hinted it to him he should give me notice & I would meet him. Now S^r had I kept touche with y^r letters I had saved the trouble of my scribe, & your trouble of reading S^r I must not omit to lett you know I entered an acquaintance wth yo^r Cosen Moss, old & yong exprest great love. . . .

We have a boxe, my old great boots came not to hand, let Madam E know we found the pot of Oysters very good & Madam Ann s stockens they are to be valewed, A pair of new Glov's I know not from whom wthout it be little M^r Sparks. T. P.¹⁴ my fellow travello^r presents his service to yo^rselfe & ladys & desired me to signefy M^{rs} Mary Purvis lives at Sanford near ffaringdon in Berks. Its time to stop my head is hott my fingers are cold yet give us leave to present all dues from All to All with our affectionat & joynt prayers for all blessings I rest intirely yo^{rs}

R CRANMORE.

The great M^r Baxter dyed last week to be interred tomorrow. M^r Cocken was interred some time since. And one M^r Brand an eminent minister buried y^e last weeke.

XXI.

[Addressed on the outside to Mr. Rayner, the steward, but written to his daughter.]

To M^r Edward Rayner at Hursley near Winchester.

Dec^{br} 1st 91.

Deare,—I might stop my pen & stay a little longer having since my coming backe dischargd my selfe with one to your Brother; w^{ch} was a little after my returne to the Post where I now am. My fellow traveller Wedesday last wrote alsoe to give an account of the Comissions he was charged wth. It would not looke well that M^r Leadbeater should come empty wthout scrip or scrole, besides it saves 3^d carriage. A letter from his wyfe spake yo^r Brothers comīng home on ffryday evening but it was wth a cold the reste of the ffamuly well. Colds many tims have very ill effects upon the body. his spirrits are very active, the house is originall clay, a breache is soone made, & its ill repairing in Winter, besides there is an old proverb 'old yong, yong old'

¹⁴ T. P. was the son of Mr. Pengelly of Cheshunt, with whom Richard was living.

Pray Ladys joyne wth me & desire him to be more kinde & carefull of himselfe then perhaps his yong blood will give him leave to consider. Poor Robbin says in his Almanack good meats & drinks to put into the body warme cloths upon the body att this season of the yeare, certainly an excellent D^r. we have sent to enquire for o^r boxe with-out successe, we suggest the missetake was in the messenger demanding in the name of Clark when it should have been Pengelly our errour shall be soone corrected. Madam Pen stayed all the week to entertaine o^r promised expected guests, M^r Leadbeater & M^r Prilby, Satterday she was fore'd to Towne tow houres after her taking coache, my gentlemen came, we answered the surprize as well as we could they seemed satisfi'd, it would have been better if shee had been att home. I told them they were welcome. They returned after dinner to Towne M^r Leadbeater returned next morning to Highgate Church to give a sermon to the importunity of one M^{rs} Price a former acquaintance. tell his Nancy of it, & let her know that if his horse had been att home he would have stayed att London towne a quarter of the yeare. M^r Prilby hath a bagg full of stories to tell her. but for her comfort she must not believe all. Deare hearts I thank you for all yo^r love. I greatly rejoyce & solace myselfe, I chew the quid of all yo^r kindnesse yee are comforts the greatest in this world, the Lord of Heaven reward you bo'th with temporall & spirituall blessings of rest. All dues from All to All. Madam Pen : ¹⁵ begs a little respite to expresse her acknowledgement of yo^r care & kindnesse to her sonn, the father also expresses most sensibly his obligations to you all— & so doth my fellow traveller. excuse the hast & badness of my pen.

yo^{rs} yo^{rs} yo^{rs} in duty & affections

C R.

XXII.

[The post mark is the only date, $\frac{DE}{31}$. The quality of paper and writing place

this letter in 1691. The deliverance of 'your brother' is probably from one of the attempts to arrange his marriage, so often alluded to in these letters.]

for M^{rs} Cromwell at Hursley near Winchester these.

Deare heart,—The first account I had of yo^r illness soe astounded me, that I have been as one benumbed ever since, I wrote & I did not know to whome nor when, nor what. . . . Deare deare you have cleared my sight & cheered my heart with the sight of your own handwriting of the 26th the steadyness of your hand but essepecially the words of yo^r minde is a cordiall to my soule; what miserable creatures should we be had we not a God to go to. . . . Thus farr was I before I came to Towne, I have only time to conclude leaving what I have to say untell I have more time & better instrument considering yo^r sisters lines on the other side of yo^{rs}, I am forc't to conclude your Brother is happily delivered we have cause to bless y^e Lord. I love, love, & love you : yee have my prayers. dues to all from all I rest yo^{rs} in my whole soule

C R.

Yo^r Brother longs to be at home, he will discourse what the penn is shorte off. My hearty love.

¹⁵ Mrs. Pengelly.

[On the other side of this paper are the following lines from his son.]

This serves to lett my dearests know that I will observe Marjories letter but I cannot jor^{ny} till Tuesday. Therefore I expect my coach at Winton on Tuesday next.

I am y^{rs}
O. CROMWELL.

XXIII.

10^b 31 92.

Deare Madam,—I have had my thoughts not a little exercised how I might return to yo^{rs} of the 17th for it came while I was under the rules of my Docter, the observation of whome I was resolved to tye mysef wth the most exactist stricknesse ; & I must say while I was in the use of means I was much releived. . . . I will come to see you as soone as it maybe convenient. . . . M^{rs} Sophia¹⁶ gave me an account of yo^r going out of Towne on Wednesday. . . . I have told you I intend to see you. The good Lord keep & blesse yee all, are the prayers of (wth dues from All to All) yo^{rs} in hearty affections

R RICHARDSON.

I know not how the D^r will order for me & therefore when you write let me know the dayes yo^r brother Mortimer¹⁷ is at Home.

XXIV.

[For his eldest daughter and enclosed to Mrs. Sophia Leadbeater. There is a post-

mark outside,



ffer M^{rs} Sophia Leadbeater att Madam Horseman in Bartlett Courte in Holbourn London These.

April 1st 93.

Deare heart,—My purpose of seeing you, I was prevented, the 1st parte of the week being roughfe, the latter of same was inviting & when I had joynd my resolution to make use of my horse as I was in bead ready to rise turning my head I was struck with such a rick w^{ch} pointed from my neck to my left shoulder, & though it is not soe troublesome as it was yesterday, yett it will not lett me have my desire of coming to see you today. . . . I received yo^{rs} of 29th March wth the inclosed yesterday morning. Well madam I think you have done well in being att liberty as to yo^r returne for Hursley. Yo^r sister says she had one from yo^r brother whoe wrote from Comton where he was kindly treated this was on Tewsdays night—for on Thursday morning they began their journey onward for Exeter, & here yo^r sister breaks off. . . . I perceive she intends a journey up, I thincke her genious ought to be incouradged, & I am satisfyed you will be ready to consider what shee shall desire soe farr as you are capable to help her. . . . You doe well to change yo^r ayre often, I incurdge yo^r designe for Battersea. Pray let yo^r sister

¹⁶ Mrs. Leadbeater.

¹⁷ Mr. Mortimer, who married Dorothy Cromwell, Richard's youngest daughter.

know I have hers of y^e 27th Mar^{ch} & that I shall (if you incouradge her journey up) cease writing untill I either see or heare again from her. I am in hast the Lord blesse yo^u wth dues from All to All.

I rest yo^r most affectionate f & servant

C R.

XXV.

8^{br} 26 97.

Deare,—I was almost persuaded to stay my pen untill the Thursdays return of the Post; for Satterday I received a letter from my Lady Russell,¹⁸ it was scribled with bemoaning & exprest a soifte & tender spirit wth affection to have a line or tow from me by way of returne. I told her that hers was very welcome though it found me more out of Tune than I have been for many yeares, amongst other matters, I recomended her to the sermons of o^r Lord & Saviour in the 6th & 7th chapters of St Matthew & to be conversant in the Psalms as her ffather was for there is noe case but what may be there found. . . . You are to be comended for the Affections you bare to yo^r Brother, Mr Wavell hath not (notwithstanding all the fine weather & blessed seed time) answerd as yet to his promised seeing of mee. Put not your trust in man saith the Divine Orakle. . . . excuse the defects of my pen from the noise of my head my knee is som'what better, I have bespoken a cover for my head, measure is taken Dues to all I rest your most

affectionate f & servant

C R.

XXVI.

9th 16 97.

Deare Madam,—Y^{rs} of the 8th should have been answered sooner, I put off Tewsdays Thursday & Satterday posts in hop's of having something material to write. Your sister did well to make a step to me before shee made a returne to the desired answer. The Dr^r¹⁹ knows that the step is on my account & youre sister & all of you will be satisfi'd in our delay when we can answer for o^rselves, we are not idle but labouring to get better light & understanding to prevent errours. Sit loose, it may require sometime, & I cannot see how anything can be done without your Brother's presence, I am satisfi'd lett it goe w^{ch} way it will you will have satisfaction not only in the stop that providentially have been put upon your Sisters penn but also as to her longer waiting, for if it be of the Lord, nothing shall hinder. What can you expect from me, If yo^r Ey saw how it is you would pittie me, my heart is ready to fly in peices to feel the cercomstances of your flamuly. I wish you had not acquainted yo^r Cosen Morse²⁰ that the ship was sold. Its a start, I love & pittie you, blott out these last 6 lines. The King is arrived,²¹ the people for severall miles was upon the Roade a night to gett to Towne to see. I did not

¹⁸ His sister Lady Frances married, as her second husband, Sir John Russell of Chippenham. Henry Cromwell, his brother, also married a sister of Sir John Russell.

¹⁹ Dr. Gibson, who married Richard's daughter Ann in the following year. Ann seems to have taken some time to consider his proposals.

²⁰ 'Cosen Morse' was granddaughter of Bridget Cromwell, Richard's sister.

²¹ William III after the peace of Ryswick.

intend to say anything more than that I had received your letter but would not say more, being willing to attend the promised guest viz Mr Wa: Morse. as also Mr Lisle. What I shall meet with from them I know not, esppecially y^e last, the Alderman's Wyfe starts tow other kins women of hers ten 1000 a peice the course is often spoiled wⁿ there are many haire in view & the world is full of trickes; blessed be the Lord who hath bestowed upon y^r Brother so large a measure of understanding he must put forth himselfe for himselfe, the world is tricking, & these q[ue]s[t]ions he propounded to the Alderman as to fortun's are more to be preferred, & if Mr Lisle when he coms talks upon the subject I shall adventure to declare my opiñion. I shall beg of the Lord to help us in our difficultys, he is our only hope & rest. Oh that all o^r exersises & tryalls may be sanctafyed & we bettered; my knee is not freed from paine nor my head from noise I sleep & eate well, M^{rs} Banes is very weake hath been forc't to mak reiterated use of S^r Edmund King, who sayes the attendance must be nigh & watchfull for wⁿ shee goes it will be quick. I have scribled too much Excuse wth due affections to you all

I rest your humble servant

Ma^{de} Pen : presents dues to All.

C R.

XXVII.

Jan : 15th 98.

Deare Madam,—My laste was to yo^r Sister I hope shee hath received. This is only to lett you know that yo^{rs} to Madam P. is come to hand, its but resonable but some little time should be allowed to make her return, for its but necessary to be informed whether that of yo^r Sister's to Towne be received we are endeavouring to be informed & that wth caution which will require some little time. That the Lady hath found out the person & the carractistical badge put upon him, occations no disturbance but rather imbrace her affections, but who shee hath plowed with though I have a shrewd guess yet for the present its prudence to pass it. Let the Person be a little Whig its better than a great Tory. That the Ladyes were not acquainted with what they have hunted after is no fault here for its above 5 weeks since I wrote to the Lady R²² to have a conveniency of time & place given me to waite upon her & the other female but I think it hath broken off our letter comunication. I will refuse nothing where I may finde God in it & att least be passive where I cannot see & hope for the blessing of y^e Lord. I intended to say no more than y^e 2 first lines but be ready to heare what any shall say, it being my duty to waite on the Lord for its a great concerne, & I am psuaded boeth on one hand & the other the Lord is sought & with dues to all I rest

Y^{rs} affectionatly to serve

C R.

XXVIII.

To *Elizabeth Cromwell.*

[This letter is torn and frayed at the edges.]

Mar 26 1698.

Deare Madam,—Though it be so long as you mention since you laid hold of your pen to me, it was either that others stept in or that there was no business to write upon, & if I mistake not it was youre turne; now this is

²² Lady Russell, who seems by this to have been also trying to arrange the wished marriage of Richard's son Oliver.

to satisfy you that I have yours of the 21 instant. That of your brothers giving an account of his safe returne, said that you were pritty well, but your sister was some^{w^{ht}} indisposed, but not to hinder her to goe aboute ; I am glad my letter was to satisfaction, & I accept her thancks &c : Cheerfulness of minde is a very good compannion, & it keeps off that w^{ch} is noxious cherriseth that whi^{ch} is profitable & pleasant to health. That w^{ch} shee had from the Gentle^m carrys authorety, the fountaine is alwayes prefferable to the streame, the first is clear when the other by accident is fowle. Creditt may be allowed where there is stricktness to maintaine reputation, but how much more secure is that person who hath a principle above Education or morality. The visit is the next, having accepted yo^r Bro^s invitation, your Brother is a Gentleman & he cannot act other then like himselfe, he is a brother & loves his Sister, & hath not only said that he would doe what belongs to him as to your sisters portion : and in that point how ingenously did he act with his wood ward ; but I hope he will hold on his resolution of settling himselfe, and then the portion will be better and more easily raised. The present (if partys agree) is for your Brother and gentleman to settle and secure the portion according to eache others satisfaction²³ this no doubt but boeth of them affection into halfe of the if the partys agree ; and pray take notice that this will be the last time of asking What signefys scribbling ; consider the day, cercomstances, and amongst the rest your sisters adge, and who hath heitherto intressed y^mselves concerning any of you : Therefore look upon the Providence, but especially upon the ffather of it, who is an all knowing all wise God, and if any lack wisdom lett them aske it of God, whoe gives it with a pleasant liberaleity. Madam Pen : intends to viset you with a line or tow the next weeke, shee dropt out, that shee intends to be plane, well upon that single account I will leave her to her purpose, not directing, but incouradging as I suppose not mistaking as that which is most agreeable to your genius : and its to be lamented we have so little of it in this adge ; Its a fuel not to be cast among swine : well madam, our World is to be lamented, the day is only happy or rather favourable to them that have leas to doe in it. The Dissenting Dissenter how are they tairing one another a peices, what sport doe they make the Divel & their ennemys : on the contrary how displeasing wounding, greiving to the Trinitie of our being & happyness. To whose Councill care & blessing I recommend you all with all your concerns, I rest yo^r most affectionate f & servant

C R.

before I shut my letter I must let you know the D^r after dinner gave us a viset. He holds his resolution Munday come 7ven night you cannot doe less then to send youre Charrot, for it will be too much for him to foot it. I assure you he is modest to a beauty : shall I bid you all be cheerfull, pray be merry, God is good.

I cannot give you a particular account how it hath been wth me, a very hard winter, but what a day is this, how dry, but chang'd into softness, it is bountifull to y^e prisoners. A hope of delivery. & what a seed time,²³ yo^{re} Brother hints ! God is good, but Exeter

²³ Here and in the following lines the letter is torn

y^e Wednesday after the D^{rs} Munday, the ffarr . . . before that time; our Lady Day is just past . . . desired for his own money. . . .

[Ann Cromwell married Dr. Gibson on 16 June. I give the entry from the register of Hursley parish, sent to me by the kindness of the Rev. J. G. Young, the present vicar.

Anno Dom., 1698.

16 Junij. Thomas Gibson de Londino Arniger et M. D. duxit Dominam Annam Cromwell de Hursley.

Afterwards she and Dr. Gibson lived in Hatton Garden, London, and Richard used to stay with them, for he mentions Hatton Garden and the Gibsons together.]

XXIX.

To the same.

July y^e 5th 98.

Madam,—Since I sawe you I have had my thoughts exercised upon the discourse we had aboute youre Brother; I would not make reflections, but I greive that the Eyes that should see will not see, & the person only proper to act doeth not act. I owne a duty & from that, I could not but send for this bearer, I have had a full & learge discourse with him about the Nottinghamshire ffamuly, & I finde myselfe so loaded that I am forced to acquaint you; & that it is more then (may I say it) necessary that you should unbiasse yourselfe of all prejudice & cooley heare what the bearer hereof can give you in that Affaire. The gentleman his name I take to be Taylor, a dissenter, free & gentile, only one daughter 3000[£] p an: has been in Towne for severall moneths but lately is gone into the Country Regards nothing more but a civil gentleman—whether he hath an Estate or noe for his daughter. What shall we say, your Brother not ignorant of such a business, nay, when he was to discourse M^r du Moulin. I confess I am not pless't. That you may the better discharge your comission, heare what this gentleman sayes, & that you may have the better advantadge to serve yo^r Brother, let me desire you to recieve him with freedome & freindship & as a kinsman. Such notice & mannadgement of business maks very uneasy, therefore I shall breake offe, with returne of thaneks for the late kind entertainment of yo^r Brother & Sister Gibson, hoping shée is better than when I was with her. wishing you all happynesse I rest with dues from All to All

Yo^{rs} in all affections

C. R.

XXX.

To the same.

Jan 20th ⁹⁹/₇₀₀.

Deare Madam,—Yo^{rs} of the 15th instant tells me that yo^r sister gave you an account of my being at her house & how I was freed from that cold my last acquainted you with, & this I may add it went off without its usuall concluding with a coughfe. I know not but my going to Towne & the kinde reception might be an additional means, the more I looke upon the relation between your Sister & M^r Gibson the more I see of God. without flattery lett me say they are a worthy couple, the D^r improves in heavenly as in Earthly. Blessed be the Lord for his good hand of

providence in that affaire. The same God can doe more, we have more work of that kinde. Oh that it would please him to take away our reproach, that the mouths of thy people O God may be stopt, in that thou hast lift up the light of thy countenance upon us as a kinde ffather in disposing of thy children. Thou ought to be sought unto, for that which is done by God is well done, & if he will nothing can be done without him. ffor encouradgement, Gods nature is goodness, he will not alwayes chide, his heart is love & he delights in mercy. How tenderly hath he dealt with you in your late exercisings he tooke yee (brother, selfe, it was somewhat longer wth y^{or} woman) & layed yee upon his knee but not in anger showed the rod, & kist you; the Postscript of your letter next morning tells me after bleeding your brother had a very good night throat well & easie. Let these mercys encouradge faith & duty I have (sayes the Psalmist) trusted in thy mercy, my heart shall rejoyce in thy Salvation because thou hast dealt bountefully wth me. I had been undone, if I had not been undon, none but God can kill & bring to lyfe. O that we may learne I am called upon, the Lord sanctafy all his providentiall dealings with dues from all to all I rest

your most affectionate f and

assured to service to my power

C R.

I shall take care of your farmers designed kindness & observe as to carridge paid or not.

XXXI.

To the same.

Jan 27⁹⁹
700^r

Deare &c;.—This is only to lett you know (according to intimation in yo^r last to me) I sent Robert on Thursday to the Winchester carryers Inn, whoe found & brought what was mentioned viz: A statly chine accompanied with a fatt Turkey. A farmer may be gent in his present, what ever the imployment. tow shillings for carridge att a penny in the pound maks me to heare the Farmer to say this hog this chine the best is for M^r Clark well pray thank the man for the chine & the woman for the Turkey, I will tell you it was the best, because it was to come to your best freind I weighed it at 7½ halfe. I intend to make a Royal feast on the Royal day in spight of the hangman that burnt the covenant. Rich^d Ward of Most, & Cap^t Har: ²⁴ I design to be guests. I have not the Ladyes as yet. pray lengthen my affections to your Selfe & Brother, blockhead, say Brother first. I am glad you are together, the blessing of Heaven be upon you boeth with dues from All to All I rest truly your down reight freind

C R.

XXXII.

To the same.

Feb 25th ⁹⁹
700^r

Deare & &c;.—The reason I delayed the returne to yo^{rs} of the 14th instant is that I am visited with that unwelcome noisie compannion which you know my head hath been formerly troubled with. Robt having some

²⁴ Capt. Har: is probably the same person as the Capt. H. mentioned in the next letter, Richard's nephew Henry Cromwell, son of Henry, lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

business the beginning of the week in Town mett the D^r & told him how it was, whoe replyed if I kept from taking cold by keeping warme (for the cause of the noise was from a cold) it would goe offe . and . another reason I deferred to the last day of the weeke in hopes to have given you an account that the wind's are allayed, but this I can tell you they are not increased, but rather abated, & I am encourged with a draught of patience to try a little further time, for whoe knows not but the D^r may be right, & the spring at the dore in all probability it will be warmer. Aenough of this, & truly Madam you must not expect att this time much more then what is in yo^{rs}, & for the latter part I have not time to speake, I know not the feild you intend nor how you will draw up all my case is to gett intelligence where & how you intend to plant your roaring may, I will endeavour what I can to get the rear of her for when shee roars shee maks a terrible noise. her breech will be musique to cause mirth, but the mouth terror & feare. well to close this we are in the dearke, & therefore it is folly to make an answer before a right understanding of w^{ht} should be spoke too.

Capt. H.²⁵ was arrested for mony's by the Agent of the Regiment in w^{ch} the Capt had a Troop. It was contrived to be att a house in Grays Inn lane not farr on the backside of Hatton Garden. The D^r was wrot to the letter read to y^e wyfe only that the D^r would come. The D^r told his wyfe that it was a Spunging House, shee tells him (as being the gray mare) he could not goe. Away trots the careful wyfe to M^{rs} Bend :²⁶ & there shee finds the Captains wyfe, boeth arm'd, how sharpe their weapons were & how they clattered I cannot tell. after some shorte time the debt was payed, but for the Arrest your Sister upon conditions furnisht the Capts wyfe with fortie shillens.

It was an action I am afraide was accompaned with a trick, I can say noe more untel I goe to Towne. Let this suffice it is noe pleasing subject. well, before I conclude I must take notice of the kinde intention of yo^r Brother to put me into the same Cloath with himselfe, Pray tell him I heartyly prize his kindness, & when it comes (let it be sent to yo^r Sister in Hatton Garden who may receive it for me) to hand & then I shall order it with my taylor for the use it is designed. As to the quantity I am for the coate to be made with wescoate of silk, how to direct I am noe taylor, but my bill tells me my last cloth coate & breeches is 4 yards & a halfe, & the breeches is accountable for 3 quarters of a yard, soe by this calculation the coate will be 3 yards 3 quarters if the cloath of the above mentioned bill was Ell wide as yours sayes that of your Brother is, I believe your brother will better gheuss what will make a coate better than I, it being a coate upon a wascoate not a coate upon a coate as he hath as yo^{rs} speaks for himselfe.

Deare heart I cannot but express my concerne for the occation but rejoyce also with your Cosen Moseses kimical sacke dissiplined so much to yo^r proffit & advantage ; I am persuaded she doth heartely love you.

²⁵ Captain Henry Cromwell was very poor. His wife was supposed to have spent too much mouey in supporting dissenters. After this his aunt Lady Fauconberg induced the duke of Ormond to give him a troop of horse, and he went abroad on service.

²⁶ Mrs. Bendysh, daughter of Ireton and Bridget Cromwell.

when I see her I will lett her know what affections you have for her. My thoughts are not a little exercised, it is best for us humbly & patiently to waite on the Lord, though he taks not the weight off yet his hand must support or else we must sincke. I did not thinck I should have had my penn so long, nor is y^e noise of my head encreased take all in good part my cordiall love to your Brother & selfe with dues from all to All.

I rest

Yo^{rs}

C R.

XXXIII.

*To the same.*Mar 12th ⁹⁰/₇₀₀.

Deare Madam,—This is to let you know upon the receipt of yo^{rs} of the 5th I went to Towne on the 8th happely missing Mr Pengelly who dyed at Hatton Garden on the 6th your sister not being well he was ordered to putt a stop to my coming up that week, but it was other wise ordered by my going Islington, & Mr Pengelly coming down Panckridge roads & I am very well satisfi'd that we did miss one another; though I found none but servants below staires, the master gone out of Towne in his employment 10 miles, & the mistress confined to her chamber, soe when I came up the poore woman was surpriz'd, having no company no dinner, but that was quickly set right by a well cho'sen & well drest tale of cod, & I had in company honest Cosen Gibson, & a . . . [illegible] . . . that was prepared for y^e servants. not wanting a glass of wyne. & this was better than if I had gone abroade & hunted for a dinner, giving me the more time to enjoy your sister, whoe hath not been well, but by the use of mean's all will end for advantage, & when I understood what you had wrote to your Sister I tooke my resolution to stay all night, having agreed to send to M^{rs} Smith to enjoy her company next morning, for I had a cast in my thought that her husband lived some time in Northamptonshire, shee owned shee knew the place & that there was such a name of a famuly ²⁷ as you had exprest, but chiefly that she had them that now & for severall yeares have lived in the Towne who are persons capable & such as shee can rely upon to give such an account as may be expected. Shee thought for not loosing of time to doe soe what that night by Satterday nights post. Note, The Person on the side is not named, I suppose hath or will give you an account in what order this affaire is put. The old gentlewoman did imbrace the thing we propounded wth a heartyness. & seemed to brisk herselfe upon the imploy. The Cloth is come, with my hearty thancks to my Benefactor. I am taking the D^{rs} prescription, a box of Pills I began yesterday, 3 in the morning & 3 when to bead wth a draught of sage tea. untill I have emptied y^e box. I must breake off for I have been too long poring I deserve a chiding. Therefore with dues from all to All I rest

Yo^{rs} in hearty affections

C R.

Doe you remember att Bucklersbury a confectioner you had a maide for that time (I confess I have forgot her) shee was called Rose Williams. Did you know Mr Richards among the shugar bakers & Davis, this latter

²⁷ Evidently still trying to arrange Oliver's marriage.

marrýed Rose afore mentioned & lives at Ket : This by way of information, every business hath a beginning, you talke of seeing this Spring these parts, I doubt not but you will finde some that will give you welcome, But you will finde cure quarters have broke up. Oh Lord leave us not.

XXXIV.

To the same.

April y^e 1st 99.

Deare &c,—The fooles day is the lott of my penn, & it fals out very well for I have nothing to trouble you with but lett you know I had that of yours of the 22nd which for matter & variety was pleasing. I shall not coñment on the purchase, nor descant upon the Rule of Error, but w^t will you say if your Brother finds not a very great change in the same sorte of hounds while stricktly governed & exercised & since left at loose. I think he did very well to exercise his body & recreate his minde in a pastime soe well suited to booth, my feare is he is not horst to his hounds, & much more, there being danger to be under built as to his weight hard for the horse to get up hill, dangerous to tumble downe. Let this little touch suffice I wish you boeth well, a blessing attend boeth you & youre affaires, them in the Country & them Elsewhere. Youre Brother & Sister Hatton ²⁸ gave us a viset about the middle of the weeke preceeding this, it was shorte, but very hearty, excusing how his occasions would not suffer it to be other. Shee gave me a touche of your bro : business, she said also that her Cosen Bendish was resolved to attend it. your Sister seemed to be pleased with the circumstance, gave me an account of some y^t could not goe to Church for want &c : its the same you had told mee. I acquainted M. P.²⁹ about your mentioned guift, shee presents her service & is ready to serve you. The great God Bless you with dues from all to all I rest

Yours in all real affections

[The signature is torn off this letter, but the paper and writing are thesame as the signed letters.]

XXXV.

To the same.

Aug : y^e 8th 99.

Madam,—I have tookeñ penn in hand, but I know not what to dictate, nor is this of mine in course, for yo^{rs} of the 24th was in relation to one of the 6th of the last moneth viz. : fur : & you have one since your Sister Gibson came downe, you being boeth entitled to it. Therefore I might have stayed a Post or tow in this punctillio not being behind a hand. However let things be what they will now I must goe on, was your Sisters viset soe pleasing, let an increase of pleasure bee with that of her husband, by whom went salutations to All, & if all, you may (M^{rs} fondling) be suer to be included, & now being come to the last word of your letter, why may I not give over. Oure spring is dry, but I am afraide our Harvest bath more Raine then tears. generally a people under judgments are hardned, as I have heard from one who said when he was a boy how glad he was to heare cry fyer that he might run from his worke

²⁸ ' Brother & Sister Hatton ' are Dr. and Mrs. Gibson, who lived in Hatton Garden.

²⁹ ' M. P. ' is Mrs. Pengelly.

& frisk up & down sporting the warming of his hands. I pray God Englands professors doe not loose the old serious Puretan spirit. We would hope it hath not been so much raine furth^r off, or with you, as it hath powred downe here though the greatest parte comes wth a SW winde it hits for grasse, though not for corne. the latter is of greatest concerne. The Lord rules & orders All things, he is all wise, we are but servants, let us be found obedient & thankfull. I am now come to conclude having runn the gantlope of one of my old visitours a whippinge sneezing cold it exercised my body from top to bottome, it proved beneficiall to those paines in my knee, not but I intend to take y^e first conveniency to breathe a veine. I have been greatly loaded boeth in body & minde if sanctafyed they shall be for profit, oh that we may learne that thease teachings may make us learned I wishe you All, all happiness, outward & inward with dues from All to All & rest as certainly I am your most affectionate f & humble servant

R.

XXXVI.

*To the same.*Aug. 10th $\frac{92}{700}$.

Deare heart,—You complaine of a dull lazie humour put you behind hand having tow from me to return to; confess had there been anything of business you might have had a foundation for youre appologies, but this I will observe, the same was with me: well Sister Dottril we are both caught. you have been att Newmarket where upon those adjacent heath those birds mimick away boeth their liberty & life; I believe you have heard the same it being comon through the wholl country therefore I will passe from this to something else. And let me poste it, it is like the world, a disappointment, for none of my gheusts did answer my invitation, but who thinck you had the loss, not I, nor the house, we had the more cold, & nothing can be prefered to a cold chine of such a hog & such a feeding. But that which is most to be taking notice of I have not the receipt of my letter, & that it should not miscarry, & to prevent a shift, I sent Robert to put it into M^r Wa: hand he not being at home, having been gone out an houre before, Rob^t delivered the letter to the chiefest daughter att home. Well, I have been too long upon this stadge, I was jaded; & the next stadge will be worse I feare; it is concerning the Capt: ³⁰ att Hackney, pray Madam give me leave to please myselfe, that your sister G.³¹ hath given you an account of the design & how it was mannadged, so that I may save me neck in riding this stadge what as to the badnesse of the ways, dearkness of the night & badnesse of the guide, tricks & designes of darkness god will prevent if he hath any love or kindness for a Person or ffamuly. Oh that man would yet consider & be wise. I am satisfied if the Captain com's to have any sense he will finde he hath done himselfe no kindness, & perhaps naming him to be one to the chine, the other tow tender nosed gentlemen would not come, but my ignorance should not have hindered them taking notice of my letter it would be but a penny besides the paines of writing. Let it passe, for truly I am quiet, & through the goodness of the Lord, I can & I hope (by w^t I

³⁰ Captain Henry Cromwell.³¹ Mrs. Gibson.

have gone through) make a profitable use to my selfe. I am glad nay
 reioice to finde by your penn the soe good fraime of spirrit the Lord is
 pleased to accompany you with. . . . Blessed be the Lord it is so well
 with y^r family, & that your fears are over as to Dick Purdue, & that there
 is a stop put to the small Pox in your neighbourhood, let the Lord be
 lookt upon, & the rodd sanctified. Robert went to Towne I had him see
 Madam in Hatton Garden & aske her when shee will be free for me to
 step up to see her; he is not yet returned & expecting the penny poste
 every minnute, I am forc't, & fear how farre my penn hath runn it is but
 reasonable to shut up, with hearty love & well wishes to your Brother
 & Selfe & dues from All to All I rest

Yours &c.
 C R.

XXXVII.

To the same.

April 4th 1700.

Deare Madam,—Yo^{rs} of the 23^d I received the 26, & yo^r sister with
 her husband visited us the 27th March. I had as full an account of what
 we call a concerne as shee was then stowed; she said, shee would write
 unto you by the next post, of w^{ch} I was willing, as being under an obliga-
 tion to answer one from you, & for that w^{ch} I should have said it would
 have been what had been chewed therefore I thought it best to give way to
 yo^r Sisters inclination & purpose as being best able to sattisfy. But truly I
 had another reason that hinders & that is the noise of my head, nothing
 hetherto maks any alteration, I tooke 5 douzen & 2 pills with a Draught
 of Sage Tea 3 pills in the morning & 3 at night as also I sneezed wth the
 juce of white primrose, I have sense that also according to rule lett blood,
 what shall I say? naughty boys are not safe wthout the rod. It is an
 exercise & I believe exercise was the beginning of it. fret not thyselfe
 att Evil doers &c Ps 37, 1, the 7th especially y^e last words of y^e verse. I
 desire to mend that it may be sanctafyed. I will say noe more of this
 now, being pleased with a dash of yours to me of an intended designe of
 a journey to London about the middle of next month w^{ch} is this of April.
 Lett it be safe & pleasant, & the journey made prosperous in that it is
 designed for. M^r Bodden signefyed to me that he had received a letter &
 bill from Hurseley, it will be look't after the latter end of this or beginning
 of the next week. I thanck your Brother for care and kindness wee will
 please ourselves with the thoughts of a not long delayed expectation in
 the desired embraces of eache other. The seamans marriadges are most
 esteem'd by some, for their often renewing the wedding day by the
 repeated returne of every voyadg. Pray excuse the Errors of my head,
 my heart is yours with dues from All to All I rest a poore pilgrim your
 freind

R.

[The next three letters are dated and signed with his own name or initials.
 Written after his son's death, they refer to business arrangements with his daughters,
 and seem to show clearly that although Richard was annoyed and irritable about
 some business there was no real quarrel with them.]

XXXVIII.

ffor Madam Elizabeth Cromwell att Hursley near Winchester
These Hants.

Jan 21 1705.

Deare Madam,—Yo^{rs} is in answer of mine of the 18th the last month ; And youe begin, I am very sorry you have such uneasie & hard thoughts of all oure endeavors for serving you & yo^r family according to the true intent of the will of your dear deceased Brother to which I must adhecre & therefore beg a legall order for the hundred pounds you call for & I will return it as soone as I can get it inn. To prevent blunders let it be remitted according to my former directions unto Adam Bodden ; Bacconist in George Yard Lumber Street. I tell you Daughter this is not an unnecessary caution ; To trouble & tare me aboute my Estate is a feeling to the flesh, but I have spirrit as well as flesh I will sooner be abused then my companions at Hursl'y hampton Co^t & in many dangers in my hiding pilgrimaging removals : whoe dare to break that knot of love & faithfulness which time hath of soe many years experienced. I tell you againe & againe what I doe its for youe more than for myselfe, doe not think I flatter or eulogue I am for your Brothers will you have a Legall administration for a part ; I have Law comprehensive. I am fore't to gird close & I hope the Lord whoe hath preserved me will stand by me in what is my right. All that I require of you is to keep your selfe free & as I advise you, I doe resolve upon as to myselfe The Coast is free S^r C : B.³² is marryed [at] last Some sayes 10,000^b others 20000. Pray encourage Steele he may prove a good chapman I heare of the death of Cosen Harsent a losse of a good freind ; which I took him to be. I will conclude, I could have entertained you with a long scribble, I am at the candle noe good light for old Eys ; & my matters are better discourst than written. be upon yo^r guard we know not whoe to trust. I will say noe [more] but assure you I am your affectionate f & true freind to serve you

R C.

I doe present the hearty love & service of Madam Pengelly I believe you have seen a letter from yo^r Cosen Disbrow keep yo^r Eys & Eares open & guide yo^r selfe with that reason & understanding that God hath given you, be not imposed upon Light will discover the hidden things of darkness.

XXXIX.

To Elizabeth Cromwell.

December 1st 1705.

Madam,—Yo^{rs} of the 5th tells me by frydays post you received my orders for selling the yearly seasonable quantity of coppice wood, & that you would observe the best assistance for selling. Secondly, you say : I find by being here & paying as fast as I can, gives the creditors such satisfaction that I have not had one dun from any since you left me, & you further say you hope the winding up yo^r bottom³³ will be more pleasant than the beginninge. This sht paragraph hath a deal of matter in it. Its the executrix stock for the creditors, but whose Land is it.

³² Probably Sir Charles Barrington, of Hatfield, Broad Oak, Essex, a cousin to the Cromwells through the Protector's wife, who was Miss Bouchier.

³³ Bottom or end of the accounts.

The Dr³⁴ said with your mannagry it would make 3 Rents viz : 900^{lbs} p an : one for him, another for you & a third for wages tare & weare & upholding the stock reparation etc with other contingencys : So that there is nothing for poore Pilgarleek³⁵ so thou must live upon Charetie & as thou behavest thyselfe some time sweet some time sower.

I doe not understande how you have not been dunde since I cam from you & the winding up of your bottom will be more pleasing. I should be glad to see you at the end of a perplexed troublesom business your Brother Mortemar sent me a letter of what he had been doing about the woods now he hath found enough to quiet the fears of those that had concerns upon Hursley : & I will assure you had I been as well informed as I am now the woods should have paid all portions & debts of what kinde so ever. which would have prevented a great deale of dirt & duste, I did try & attempt, but Jehu like I was run down, & they furiously drove on to the overthrow of their charriot. It hath troubled boeth head & heart. the first duste (the taking off of the disguise) was by a penn from Hursley to London now Madam you shall see I am no Jehu but can comānd my penn to say no more of this subject at this time. Yo^{rs} of the 19 brings us Turkey, Chine & puddens & you would have added some of the daintys of the woods, The game appeares to be destroyed when such tow marksmen & who so well knows the woods as M St. Johns³⁶ & his man a wholl days banging could not finde a pheasant. when I in time past going in alone have sprung anie of 7^{ber} brace, wth my hawke I have in tow houres brought in 3 brace & halfe. The Royalty must be lookt to, & I approve of W^m Cook whom you recomēd, let Cleverlys instrument be demanded & w^{ht}ever gunn or guns your Brother lent him & what ever is his own he shall have the liberty to sell them but this last clause may waite a time by way of tryall so see w^{ht} faire means may doe, & may make a smother step to authority & provoked riggoure. But tell W^m Cooke I approve of the nomination & carrectoⁿ that hath been given by you of him. & I doe appoint him my game keeper, & you may let him beginn w^{hn} he will by word of mouth, I discharging Cleverly & substituting Cooke in his place. you should know how Cooke writes himselfe which must be observed in my warrant. Your 3^d letter of the 24th is upon W^m Cook concerning a Beech & an old Pollard deny him not for he offers faire. Keep your accounts distinct that which is the personall & that w^{ch} is the reall, what the priviledg John Bowls had I know not but it is necessary that Holms & the tow other coppices you mention should be seicired & none fitter than this very person who shall not want a power suited to the office & honn^r of the Royalty. for the present give him my word & desire M^r St. John to tell Cleverly he is no more gamekeeper & that he will do well to deliver w^{ht} gun or gunns (if any lent by yo^r Brother) up to you, to prevent suspicion, & deliver himself from temptation. I have now tyred you & wearyed myselfe therefore I will end with my paper assuring we are your best friend, Dues from All to All.

Yo^{rs}

R. C.

Turkey Chine puddens were all very good, comēding includes thanks.

³⁴ Dr. Gibson.³⁵ Meaning himself.³⁶ Mr. St. John was cousin to the Cromwells.

XL.

To the same.

[This last letter was written when Richard was eighty-two years of age, and is the only letter in the collection with his full signature; it must have been addressed to his daughter. Richard must have lived after his son's death partly at Hursley and partly with the Pengellys at Cheshunt; he died at Cheshunt in 1712, and was buried at Hursley. His daughters buried him with much pomp. After a time they sold Hursley and went to live in London. Elizabeth survived her brother and sisters; she died in Bedford Row in 1731.]

November 1st 1708.

Madam,—I give you full power according to the direction of the letter designed for me to see in answer to that from Hursley. I say full power to make choyce of such person or persons you with the best information & judgement you can meet with To bargain & sell what Coppices & underwood is to be disposed of this season My sonn Mortemar³⁷ may be helpfull dues to all my deare first born I rest yor^s etc

R. CROMWELL.

A JACOBITE LETTER, 1749.

THE following letter is printed from a copy in the charter chest of an Aberdeenshire family related to the Menzies of Pitfodells. William Menzies of Pitfodells and his five sons took an ardent part in the rebellion of 1745–46, and the letter is presumably from one of them to his wife.¹

ROBERT S. RAIT.

Manchester: jth May, 1749.

DEAR WIFE,—I wrote you fr. Newcastle In January last, wherein I acquainted you, that I was to take a tripe in through England. I left New Castle the begining of Febr: and came to York a few days after; where I stayed a whole Moneth, fr. thence I write Mr Carmichall: to remite you forty shill: str. which I hope he has complied with. since I left York I have traversed most of the west ridding of Yorkshire, pairt of Lancashire; Cheshire, and a pairt of North Walles and on Friday last I returned here; where I desinge to stay this week; and pairt of the next, after which I am hopefull to sett my head homeward: if things do not once more give way. When I left London I wrote you I then expected soon to see you. that proposall failed; and if this do fail, adeiu to any more. ye have seen in the newspapers that the Pr. had left Avignon Janr. which is trew, but what place he has gon to is yet yet a secreat to most people, it is generally said that he is gone to Poland to Marie Princess Badziwell, but that I take to be desingly done to cover the real desinge. If I should tell you that he has been maried almost two years, and that for reasons of State the consumation of the mariage has been delayed and that he and my Patrons brother is in J——d and that in a little time ye'll see them boeth; and that my dream is Just ready to be fulfilled: ye'll not believe me. Neither do I believe myself. A little time will do good. Make my compliments to U. and his family to P. and his family: and believe me to be.

*Copy taken Thursday the jj day of May 1749 at Pitfodells.*³⁷ Mr. Mortimer, who had married his youngest daughter, Dorothy.¹ Cf. Allardyce's *Jacobite Papers*, i., New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1895.

Reviews of Books

Handbuch der griechischen Geschichte. Von Dr. GEORG BUSOLT. Band III. Theil 1, 'Die Pentekontaëtie.' (Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1897.)

It is now more than eight years ago that the first edition of Dr. Busolt's 'Handbuch der griechischen Geschichte' was reviewed in these columns. In the interval the Aristotelian treatise of the 'Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία has been discovered, and the researches of archæologists into every department of Greek life have been prosecuted with even greater vigour and more success than before. The Aristotelian treatise alone has given birth to a formidable encyclopædia of new literature, and the new archæological facts and theories have been scattered broadcast over an endless number of monographs and periodicals. Nothing daunted, Dr. Busolt has kept abreast with this enormous mass of fresh material, and has set before himself the task (for which every student cannot be too grateful) of collecting within a reasonable compass all the ascertainable facts about Greek life and history, together with references to the evidence on which these facts (or theories) depend. The results of his labours are to be found in the second edition of the handbook, which he has now brought down as far as the fifty years' interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars; and the amount of new material before us may be estimated from the fact that whereas in the first edition Dr. Busolt devoted but 306 pages in the second edition he assigns 588 pages to the same period. Though the learned professor's views on many points, and some of great importance, have, as we shall see, changed, his method and style remain the same. History to him is not an *opus oratorium*; he has no wish to point a moral or adorn a tale. His aim is to give in his text as succinct a narrative as possible of the facts of Greek history, interpreted in the widest sense, so as to include, besides political and military affairs, the commercial, literary, artistic, and architectural developments of all the various Greek states, whether in Hellas itself, in Asia Minor, or in the innumerable colonies surrounding the Mediterranean; and at the same time in his notes to justify each and every statement by a careful estimate of the evidence on which it rests.

History, Dr. Busolt is well aware, is nothing without chronology, and perhaps the largest portion of his notes is taken up with the discussion of chronological difficulties. In our first review we ventured to suggest that much space would have been saved and much greater clearness attained if these complicated discussions had been 'collected together and relegated to an appendix, or, still better, had appeared as a separate volume in the form of chronological tables.' This suggestion is more than justified in

this present volume. Mr. Munro has shown¹ us, or at least rendered it extremely probable, that much of the confusion in the dates of this period is due to rival systems prevailing among the old Greek chronologists themselves, whose differing dates for the same events are quoted at random by our ancient authorities. To discuss each date separately, as Dr. Busolt has chosen to do, is, therefore, an endless task, and fails to arrive at any principles on which any satisfactory system of chronology can alone be arranged.

But to pass from general criticisms of Dr. Busolt's style and method, about which, indeed, enough was said in our earlier review, to the new materials incorporated in the present volume. Dr. Busolt has now included what previously he had reserved for his next volume, elaborate sections on the Periclean buildings, the art of Phidias, and kindred subjects, rightly thinking that the highest point of development was reached by the Greeks in this period rather than in the later period of the Peloponnesian war. Among alterations we note with pleasure that Dr. Busolt has rejected Kirchhoff's hypothetical account of the early organisation and administration of the Delian league. History cannot be written without evidence, and for the organisation of the Delian confederacy between 478 and 454 there is no evidence. This our author has clearly grasped, being even prepared now to admit the genuineness of Thucydides's account (i. 96) of the foundation of the confederacy, down to its total of 460 talents for the first imposed *φόρος*, which, as inconsistent with Kirchhoff's hypothesis, he previously (with other eminent scholars) rejected as an interpolation.

Nothing, however, better shows the greater importance that the author now attaches to the statements of our original authorities than his attitude towards the vexed question of the policy of Aristides. He clearly points out the contradictions involved in the account of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* that at the same time that the Areopagus was exercising its seventeen years' aristocratic supremacy over the constitution (479-462) Themistocles and Aristides, the two *προστάται τοῦ ἔθρου*, the one of whom the people employed as general, the other as adviser, were urging the Athenians on to more and more democratic measures. He then with equal clearness emphasises the unintelligibility of Plutarch's² report of Aristides's famous decree, *κοιὴν εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας* ἐξ *Ἀθηναίων πάντων αἰρεῖσθαι*, conjecturing with some probability that its 'source' is the fallacious Idomeneus of Chios, and rightly rejecting all attempts to reconcile it with the contradictory statement of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*³ that the archonship was only thrown open to Solon's third class in 457, and to the *θητες* never at all. Hence Dr. Busolt very rightly infers that the proper attitude of mind of the modern historian towards such conflicting evidence is the sceptical *ἐπόχη*.

It might be wished that our author had seen fit to rewrite his own reconstruction of Spartan and Argive history after the formation of the Delian confederacy and before the outbreak of the Helot revolt in an equally judicial spirit; but, as this depends on his own pet conjectures in chronology, this is perhaps too much to expect even in a second edition. Equally unsatisfactory are Dr. Busolt's reasons for assigning the battle

¹ *Classical Review*, 1892.

² Arist. 22.

³ 27, 2.

of Oenoe, where the Argives, aided by the Athenians, defeated the Lacedaemonians, to the year 456. This battle is described by Pausanias⁴ as depicted in the Stoa Poecile on the Athenian Acropolis, but without any indication as to date. Dr. Busolt's chief reason for his own dating seems to be that in his own system the year 456 is unoccupied by any important event. Other authorities have assigned the battle—with not very much greater plausibility, it must be confessed—to the time of the Corinthian war in the fourth century.

The difficulties of the would-be constitutional historian of the fifth century are nowhere better illustrated than in Dr. Busolt's⁵ account of the democratic reforms, where he enters with great detail into the processes of judicial procedure, the *εἰσαγγελία*, &c. Here, when we subtract from his lengthy discussions all that applies only to the fourth century and all that is based on mere conjecture, we find a residuum of historical facts of the fifth century which might easily have been disposed of in a page or two instead of twenty-five. Still even here Dr. Busolt's careful criticism of the evidence delivers him from the rash conjectures of many of his predecessors. Thus he is well aware of the insoluble nature of the problem how new *νόμοι* were made at Athens before the Peloponnesian war. He contents himself, therefore, with simply stating that, as ascertained from inscriptions, regulations as to the allies, the cleruchies, financial administration, and religious matters were passed by the assembly, and that the first appearance of *νομοθέται* with power to revise the existing *νόμος* was after the expulsion of the Four Hundred in 411, and that they were again employed after the expulsion of the Thirty in 403.

Instances, however, exhibiting at once the merits and defects of Dr. Busolt's method of treating Greek history, might be multiplied indefinitely. Enough have already been taken to show the thorough and painstaking character of his work. The 'serious' student will probably find the notes more useful than the text; nowhere else can he find anything like a complete bibliography on any point, whether intimately or remotely connected with the history of the Pentecontaety, and the results of long and patient researches so clearly and systematically stated. An eminent archæologist warned us some time ago that monumental evidence gives us 'almost always just the information we least expected.' This accidental nature of such evidence is the very difficulty that the modern historian has to face. Either he must, like Dr. Busolt, aim to record *all* the facts of Greek history interpreted in the widest possible sense of the term 'history,' or he must adopt a point of view of his own, necessitating a certain selection among those facts. Our earlier writers practically limited themselves to military and political history, following in the footsteps of the ancient literary authorities, with now and then a digression on the literature and art of the several periods. Our modern writers have a mass of new facts to work upon, many of them due to the accidental working of the spade. The genesis, the importance, the date of such discoveries are, in many if not most cases, matters of almost endless controversy; and hence result confusion and bewilderment both in the writer and in the reader. Nor are these discoveries confined to Athens, where literary evidence can often be brought to bear on them; they are quite as numerous in other cities of

⁴ i. 15, 1.

⁵ § 26, f.

Greece whose literary history is a blank. The modern writer has, therefore, to be much more careful in selecting his point of view : otherwise he will find himself lost in a maze of unrelated particulars. He too must now, like the historian of a modern nation, exercise his judgment as to what to include and what to discard. Such a history, however, cannot possibly be written except with firm foundations laid by such careful and conscientious compilers as Dr. Busolt, and from this point of view no praise can be too high for the 'Handbuch der griechischen Geschichte.'

G. E. UNDERHILL.

Hannibal. By W. O'CONNOR MORRIS. 'Heroes of the Nations.' (London : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897.)

JUDGE MORRIS has written an interesting history of the Carthaginian hero and the war with Rome. As a popular account, indeed, his work is excellent. Even though it is impossible to attain to Arnold's picturesque brilliancy, the descriptions, *e.g.*, of the battles of the Trebia and of Zama are vivid, and a great number of modern parallels—there are more than fifty, and nearly half are drawn, as is natural, from the Napoleonic wars—add brightness and suggestiveness. To those parallels, which are the common property of all historians since Mommsen, and find their orthodox place in Mr. Morris's *Life of Hannibal*, the writer has added many others of his own. Historically, also, many of Mr. Morris's own judgments are concise and sound, nor is it necessarily time wasted to reinforce some of Mommsen's. The right rejection of annalistic fables (*e.g.* in dealing with the Spanish incidents of the period); the assertions that Rome's chief military inferiority consisted in her system of dual command, while Carthage's 'essential weakness' lay in her treatment of her subjects; the insistence on the significance of events sometimes overlooked, as *e.g.* Carthage's inactivity after the victory of Drepana, the Illyrian troubles as explanatory of Macedonian interference in 215 B.C., the importance to civilisation of Rome's triumph; and, finally, the treatment of character and judgment of military skill, as in the cases of Scipio, Marcellus, Hasdrubal (where Mr. Morris maintains a good case against Colonel Dodge), and Hannibal himself (Mr. Morris's summary of Hannibal's character and strategic abilities is, for instance, a great improvement on De la Barre Duparcq's similar effort); in all these features of a good historical work, this *Life of Hannibal* merits praise. And on the whole it is a clear, well-balanced, and interesting account of the Carthaginian and his great deeds.

On the other hand, it must be said that beyond this the book does not go. The treatment of many of the problems of the subject is meagre and unsatisfactory. Mommsen, Arnold, even Hennebert, are followed far too slavishly. There is little independent research displayed. The two introductory chapters—comparing Rome and Carthage—display little original criticism, though both Polybius's and Mommsen's accounts of the comparison and prospects of success to the combatants are open to discussion. Mr. Morris's account of the Carthaginian constitution shuns the problems of nomenclature and the nature of the judicial body. To say simply, 'Rome was being shut out from Mediterranean commerce,' is but

hungry fare for those who wrestle with the problems of the commercial treaties. The old trite views of the harshness displayed by Carthage to her subject cities (*not* to the Libyans of course) and of the inferiority of the mercenary to the citizen soldier—these Mr. Morris borrows from Mommsen. Yet both are highly doubtful views. Following Captain Mahan, he makes the reason for Hannibal's land-march the Carthaginian naval inferiority. True doubtless. But even had Carthage commanded the seas, both the difficulty of transport and the question of the point of entrance into Italy must have decided Hannibal's action. Some well-known problems are avoided altogether, *e.g.* in Polybius's story of the building of the first Roman war-fleet. Mr. Morris's solution of the great Ihne-Mommsen controversy is indeed the natural one, and suggests itself to every clear-sighted onlooker. But the 'time difficulty' is escaped simply by spreading these operations over two years. Nothing, again, attracts Polybius's interest and care so much as the question of the responsibility for the second Punic war—the pleas and the purposes of both combatants—the truth of the questions concerning Saguntum and its treaty with Rome, the Ebro convention and the like. All this—an introductory point surely of the first importance—is left absolutely untouched by Mr. Morris. The reasons dictating Hannibal's refusal to march on Rome after Cannae he gives clearly. Yet a few examples of the difficulties found in siege operations would add point to the argument. The question of the true ability of Flaminius is of importance chiefly as raising the great problem of the impartiality of our authorities. Mr. Morris touches but lightly upon it. It is surely not enough to quote Polybius as proof when it is precisely Polybius's impartiality which is in question.

In several cases Mr. Morris shows an unfortunate lack of acquaintance with recent research. A knowledge of Beloch's 'Der italische Bund' (or German be a difficulty, of the French translation of the 'Staatsrecht') must have modified his account of the treatment of Capua by Rome, and his assertion that 'the whole affair of the revolt of the twelve colonies was buried in judicious silence.' Following Arnold, Mr. Morris asserts that 'the duration of the siege of Syracuse and the dates of its successive events cannot be precisely ascertained;' but at least a valiant attempt in this direction has recently been made by Giuseppe Tuzi 'Ricerche cronologiche sulla seconda guerra Punica in Sicilia,' Roma, 1891). But above all it is in his account of the events between 216 and 207 B.C., of what he justly calls 'the obscure and ill-told operations of these years,' that Mr. Morris shows an ignorance of the almost indispensable labours of Gaetano Bossi ('La Guerra Annibalica in Italia da Canne al Metauro,' *Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto*, ix. 427-452, x. 153-183, 303-343, 417-447, xi. 67-97, xii. 57-106). Thus, *e.g.*, Bossi argues that of the three great Roman victories at Nola, only the first can be admitted as a victory of any importance, and this only at Polybius's expense. The second was a mere skirmish, where Hanno, and not Hannibal, faced Marcellus. The tale of the third is a barefaced fiction. Again, Hannibal made but one attempt on Naples, and not four, as Livy would have us believe. A similar Livian repetition is found in the tale of two Carthaginian victories at Herdonia. Mr. Morris accepts one battle and two skirmishes at Nola, four attempts on Naples,

and two battles at Herdonia. I do not, of course, say that Bossi has proved his case. But at least Mr. Morris's account would inspire greater confidence, if there were any signs that he had weighed the arguments ably presented on the other side. Similarly the Livian tale of the march of Fulvius from Capua to Rome is almost certainly a fiction, probably of Valerius Antias, but Mr. Morris is quite unconscious of the difficulties Livy's account involves.

On the many almost desperate topographical problems of the Hannibalic campaigns in Italy Mr. Morris is very unequal. There are no signs whatever of a personal acquaintance on the part of the writer with any of the sites described. This capital defect does a great deal of harm. Otherwise Mr. Morris would never have inserted the disgraceful map of Trasimene. He tells us he 'agrees with Colonel Dodge' in his account of the battle. Now, though the American soldier's map leaves much to be desired, yet he chooses the Passignano-Torricella site clearly and without hesitation. Much, of course, may be urged for this and for its rival the Sanguinetto site, but nothing, I think, for the extraordinary blend of the two adopted in Mr. Morris's map and confused description. Surely a better source for the former than Colonel Malleon's 'Ambushes and Surprises' could have been found; and the latter disregards Polybius and Livy equally. Again, Mr. Morris accepts the story that the invading Gauls in 225 retreated from Chiusi towards Fiesole, and yet fought at Telamon. Of the almost insuperable topographical difficulties this story involves he seems quite ignorant.

In his addition to the hundred and fifty dissertations already existing concerning Hannibal's passage over the Alps and his good note on the subject, Mr. Morris follows Colonel Dodge and champions the Little St. Bernard. But a map is a crying need. Those facing pp. 106, 118, are entirely inadequate, and for it we would even sacrifice the 'Turner' illustration. 'Trebia' and 'Cannae' are much more satisfactory. Mommsen's 'left bank' site for the former is now almost universally rejected, though Mr. Morris in the latter case follows Stürenburg and Vaudoncourt, and rejects Mr. Strachan-Davidson's site. But Mr. Morris's arguments claim attention, though very far from convincing. No attempt, however, is made to discuss the topography of the Metaurus battle, concerning which in this very year the German Oehler attacks Tarducci and Bossi, the Italians, in favour of a site he selects. To accept Nero's march but reject—in a footnote—the 'thirty miles a day' is, of course, a possible compromise; but the footnote on the subject might have been expanded with advantage, especially as on this question hinges much of Mr. Morris's own favourite theory that Nero was the greatest of all Rome's generals in the war. In the great controversy as to Hannibal's march on Rome, Mr. Morris chooses the Via Valeria and rejects the Via Latina. This is now wellnigh certain. None the less it involves a sacrifice of Livy's account in favour of Polybius. Yet here again Mr. Morris's account is a blend of both, rejecting from both and adopting from both at pleasure and without explanation. Thus, according to Polybius, Hannibal really hoped to surprise the city and was baffled only by chance. This is naturally inconsistent, not only with Mr. Morris's account of Hannibal's motives, but also with the story

of the communication between the senate and Fulvius, which forms part of Livy's improbable tale. Yet this is accepted by Mr. Morris. Considering also the position of Alba Fucens, it seems an unlikely statement, and scarcely needed, that that colony sent its forces to help defend Rome, 'having been informed of Hannibal's march.' It would be *a priori* probable, even were it not confirmed by Appian, that the Alban reinforcements were rather fugitives fleeing before Hannibal's advance than an armed assistance 'nobly' sent.

Surely also, to talk, as Mr. Morris does, of the 'animation of the rich and free life of Hellas' (surely a somewhat grotesque caricature of the Polybian Greece here described), of 'Asia Minor west of the Halys' as a 'Roman subject country' after Magnesia—to write thus is not 'thoroughly trustworthy as history.' 'Mylos' and 'the Etrurians,' too, have a somewhat barbaric sound. And in one footnote Mr. Morris does unwittingly some injustice to his predecessors. 'The passage,' he says (*i.e.* Polyb. iii. 68), 'which proves that Hannibal contemplated falling on Scipio when still separated from Sempronius has escaped the notice of, as far as I know, all commentators.' A reference to Bernewitz ('Leben des Hannibal,' i. p. 222) and Dodge ('Hannibal,' p. 260) will enable Mr. Morris to modify this statement.

I have dwelt on these defects, many of them somewhat trivial, because Mr. Morris's 'Hannibal' has not a few points of superiority over all other stories of the Carthaginian general in English.

Lastly, it is worth while noting that the maps of Italy included in the volume are unsatisfactory, though it is fair to add that this is probably the fault of the publisher rather than of the author. They are too minute, and give but a small part of the geographical information required by the text. Plans of Tarentum and Syracuse would be far more to the point than the useless plates facing pp. 50, 52, and 152, and a map of the Via Valeria and Samnium far more useful facing p. 238 than the plan of Rome now there. Surely, too, Scotti has so far deserved of the historian that a '?' should be added to the supposed 'Bust of Hannibal' facing p. 146. The Greek of the footnotes on pages 41, 284, 217, 322, 345, leaves much to be desired in the way of accentuation, and in the last three cases there are also very bad misprints. Doubtless a second edition will rectify this. It might also with advantage make the index considerably more complete.

BERNARD W. HENDERSON.

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By EDWARD GIBBON. Edited by J. B. BURY. Vol. III. (London: Methuen. 1897.)

THE third volume of Mr. Bury's edition of the 'Decline and Fall' is not inferior to those which have preceded it in the care and thoroughness with which a far from easy task has been carried out. This book has now obtained such an assured position that it would be superfluous to dwell on its merits. Errors and omissions there must necessarily be where the field is so wide, but they are surprisingly rare; and it is no exaggerated flattery to say that there are very few living men who could

have executed this formidable task with equal success. It may, however, be worth while to call the reader's attention to a few points which we have noticed in our perusal of the volume, which, by the way, covers the period from the death of Julian to that of Valentinian III.

It might have been stated in the note 60, p. 20, that Ammianus (xxvii. 7) does not, as Gibbon suggests, 'suppose that all who had been unjustly executed were worshipped as martyrs by the Christians,' and on the same page a note might have been added about 'Mica Aurea,' which Gibbon has left unexplained. It would hardly have been superfluous to remark (p. 30) that there were other sides to the character of Pope Damasus than that presented in Ammianus. Again, it might have been noted (p. 135 *sq.*) that Gibbon does not realise sufficiently that the charge against Gratian was not his devotion to hunting, but his acceptance of the barbarian *régime*. No allusion is made by Gibbon or his editor to the restoration of the walls of Rome in 402; but Mr. Bury might have found an additional confirmation of his demonstration of the fact that Zosimus recounts the campaign of 401 against Radagaisus as if it were that of 405 (App. 18), in the statement of that historian that the threatened invasion caused a special panic at Rome (v. 26, 4). The restoration was the outcome of that panic. It is now recognised that the statements in the ancient catalogues, which are repeated by Gibbon (p. 305), about the seating capacity of the circus and other places of entertainment in Rome cannot be accepted literally. The facts are conveniently given in Lanciani's recent book 'The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome' (pp. 92, 381). It is interesting to note that this latest authority believes that Gibbon struck almost the right figure in estimating the population of Rome (*op. cit.* p. 93). No attempt is made by Mr. Bury to reconcile the conflicting statements as to the scene of the marriage between Ataulfus and Placidia (p. 335, *n.* 140). Forum Iulii, in Italy, is not a sufficiently important town, yet why should it be mentioned if Narbo was the place? Perhaps the difference has arisen from a misunderstanding of an original statement that the wedding took place at Forum Iulii (*i.e.* Fréjus), in Narbonensian Gaul. Mr. Ramsay has identified Theodosiopolis (p. 392) with Kamacha Ani ('Geography of Asia Minor,' p. 305, note). The ravages of the Huns in the neighbourhood of Constantinople might have been illustrated by a reference to the account in the 'Life of St. Hypatius,' by Callinicus (p. 108), which was published in 1895 in the Teubner series. We have noticed but few imperfections in the references. But the inscription of Valentinian given (p. 35, *n.* 97) as 'Eph. Epig. 2, p. 389,' is now 'C. I. L. 3 Suppl. 10596.' The inscription about Claudian (p. 485) might have been transcribed from the 'Corpus' more correctly. G. M'N. RUSHFORTH.

The Celtic Church in Wales. By J. W. WILLIS BUND. (London: D. Nutt. 1897.)

It would be difficult to exaggerate the vivacity, audacity, and ingenuity with which this book has been written. Such or some such qualifications were necessary for an author who has achieved what might have

been otherwise thought the impossible task of writing a volume of no less than 533 octavo pages on the history of the Celtic church in Wales. Now this church in Wales is not represented, as the sister Celtic church in Ireland is represented, by surviving literary compositions of her saints or leaders—such as the ‘*Confessio*’ and ‘*Epistola ad Corotici subditos*’ of St. Patrick, or by surviving liturgical volumes, such as the ‘*Antiphonary of Bangor* ;’ nor does she possess, as the Celtic church in Scotland possesses, an early biography of any of her own saints, written from a Celtic point of view and by a Celtic author, such as Adamnan’s ‘*Life of St. Columba*.’ She can claim, indeed, one early historian, who, though he writes at some length, writes in such a verbose and turgid style that little information about the Welsh church can be extracted from his pages. The biographies of Welsh saints are none of them, apparently, earlier than the eleventh century, and they are written from the Latin or Anglo-Norman point of view, and are valueless as history. The writers of them did not know, or, if they knew, they purposely suppressed all mention of the peculiarities of the Celtic church and of its ecclesiastical customs and arrangements. From what quarry, then, is historical material to be obtained? Mr. Seeböhm has written an interesting volume on the ‘*Tribal System in Wales*,’ which Mr. Bund includes in his list of authorities (p. 532), but to which he seldom refers elsewhere. Mr. Seeböhm finds sufficient material for his purpose in ‘*The Ancient Laws of Wales* ;’ the Welsh extents or surveys between 1294 and 1608 ; the records in the ‘*Book of St. Chad* ;’ in the ‘*Book of Llan Dav* ;’ and the records of St. Cadoc in the Cotton MS., Vesp. A., xiv., Brit. Mus. By aid of these he fills a volume about one quarter the size of Mr. Bund’s ‘*Celtic Church in Wales*,’ the documents in question being replete with references to the tribal system while they say very little about the church. How, then, can Mr. Bund fill a volume of 500 to 600 pages with a subject of which so little is known as ‘*The Celtic Church in Wales*’ ?

Being a person of strong political and ecclesiastical views, he cannot help having his fling at arrangements of the present day, if they are distasteful to him, in spite of a well-expressed determination in the preface (p. vi) to abstain from remarks of such a nature. For instance, describing a Welsh bishop of Celtic days, he says—

He was not, like the Latin bishop, the spiritual ruler over a defined area. He was not a personage like a mediæval prelate, who claimed and asserted his superiority over the proudest lay prince. He was not, like the bishop of our own day, the political nominee of the government for the time being, whom a subservient chapter pretend the Holy Ghost has inspired them to select out of all the Anglican clergy as the fittest for the place (p. 34).

This is the sort of jibe which one would have expected to find in such a book as Cobbett’s ‘*History of the Reformation*,’ but which, whether justifiable or not, is out of place in a serious history.

But the main source of Mr. Bund’s voluminous dissertation remains to be named. He advances the claim that wherever information is defective with regard to any point in the history or the constitution of the Celtic church in Wales, it may be supplied from the history of the Celtic church elsewhere in these islands, and as there is plentiful information forthcoming as to the constitution and customs of Celtic

Christianity in Ireland, a large fund of information is at once placed at his disposal. This, of course, begs a very large question, and we do not think that the validity or invalidity of the procedure is capable of proof or disproof, except when the inference is corroborated or otherwise by phrases in the 'Ancient Laws of Wales,' or in the few charters or other early documents which have come down to us, or by some others of the scanty sources of early Welsh information.

For example, to explain the precise difference of meaning between the *llan*, the *bettws*, the *capel*, and the *capel bettws* in Welsh, Mr. Bund recalls the fact that four kinds of churches are described and differentiated in the Irish laws—the *annoit*, the *dalta*, the *compairche*, and the *cill*. He transfers the description of them to his pages, and bases on it an interpretation of the hitherto unexplained Welsh terms (pp. 339-42). Who shall say that this borrowed explanation is right or wrong? It is certainly extremely precarious, and that is true of a great deal of the argument and explanation advanced in this book, which, nevertheless, should be read and weighed by every one who is interested in the ancient church of Wales. Point after point is advanced over which the reader will place the label 'not proven;' it is seldom that he will use the word 'proven,' and seldom the word 'disproven.' There are, however, cases, even when the argument is not borrowed from Ireland, where the latter word must describe the verdict; e.g., Mr. Bund finds the origin of tithes in Wales in the payments, made originally in kind, but afterwards in the form of a money commutation, from the landowners or tenants to the lay chieftains. But whatever the origin of tithes in Wales may have been, it certainly was not this. These money payments still exist side by side with tithe in some parts of Wales. Mr. Seebohm tells us:—

In the extents the old food rents of the free tenants or *wales* had already been commuted into money payments. And these money payments were evidently treated as not charges upon persons, but permanent charges upon the holdings in occupation at the time of the conquest. They were scrupulously respected by the conquerors, and have mostly been left unaltered from that time to this. . . . These money payments are the amounts into which the ancient food rents of the free tribesmen were commuted, and the continuity, as already pointed out, shows that they were regarded as charges on particular lands or holdings, and not personal charges. Many of them are still payable as ancient quit-rents throughout North Wales.¹

The fact that Mr. Bund is wrong on a point of which the accuracy is capable of being tested makes us suspicious about the value of many ingenious theories and brilliant guesses, of which his volume is full, and as to which no test can be applied. We can only select one or two points as samples. It has been a standing wonder that such an immaterial matter in itself as the form of the tonsure should for centuries have been a burning subject of contention between the Celtic and the Roman churches. Mr. Bund offers an explanation which is adequate, if it is true. He says:—

The probable explanation is that the Celtic tonsure is some survival of Pagan worship which the Celtic Christian took over with other survivals from the

¹ *The Tribal System in Wales*, London, 1895, pp. 9, 11.

heathen, and that still after it was used by the Christians was supposed to possess some peculiar Pagan virtue (p. 273).

He supports his interpretation by reference to passages in early Celtic literature, which he might have enlarged and enriched by the references collected by Mr. Seebohm in the book of which Mr. Bund makes curiously little use.² Again, with reference to the fire kept perpetually burning in the monastery of St. Bridget, at Kildare, a secular instead of a religious origin is suggested for it.

The right to have fire was the right of the chief, and he supplied it to his tribesmen. It might be in this way that Bridget, as the chief of a tribe, possessed the right to have fire at Kildare, even although there was another reason, such as analogy from the vestal worship.

These are but samples of Mr. Bund's theories. Their soundness depends largely upon his view that early Celtic Christianity, both in Wales and Ireland, was rather paganism with a veneer of Christianity than Christianity slightly tinged with paganism—a view which we cannot here discuss at length—for which some support is produced both by Mr. Bund and also by Professor Rhys ('Hibbert Lectures,' 1886, p. 224; 'Arthurian Legend,' 1891, p. 367), but which seems to us to be inconsistent with the intense and spiritual Christianity which breathes through St. Patrick's own writings, and which is ascribed to him in his earliest biography—the Hymn of St. Sechnall. But whether we accept Mr. Bund's conclusions or not, his volume is a most interesting one to all who care for the subject, and will have to be reckoned with by all future writers on the Celtic church of these islands. F. E. WARREN.

The Church of the Sixth Century. Six Chapters on Ecclesiastical History. By W. H. HUTTON, B.D., Birkbeck Lecturer on Ecclesiastical History, Trinity College, Cambridge, Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford. (London: Longmans. 1897.)

MR. HUTTON'S book is not a general history, scarcely even a review of the church in the sixth century, but rather a sketch of those parts of the history which can be grouped round Justinian. A pleasant and lively sketch it is, garnished with up-to-date reading, and with personal memories of a visit to Constantinople. As a whole it is not a success. Mr. Hutton takes 'the standpoint of the church historian' with a narrowness which goes far to defeat the church historian's own purpose. He recites indeed 'the ruin of the East Gothic power, the restoration of the empire to almost its widest boundaries, the invasion and settlement of the Lombards, the foundation of the medieval papacy, the beginnings of English Christianity;' but he is too much absorbed in purely ecclesiastical interests to see clearly their connexion with the general history. The work is practically an apology for Justinian's church policy, and an apology which allows his orthodoxy to cover a multitude of sins. Its most original part is an attempt to clear Justinian from the charge of having fallen into heresy in his last years; and this (as Mr. Hutton seems to feel) is

² *The Tribal System in Wales*, p. 70.

too much like special pleading. He is no doubt right in setting aside the incongruous evidence of a distant Gaulish bishop like Nicetius. But is the clear narrative of such a writer as Evagrius to be rejected because he made some bad mistakes in measuring St. Sophia? The most powerful argument in Mr. Hutton's opinion is 'the general judgment of the universal church'—that is to say, the current opinion of a later time, which might very well overlook a heterodox edict which after all was never issued. The printing is not faultless; there are several slips on pp. 60-66.

H. M. GWATKIN.

Études d'Histoire du Moyen Age dédiées à Gabriel Monod. (Paris: Cerf. 1896.)

Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres. III. Mélanges d'Histoire du Moyen Age. Publiée sous la direction de M. le Professeur LUCHAIRE. (Paris: Alcan. 1897.)

ON the occasion of M. Gabriel Monod's election to the presidency of the Historical and Philological Sciences section of the *École pratique des Hautes Études*, a hundred and fifty of his old pupils gave him, as a testimony of their respect and gratitude, a volume of studies in medieval subjects written by some of themselves. With such extraordinary rapidity has the work of the man whom they call master brought forth fruit, that while M. Monod is still in the prime of life the names of his pupils are already famous among historians. The influence that he has had on the teaching of history in France, as director of historical studies in the *École des Hautes Études* and as *Maître de Conférences* in the *École Normale*, is described by his friend M. Lavissee in a charming letter of dedication, which tells the story of M. Monod's share in the creation of the modern French school for the scientific study of medieval history. As fellow-students, M. Lavissee and M. Monod had listened to lecturers who hurried their pupils through vast periods of general history, making it their primary object to instil superficial ideas. Of personal communication between professor and pupil there was none; even in the smallest classes it was not etiquette that the professor should show that he knew any of the members individually. But at M. Monod's first evening lectures he used a different method: he gave up dogmatic teaching and the oratorical style, formed a small class of men not much younger than himself, and made it his business to encourage study rather than to expound general views. His little class for the study of a facsimile or the critical explanation of a passage from some medieval classic soon became an integral part of the new school of history.

As this large collection of short monographs has no unity other than that which is given by the common inspiration of one teacher, a few only of the more important articles can be mentioned here. Among the most suggestive is a paper by M. Imbart de la Tour on the commercial immunities accorded to churches in the eighth and ninth centuries. He refers to the charter of Sigebert II to the abbey of Stavelot (651) as the earliest which confers commercial privilege. In the next century, the economic importance of the abbeys as great landed proprietors was recognised in a large number of charters, granting either immunity from, or the right to take,

tolls, the right to establish markets or fairs, and the right to the dues thence proceeding. In the details of the carrying services due from tenants, the 'carroperæ,' the 'navigationes' (frequent in French charters), the claims to the tenants' horses, carts, boats, &c., M. Imbart inclines to see evidence of an elaborate system for the conveyance of wheat, wine, and goods for long distances, not arrangements for a merely local transport. In 775 a body of 'negociatores,' or merchants, are privileged in a St. Denis charter, and from that time on are often mentioned as a group of monastic servants who are distinct from the servile as from the free tenants. The charters granting market franchises to churches in the ninth century are collected by the essayist, who fully appreciates the importance of the commercial element in the growth of seignorial and dismemberment of comital power.

In his *Études Carolingiennes*, M. Giry has put together a number of short notes, chief of which are : one, on a lost capitulary of Louis the Pious, promulgated about 818 or 819, and concerning regular canons, the contents of which can be guessed only from two fragmentary indications ; another, on the date of Lupus of Ferrières' nomination to the abbacy, which he puts 840 instead of 842, a change which affects the chronology of Lupus's letters ; and last, a collection of the Carolingian charters of the abbey of Montieramey, several of which he prints for the first time. Of essays concerning the history of the papacy there are two : one, by Paul Fabre, on the relations of Poland and the see of Rome from the tenth to the thirteenth century, with special reference to the payment of Peter's pence and the analogies between the Polish and the English payment ; another, by E. Jordan, adducing proof of the authenticity of the papal letters preserved in the formulary of Richard de Pofi, hitherto generally supposed to be merely models of style, not letters which really emanated from the papal chancery. There are also two papers on the peers of France, one explaining the origin of the twelve peers, and the geographical reason why twelve of the royal vassals were distinguished from other peers of the same tenure ; another, by Funck Brentano, on the nature of the peers' tribunal. M. Bémont writes on Hugues de Clers' 'De Senescalcia Franciæ,' and, in opposition to M. Luchaire and others, defends its authenticity. He rejects only that part of the work which Hugues says he took from a manuscript supposed to be by Fulc of Jerusalem, but he believes the evidence may be trusted which Hugues adduces from his own personal knowledge of the Count of Anjou's claim to the seneschaley. In reply M. Luchaire again attacks the document in the *Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres*, and maintains his original opinion, that the 'De Senescalcia' is worthless. He believes that it was penned about 1158 by a clerk, who was anxious to justify the pretensions of Henry II of England to the seneschaley, and who also desired to magnify the importance of Hugues. M. Luchaire trusts none of the documents which support the statements of the 'De Senescalcia,' and believes that they were all inspired by that work. With regard to Gervase of Canterbury's phrase [that Henry 'ut quasi senescallus regis Francorum intraret Britanniam,' he thinks it should be taken to mean that Louis VII gave the military powers attached to the title of seneschal to Henry II in view of this particular expedition. Robert de Torigni speaks three times

of the right of the counts of Anjou to the stewardship, but his testimony is dismissed as that of an obsequious servant of Henry II.

M. Abel Lefranc gives Guibert de Nogent's 'De Pignoribus' an important place in the history of religious thought, as a scathing attack on the worship of relics by an abbot of unsuspected orthodoxy writing not long after 1115. M. Molinier writes on the first part of 'Les Grandes Chroniques de France,' to 1223, compiled by the monk Primatus. He opposes the view of M. Paul Meyer and others, that the work dates from the first years of Philip the Fair, and reverts to the view that it belongs to the reign of Philip III, and was finished in 1274. M. Pirenne writes to show that the *Chronique de Flandres* to 1342, which was very popular in the Low Countries, must be regarded as a mere compilation, worthless as an historical source. M. Couderc treats of an anonymous French chronicle in the 'Recueil des Historiens de la France' (t. xxi. p. 146), of which only four manuscripts were known. He has found twenty-six, and shows that it was a manual of history written for Philip VI by a monk of St. Denis. The work was largely used for a Latin compendium by Guillaume Saignet, the facts of whose life M. Couderc has collected. English readers will not overlook the paper on the share taken by Wycliffe's poor priests in raising the rebellion of 1381, an essay based on the notebooks of the late André Réville, another of M. Monod's brilliant pupils.

M. Dupont-Ferrier's paper on the library of Jean d'Orléans, comte d'Angoulême, published in the *Bibliothèque* under M. Luchaire's direction, is of very great interest, and deserves more than the brief notice which it is possible here to give. M. Dupont-Ferrier's account of the thirty-three years of captivity endured by Jean d'Orléans in England in the reign of Henry VI, which appeared lately in the *Revue Historique* has made the story of this man, happy only in his love of books, more generally familiar. He has now collected notices of 167 manuscripts which once belonged to the count, a work which must have entailed much research. In one of them is found this delightful curse on the book-thief:

Qui che livre emblera
A gibet de Paris pendu sera,
Et, si n'est pendu, il noiera,
Et, si ne noie, il ardera,
Et, si n'aert, pitte fin fera.

Eleven of the Count's manuscripts were copied by his own hand. One contains the inscription: *Cest livre est à Jehan, comte d'Engolesme, lequel l'acheta à Londres, en Engleterre, Van de grâce 1441.* Two of his English books, one a copy of the 'Canterbury Tales,' were written by the scribe, John Duxworth.

MARY BATESON.

Chronologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit. Von FRANZ RÜHL,
Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Königsberg.
(Berlin: Reuther und Reichard. 1897.)

PROFESSOR RÜHL has produced in a small compass a most useful treatise. It is both scientific and practical, and supplies even more than it promises, since it goes back to the establishment of the Julian calendar,

the various eras from that of Nabonassar downwards, the Olympiads, and the divers years of the world. Any one who has toiled through books on technical chronology will appreciate the distinction between writers who mechanically repeat the facts of their predecessors and those who have worked them out afresh for themselves. Professor Rühl belongs to the latter class. His exposition is always intelligible, and is so interesting that we have read his book from end to end with gratitude for many rays of new light, especially on the darker ranges of the Easter computus. The treatment is also remarkably comprehensive; besides giving the data necessary for understanding western chronology, the author discusses at sufficient length, and with full references to special sources of information, both the oriental systems and the usages of the remoter regions of Europe. He has devoted much pains to the Byzantine part of his subject, which will be found better explained here than in any other manual with which we are acquainted.¹ He is always careful to state the origin as well as the purpose of the methods of reckoning which he describes. The indiction he traces, with Seeck, to the Egyptian fiscal year, and he observes that the notice in the 'Chronicon paschale' that the *Constantinian* indictions began in 312 implies the previous existence of another sort of indiction. Seeck's argument that the precise date of the beginning of the indiction was 297 might well have been more fully stated. The *Constantinian* indiction seems, in fact, to be only another way of describing the indiction in the reign of Constantine. It might also have been noticed that 312 is the year in which the 'Laterculus' of Augustalis ends, and in which, therefore, it was necessary to start a new table for finding Easter. As for the Spanish era he is not able to go beyond the theory of Heller and Krusch that it is connected with an Easter cycle in use in the Peninsula.

Though Dr. Rühl has not added largely to the materials already accessible, he has brought together a considerable mass of details which are scattered through a multiplicity of treatises and monographs, and articles in periodical publications. For guidance in chronological investigation it is these details which are even more necessary to set out correctly than the main principles which are after all more or less easy to ascertain. We all know, for instance, the meaning of leap-year, but we do not all know that the leap-day (if the expression may be allowed) is not the 29th but the 24th February, so that the feast of St. Matthias should in leap-year be shifted to the 25th. So again the old French custom of beginning the year with Easter is familiar to historical students; but that this meant Easter Eve (or in Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant even Good Friday) is not so readily found out. If we have to do with German documents we need to learn the mad rules of the Cisiolanus, and in late centuries the varying reigns of the Julian, the Gregorian, and the 'improved' calendars. On all these subjects the student will seldom consult this book in vain. An English reviewer may note a few points in which Professor Rühl's information, generally sound about English matters, is inaccurate. To say that 'morrow' is used for the octave

¹ Since the publication of his book he has published an ingenious argument connecting the Byzantine era, through the use of the lunar cycle, with the era of the Jews, which will be found summarised below among our Notices of Periodicals.

of a feast (p. 81) must rest upon some misunderstanding. The supposed earliest appearance of the *annus Domini* as a mode of dating in 676 (p. 199) depends upon a document which has a questionable indiction and two incompatible witnesses. The oldest original in which this reckoning is found, the charter of Suaebræd of Essex to the bishop of London, is not a charter of 704 (*ibid.*) but one confirmed by the Mercian king Ceolred some years later, while its handwriting looks considerably later. The *annus mundi* of Archbishop Ussher was not 4403 B.C. (p. 203) but 4004. It will be new to many to learn that on the continent it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that the English practice was adopted of applying the era of the *annus Domini* for reckoning the years B.C.

REGINALD L. POOLE

Die Königspfalzen der Merowinger und Karolinger. Von DR. KONRAD PLATH. I. 'Dispargum.' (Berlin: R. Siebert. s.a.)

THIS essay is, as we gather from the signature of the sheets, an offprint from the *Jahrbuch des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, vol. xcvi., and is the first of a series in which the author intends to treat of the hundred and fifty palaces of the Frankish kings. The prospect is somewhat alarming, for the present essay, which extends to sixty quarto pages, is not complete, the author reserving for a second section the topography and archæology of Duisburg, which he maintains to be the 'Dispargum' of Gregory of Tours (ii. 9). This *Dispargum castrum* was, Gregory informs us, *in terminum Thoringorum*, and was the residence of Chlogio, the ancestor of 'Meroweichus' and the first of the Frankish conquerors of Gaul. In this passage Gregory is even more than usually confused, and Dr. Plath maintains that the clauses do not form a united whole, but that the section *thatsächlich nur ein nachlässig aneinandergerichte Beispielsammlung in lückenhafter Auswahl ist, die, um ihr den Schein des Zusammenhangs zu geben, mangelhaft und zum Theil sinnlos verbunden wurde.* He then proceeds to examine exhaustively each of the eight parts of the passage. Next he examines and rejects all the other sites that have been suggested. Of these the only one that has met with much support is Duysbourg, between Brussels and Louvain, which has naturally been favoured on account of its proximity to Cambray, where Chlogio is first heard of on his march into Gaul. Dr. Plath has put this out of court for ever, by showing that its name in the thirteenth century was Duzenborch, a form that can scarcely be descended from *Dispargum*. He rightly rejects the proposals to read *Tungriorum*, &c., for Gregory's *Thoringorum*, and he endeavours to meet Waitz's objection to the identification with Duisburg that it is not *in terminum Thoringorum* by claiming for Thuringia a wider extension at this time, and by attempting to prove the existence of a Thuringia on the left bank of the Rhine. It cannot be denied that in the ferment of the *Völkerwanderung* there must have been many unrecorded changes of the position, and extensions and contractions of the districts of the Germanic tribes, who were unstable even in nomenclature, but it is difficult to assent to such a violent bound forwards and rebound as he assumes the Thuringians to have made, whether or not this was a *Bundesname*. His arguments have too much the appearance

of special pleading to be convincing, and he exercises too great a license in constraining obstinate facts to change their complexion. Moreover there is considerable writing of history without evidence. Thus he claims that in this passage Gregory records the first conquest of the Franks (the Salian and the Ripuarian are held to be identical) over the Thuringians, as a consequence of which the Franks settle in the (hypothetical) Thuringian land about the confluence of the Rhine and the Ruhr, and there elect their first king (in explanation of Gregory's *reges crinitos super se creavisse*). All this is begotten of the necessity for explaining how Duisburg, which is in a Frankish district, corresponds to Gregory's *Dispargum in terminum Thoringorum*. As Duisburg was after Chlogio's assumed conquest in a Frankish district, it is not evident why Gregory should refer to it as Thuringian, even if it had been undoubtedly so at an earlier time. If we read his words unfettered by the trammels of any theory, we must conclude that Dispargum was in the Thuringian march, and on the right bank of the Rhine. The forms of the name of Duisburg given on p. 168 certainly seem to favour the identification; but some of these, e.g. Adam of Bremen's *Dispargum*, must have been influenced by Gregory's form.¹ Förstemann, who has many forms of the name of Duisburg that are not cited by Dr. Plath, derives the name from *thiu* (O.E. *þeow*). It is impossible for this to have appeared in Gregory as *Dis-*, even though the modern *Duisburg* is dissyllabic. Dr. Plath does not deal with the etymology of *Dispargum*,² and his derivations of Salians from 'salt' and of Merowing from the see do not promise that he will be able to strengthen his case philologically. Those whom he has been unable to convert to his view will hardly find any very convincing arguments in the topography and archæology of Duisburg, which are to form the second part of his essay.

W. H. STEVENSON.

Geschichte der Stadt Cambrai bis zur Ertheilung der Lex Godefridi (1227).
 Von WILHELM REINECKE. (Marburg: Elwert. 1896.)

THE town of Cambrai, situated on the borders of France and the Empire, the seat of a bishopric, and the scene of one of the earliest communal movements, was likely to have a history worthy of being chronicled. Besieged by the Hungarians, West Franks, and Germans in turn, contested between its bishop and its count, then between the bishop and his castellan, and lastly between the bishop and the count of Flanders, the changes in the fortunes of the town were constant and bewildering. Favoured by the quarrels of their masters, the burghers seem bit by bit to have won a degree of independence which excited the admiration and wonder of contemporaries, only to lose it almost completely at the end of the period covered by this monograph. So far as the

¹ This is suggested by a diploma of 966 quoted by Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, ed. 2, ii. 1442 (= *Mon. Hist. Germ., Diplomatum Tom. i. 440*): 'Actum Diuspargo, quod vulgariter (*sic*) dicimus Diusburg.'

² If this singular word is Germanic, it must embody the word for 'hill' (*berg*) and not *burg*. It is possible that the form *parg* instead of *perg* is to be ascribed to the Gaulish interchange or equivalence of *e* and *a* before liquids, which accounts for the two forms *Germanus* and *Garmanus*. Cf. Gustav Kossinna, 'Arminius deutsch?' (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, ii. 181).

outward history of the city goes, the historian had an abundant if somewhat one-sided source in the 'Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium' and similar local chronicles. But he has attempted rather to trace the development of the episcopal power and the city autonomy, and for these the medieval historian who cared more for events than institutions is of but little service. All that is gleaned is by way of inference, and inference is not too sure a guide. For the later history, indeed, the author has the help of three charters dated 1184, 1185, and 1225 respectively. But mainly occupied as they are with civil and criminal law, the light they throw on institutions is but meagre. The author has therefore had no easy task to perform, and he seems to have brought to bear on it much labour and judgment. It is only by such studies as these that any real progress can be made in the study of medieval municipal history. The book, however, might have been made much more interesting and useful by one or two additions. Surely it would have been possible to give us something like a map of the old town, without which the topographical chapter is incomplete. A fuller explanation of the right of 'conductus' exercised by the bishop (p. 203) would have been welcome, whilst the reader could well spare such notes as that assuring us that land sold by one exempt person to another remained free from municipal taxation. Was the punishment of destroying an offender's house peculiar to the middle ages?

The history of Cambrai furnishes a striking illustration of the attitude of the Church and the Empire to the communal movement. Far from being its favourers they were as consistently hostile as circumstances would allow them to be, however frequently the struggles of the bishop with the count of Flanders or his own castellan, and of the emperor with the papacy might bring about a precarious and lukewarm alliance. Nothing can be further from the truth than to attribute to any medieval ruler any of those ideas which are usually called liberal. The holy horror of both bishop and emperor when the men of Cambrai taxed themselves to pay the count of Hainault for his assistance against Simon of Oisy is almost ridiculous. They only granted what they were forced to grant, a fact which renders the strength of the communal movement all the more striking. Cambrai, however, paid the penalty of its early development in the almost complete extinction of its independence by Bishop Godfrey and the Emperor Frederick II in 1227. It seems at one time to have had its own provosts, 'sworn-men,' and the right of public assembly, and a share in the profits of justice. It could not be taxed by pope or emperor, or its burghers compelled to military service, except for the defence of the city, and then only so far that they could return home the same day. All this was changed. The appointment of provosts, the profits of justice, and the right of assembly were taken from the town, and the bishop was once more unquestioned ruler in Cambrai, victorious alike over his earlier opponents, the counts and castellans, and his later, the burghers.

The book is rather a series of dissertations than a real history, and the classification of subject-matter scarcely makes up for the want of an index. Perhaps this last want will be supplied in the continuation which the author promises us, and a more definite picture of the municipal or-

ganisation be drawn from the municipal archives which unfortunately remain unexplored by him. One or two misprints may be added to those noticed in the errata. On p. 144, l. 4, 'Johannes II' should be 'Johannes III.' On p. 102, note 1, l. 5, '10 Jh.' should be '11 Jh.,' and in the last line of p. 274 'servire' is printed 'service.' WALTER E. RHODES.

Maçoudi: Le Livre de l'Avertissement et de la Révision. Traduction par le Baron CARRA DE VAUX. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1896.)

IN the dearth of trustworthy translations from the Arabic the Council of the Société Asiatique is to be congratulated for having commissioned M. Carra de Vaux to undertake the 'Tanbih' of Masūdi, an epitomised version of which was published as long ago as the year 1810 by Silvestre de Sacy. We have now complete translations of all that is known to be preserved of the voluminous labours of Masūdi, perhaps the most readable of the many historical writers of the golden age of Arab literature; for this translation of the 'Tanbih' is the complement of the labours of Professor Barbier de Meynard, who, in 1877, finished the nine volumes of the 'Golden Meadows,' of which the Arabic text, with his French translation, forms part of the 'Collection d'Ouvrages Orientaux publiée par la Société Asiatique.' The Arabic text of the 'Tanbih' was already edited in 1894 by Professor de Goeje, and M. Carra de Vaux has had the advantage of having his present translation revised by the veteran orientalist, who, as editor of the original, was best able to throw light on the many obscure passages found in this text. The 'Tanbih' is a sort of table of contents, drawn up by Masūdi late in life, to systematise and explain the contents of all his previous works. In it he reviews the whole field of his historical and geographical labours. But that this is no mere catalogue of names may be deduced from the fact that the translation runs to over 500 pages. M. Carra de Vaux has enriched his work by many notes, in which the reader will find references for elucidating each point of detail, quoting books and papers written by other labourers in this department of history and geography. The translator, further, has done much himself to clear up confusion, and his note to p. 86 on the island of Kanbalū (which is *not* Madagascar) may be instanced as a model of succinct presentment. For the cosmography and geography of the earlier middle ages in the East, and for Moslem history prior to the year 956 A.D., when Masūdi concluded his labours, this translation of the 'Tanbih' is a true mine of information, and M. Carra de Vaux has rendered all this easily available to students by an index, carefully compiled by himself, which fills over 58 pages. GUY LE STRANGE.

L'Opera d'Irnerio. Vol. I. 'La Vita, gli Scritti, il Metodo.' Vol. II. 'Glosse inedite d'Irnerio al Digestum Vetus.' Per Dr. ENRICO BESTA. (Torino: Loescher. 1896.)

'THE world knows nothing of its greatest men.' Hence the temptation to guess a little too much, a temptation which, so it seems to me, Dr. Besta has sanely resisted. The celebration by the university of Bologna of its octocentenary drew attention to the mysterious figure of

Irnerius. Who was he? What exactly was the service that he performed for Roman law and for civilisation? Perhaps no academic festival has ever given occasion for better work. But there was also some unwarrantable speculation. It seemed at one time as if every anonymous legal tract would be ascribed to the master. The day for sobriety has come, and Dr. Besta is above all things sober.

Before we attribute anonymous work to any man on the strength of internal evidence we had better know the work that he has published as his own or that was set down to him by those who were likely to be in the right. In the case of Irnerius this means that before we make him author of the 'Questiones' or the 'Summa Codicis' we ought to know, and to know in a careful edition, the glosses that bear his *sigle*. But to do this is not easy, for behind how many different *sigles* from G to Y may he not lie concealed? In the second volume of this book Dr. Besta endeavours to extract from three manuscripts of the 'Digestum Vetus' (one at Turin, one at Padua, one at Venice) the glosses which come from the great glossator's hand. There is here every external sign of an editor who thoroughly knows his business. Then in the first volume Dr. Besta, equipped with what he has learnt from the gloss, discusses the various questions that have been raised of late years. To such meagre facts concerning the life of Irnerius as had already been ascertained there is unfortunately little to add, though their significance may be slightly changed by new grouping. As to the continuity through the darkest age of anything that could be called a scientific study of the Roman texts, Dr. Besta treads a middle path: he is less confident than Dr. Fitting, less sceptical than M. Flach. As to the anonymous books, he is inclined to think that the important 'Questiones' may well be given to Irnerius, but that, on the other hand, the 'Summa Codicis' cannot be his.

On the whole, if one who stands far outside the study of Roman law may trust a general impression, Dr. Besta's work seems to be of an excellent kind, learned, modest, and circumspect. The careful Irnerian bibliography that he has compiled will be useful to some whose interests lie rather in the history of the universities than in the detail of jurisprudence.

F. W. MAITLAND.

Tote Listoire de France (Chronique Saintongeaise). Now first edited from the only two manuscripts, with introduction, appendices, and notes. By F. W. BOURDILLON, M.A. With prefatory letter by GASTON PARIS, Membre de l'Institut. (London: David Nutt. 1897.)

THE old French chronicle which Mr. Bourdillon here prints, for the first time, under the title of 'Tote Listoire de France,' is otherwise and more commonly known as 'La Chronique Saintongeaise,' it having been written in the Saintonge district. It was probably composed in the first half of the thirteenth century, and if it can no longer claim the credit of being, as it was at one time thought to be, the earliest history of France in the vulgar tongue (there being at least two others of earlier date, as M. Gaston Paris points out in his introductory letter), it is none the less of considerable interest as being among the three or four earliest efforts of

the kind. Mr. Bourdillon prints from a manuscript, now in his own possession, which formerly belonged to the collection of Dr. Lee of Hartwell House. Before the acquisition and identification of this manuscript (which he calls the Lee MS.) by Mr. Bourdillon, the chronicle was supposed to exist in one manuscript only, which is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (*Fonds franç.* 5714). The Lee MS. is the later of the two, belonging probably to the end of the thirteenth century, and is, in general, inferior to the Paris MS.; but it has an independent value of its own, as in not a few cases it affords a better reading than the latter, and it occasionally supplies details which are wanting in it. Mr. Bourdillon has done well, therefore, in printing the text of both the manuscripts *in extenso*, side by side, so that it is easy to see at a glance where the one supplements the other.

The chief interest of the work being rather philological and literary than historical, it would be out of place here to enter into the various questions discussed by Mr. Bourdillon in his introduction. From the strictly historical point of view, indeed, the chronicle is almost beneath contempt, being obviously the translation of an ignorant clerk from some Latin compilation, interlarded with a certain number of local descriptions and allusions (which have, of course, a special value of their own), together with stories and traditions derived from the *chansons de geste*. The story begins, as usual, with the siege of Troy, and is brought down to the beginning of the ninth century; the translator, however, is so ignorant that he has never heard, for instance, of the Pyrenees, but takes *Pirenei* to be a man's name, who with his Gascons betrays Charlemagne in *Pavie* (for Hispania), and, attacking the emperor's rearguard, slays Roland and others of his peers—hardly an authentic account of the *dolorosa rotta* of Roncesvalles! Mr. Bourdillon has been at the pains of tracing the sources of the Latin compilation which the translator had before him (and which, in the precise form made use of by him, is now apparently no longer in existence). He shows that it must have been composed mainly of excerpts from four or five well-known works, such as the 'Liber Historiæ Francorum,' Einhard's 'Vita Karoli,' the 'Vita Ludovici Pii,' and the like. Consequently, even if the translator had faithfully rendered his original, his 'Istoire de France' would have had no value as an independent authority.

In an appendix the editor discusses the identity of the Taillefer de Léon of whom an account is given in the chronicle, and comes to the conclusion (which M. Gaston Paris accepts) that he is a 'composite' personage (like many of the heroes of the *chansons de geste*), and that his original was probably Guillaume Taillefer I., count of Angoulême, 916-962.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

The Red Book of the Exchequer. Edited by HUBERT HALL. In Three Parts. (London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1896.)

THE Red Book of the Exchequer is a bulky manuscript, of which the greater and more important part, dating from about 1230, is based upon the laborious researches of Alexander Swereford, a baron of the exchequer and treasurer of St. Paul's, who died in 1246. Large miscellaneous

additions have been made to the volume by later hands between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries, until even the fly-leaves have been utilised for miscellaneous notes and records. It has long been known to historians, mainly by reason of the extensive use made of it by the great antiquaries of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, whose colossal labours in our then undigested and unsorted archives have never been surpassed, and are still by no means altogether superseded, despite the constant talk that we hear nowadays about the superiority of modern research. In 1728 Hearne published the somewhat earlier Black Book of the Exchequer, containing chiefly the remarkable collection of charters drawn up in 1166, in which the barons themselves specified to Henry II the extent to which they owed military service to the crown, and the manner in which they proposed to pay it, whether by means of subinfeudated knights of the old and of the new feofments, or as a direct obligation to their own demesne, or by a combination of both these methods. These baronial certificates are in substance reproduced in the Red Book, both collections apparently having been taken from a common original. But the complete document contains a great deal more than this, and a comparison of Hearne's thin octavo with the three stout Rolls Series volumes, that have now been published by Mr. Hall, shows how much new matter is for the first time made accessible in print to the little group of English scholars who seriously concern themselves with the original sources of our medieval history.

The contents of the Red Book are almost distressingly miscellaneous. But its real value and originality lie in its being the most complete feodary ever drawn up by the trained officials of the Angevin kings. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the vast mass of evidence brought together by Swereford's labours as regards the great problems of feudal tenures, taxation, and administration that are still so dark, despite the bright rays of light which have been thrown across them by some recent workers. Hardly less important is the bearing of his materials on the task, never yet accomplished in detail, of constructing a territorial map of Angevin England. Besides the records of fees and scutages, the book contains collections of exchequer and other precedents, the texts of statutes, charters, diplomatic correspondence, and state papers, the formulae of oaths, an establishment book of the royal household, a quaint glossary of Anglo-Saxon law terms, and anything else that struck Swereford or his successors at the exchequer as worthy of record in a handy reference book for the practical use of the departmental officials. All these things are huddled together as convenience, accident, space, or tradition suggested to the custodians of the work. Equally necessary in such a case are careful publication of the text and critical editing.

Mr. Hall has not printed the Red Book as a whole, but he has given us nearly all the unpublished portions, and has drawn up an elaborate and almost indispensable table of contents in the order of their occurrence in his manuscript. In this table he gives references to the pages in which they are printed in his edition. Moreover he gives careful reference to the places where the scholar will find in print those parts of the manuscript which he judged it unnecessary to reproduce, and he has calendared in other places a few formal documents that he did not think it worth while to print at all.

In this he has, on the whole, exercised a wise discretion. There is no need to waste space by giving once more what we may read just as well in the 'Statutes of the Realm' or the 'Foedera,' in published chronicles or cartularies, or what need only be calendared in such abridgments as the 'Calendar of Patent Rolls.' Sometimes one cannot but wish that it had fallen within Mr. Hall's plan to have given us better texts than we always have accessible. The 'Dialogus de Scaccario,' for instance, is included within the Red Book, but Mr. Hall contents himself by a reference to Madox, though he has been at the pains of identifying twenty-four transcripts of this document, from which he might well have derived a better text than the reprint of Madox in Dr. Stubbs's 'Select Charters.' However we must wait patiently for this, knowing that the matter is in eminently safe hands.

It is impossible to speak too highly of the enormous pains taken by Mr. Hall in bringing before the public this great quantity of new material in a careful and scholarly form. The mass of the printed text is enormous, but, in addition to seeing this safely through the press, Mr. Hall has carefully collated the Red Book itself with the Hargrave MS., the Cottonian MSS., and the Black Book, all of which contain partial transcripts of portions of its contents, and which have independent authority through being, in some cases, taken directly from a lost original from which it is thought the Black Book and Red Book were both in some measure copied. He has also taken infinite pains to discover the whereabouts of every parallel manuscript for each document in the Red Book. The results of this process can generally be expressed in a line or two of type, but the labour involved in it must often have been very considerable. Infinitely more exacting, however, must have been the task of compiling the elaborate index that falls but slightly short of three hundred pages, while the three long prefaces make up in themselves nearly four hundred closely printed pages of original matter. It is no wonder that with so much work to be done the edition should have been somewhat long before it appeared. But, in addition to the elaborate nature of the task, a strange series of fatalities has beset the Red Book during its progress towards publication. It has been robbed of its original editor by the death of Mr. Walford Selby, while ill health, we are told, has deprived it of the editorial services of Mr. J. H. Round, whose remarkable studies on Domesday and the origin of knight service have put the whole question of feudal origins on a new basis. These mishaps have long delayed publication, and even now the necessity of printing off the text some time before the introduction was ready, and the ill luck that caused the transcript for the press to be begun from a recent copy, which Mr. Hall found untrustworthy, show that the misfortunes that have dogged the book have not been exhausted, and compel Mr. Hall to apologise for certain imperfections in the genealogical and topographical aspects of the work. Under such circumstances it would be churlish to lay too much insistence upon shortcomings such as the too long and by no means complete list of *errata*. It would be unreasonable not to expect that some imperfections of execution should result from so unlucky a process.

It remains to speak in more general terms of Mr. Hall's prefaces and index. These are not quite so perfect as we might have expected from a man of Mr. Hall's knowledge and scholarship, but both are very

considerable pieces of work, and those who use them rightly will have abundant reason to thank the editor for the pains he has bestowed upon them. The prefaces are plainly the result of enormous toil, but we think that Mr. Hall has missed his best opportunity by working out his introduction on somewhat mistaken lines. There are admirable sections dealing with many of the subordinate subjects treated of in the 'Red Book.' The northern tenure of cornage, and its relation to castleward, the constitution of the royal household, the points suggested by the curious tractate on the new coinage, the *personnel* of the thirteenth-century exchequer, and the differences between it and that described in the 'Dialogus de Scaccario,' the wrongs of Isabella de Fors, and the strange and disreputable career of Adam of Stratton, even questions so foreign to Mr. Hall's ordinary studies as the puzzling subject of the cantreds and commots of Wales are handled with a wealth of illustration and precision of knowledge that leave little to be desired in all essential matters. The account of the various attempts at exchequer reform in the latter part of Edward II's reign may be singled out for special praise, as covering ground quite new to most of us, and largely helping to make intelligible the most difficult part of that unsatisfactory and ill-understood period. Even more thorough is the more technical part of the introduction, the description of the manuscripts, the biography of Swereford, and the like. Indeed, the more technical Mr. Hall is the more satisfactory does his method seem. The emendation of Dr. Luard's text of Wykes, which turns the misleading *monasterium Quarreriae* into the intelligible *ministerium Camerariae*, is a brilliant piece of work. Equally fascinating, though not perhaps so convincing, is the reading *extra legem tota Marchia Walliae* for the obscure *ex legem totam Walliae*. Yet even here Mr. Hall is better on technicalities than on generalities, and without expressing an opinion as to the arguments by which he seeks to read 'Kedewain' for 'Lydeneye' (Pref. II. cclxi), we may doubt whether there be any insuperable difficulty in marcher law obtaining in a border lordship like Lydney.

When on this subject we agree that 'Gunlion [better Gunliou], in Gloucestershire,' is probably Gwenllwg, as Mr. Hall says; Monmouth, however, was not in Gloucestershire, but, if in any shire, in Herefordshire, in the Red Book documents. Yet we must not imagine that because the sheriff of Hereford or Gloucester sometimes accounted, as a matter of convenience, for the scutages of the autonomous marcher states that lay westwards of his proper jurisdiction, the lordships of the march were in any real sense shire ground. There is a similar ambiguity with regard to the great northern franchises, where Durham is sometimes treated as a liberty within the shire of Northumberland and sometimes as a county palatine standing by itself. The relation of such franchises to the adjoining sheriffdom reminds one of the way in which the great fiefs of France were included within the purview of the bailli or seneschal, who ruled directly over the nearest province that happened to be included within the royal domain. As a matter of strict law Monmouth was no more in Hereford or Gloucester than Bordeaux was really under the authority of the seneschal of Périgord. On this point we may note that on p. cclx Mr. Hall quotes the statement that G. de Umfraville holds Redesdale *per*

regalem potestatem, as if it were a typical example of the 'wards of the north.' This is not so, as Redesdale, it is well known, was a franchise with rights almost as extensive as those of the bishopric of Durham, and was therefore in an exceptional rather than a normal position. We need not lay any great stress upon occasional slips like the 'Eleven Virgins' of Cologne, robbing St. Ursula of so large a part of her following, or even the strange and unilluminating speculations that are suggested by the name 'De Fortibus,' which are at once laid at rest by remembering that it is but the corrupt Latin form of the village of Fors, in Poitou.

More important than any occasional blemishes of detail is the somewhat obscure and stilted style in which much of the preface is written. This sometimes makes it rather hard to follow Mr. Hall's particular line of argument. Even more to be regretted is the devotion of so many pages to the carrying on of an unimportant controversy, about which enough had already been said. The 'attack' made on Swereford by Mr. Round in the pages of the *ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW* (vi. 625 *seqq.*) had already been dealt with by a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, whom it would be an affectation not to identify with Mr. Hall, and both combatants had full opportunities of replying and counter-replying in the pages of the *Athenæum*. The natural enthusiasm of Mr. Hall for Swereford led him to resist with unnecessary heat Mr. Round's contention that the assignment to particular wars of certain scutages, collected in the early years of Henry II's reign, could not be borne out by the Pipe Rolls. Of course Mr. Round put his point with needless acerbity. It is his method to get angry even with a man who has been dead more than six hundred years; and all will agree in reprobating the language in which he has expressed his opinion of the work of a brother scholar with whom he has been personally associated in editing this very book, and who, even at the threshold of this unlucky dispute, spoke of Mr. Round in very becoming terms of appreciation. But the replies of Mr. Hall were couched in an unnecessarily exalted spirit, which is the more to be regretted since we cannot think that he has in all respects fully answered Mr. Round. But in truth these arid controversies are much to be deplored. They obscure rather than promote the quest of truth, and the violence with which they are apt to be carried on is but too likely to make the enemies of research blaspheme against historians and all their ways. This particular controversy is of no great importance. The solid compilation of the Red Book will always keep alive the memory of Swereford, even if he made mistakes, as all historians do, as to the history of the previous century. It is not critical to regard the value of his work as 'standing' or 'falling' by his views as to the 'scutage of Toulouse.' It is hopeless to make him out a modern critical historian, and still more to regard him as an infallible custodian of an authentic official tradition, as Mr. Hall seems to wish it to appear. Swereford's object was practical, not historical; his interest in the antiquarian part of his task was very limited, and he probably did not take much trouble in the matter. To suppose that he was filled with the excessive contempt which the modern record scholar professes for chroniclers, and deliberately 'rejected their aid,' seems almost trifling with the subject, and

Mr. Hall's own reliance on a single doubtful passage of William of Newburgh (p. clxxiii) shows that even record scholars are glad to use the despised chronicler when he seems to help forward their case. But it is not at all likely, despite William of Newburgh, that *bellum Tolosanum* was the general term for the Anglo-French wars from 1159 to 1196. Even if it were, *bellum Tolosanum* is one thing, *exercitus Tolosae* another. It would have been much better if Mr. Hall had avoided this thorny and barren ground and given us what he could, if he had willed, done so admirably—namely, an analysis and summary of the great feodary which he has printed. As it is, the miserable squabble about Swereford may go on for ever, while this really important task remains undone.

The index, like the preface, is a work of great labour, but, like the preface, it is not in all respects quite everything that could be wished. We may pass over the curious absence of mind that declares that the Red Book is the first medieval record published in the Rolls Series (p. cccclxxvi). Every one who uses a book like this can correct such a slip for himself. Perhaps also Mr. Hall is unnecessarily emphatic about the 'really scientific system of record-indexing' which prevails in the admirable new series of medieval calendars. I have more than once tried to urge that, excellent as these indexes are, they are capable of being improved in ways that would make them much more helpful to the scholar. It is hard to see that the cause of exact science requires Abbotsbury to be indexed under 'Abbodesbiriae,' Aberffraw under 'Aberfrau,' or Abergavenny under 'Burgavenny.' But it is certainly a pity that, as Mr. Hall tells us, there has been no 'systematic and progressive identification of the personal and place names of the text.' As a matter of fact Mr. Hall has done a good deal, and he has no doubt wearied himself with the labour which the troublesome and endless work involved. But, while acknowledging warmly the trouble he has taken, we cannot but regret that place names so distinct as 'Cahors' and 'Caux' should be blended together under the strange and unsorted list of corrupt forms that 'science' requires to be indexed under the head 'Chaoreiis.' 'Vaux' and 'Valoignes' do not escape the same confusion. Mr. Hall perhaps pushes specialism to excess when he emphasises so strongly the difference between the record scholar, the topographer, and the genealogist, as if records could be properly studied or edited save by those equipped at all essential points of medieval lore. But it required no very special or recondite knowledge to identify such forms as, for example, 'Calatrensium,' 'comes de Sancto Paulo,' 'Wennunwen Walensis.' On the other hand it is only fair to emphasise the fact that the index is practically exhaustive of all the names contained in the text, and that, after much testing, the page references seem exceedingly trustworthy. Only those who have tried to be accurate in making an index on a small scale will realise how much it means to make a good index on this great scale. Apart from the occasional errors in the identifications and the more common omission of any attempt to identify, the index seems exceedingly good.

T. F. Tout.

The Opus Maius of Roger Bacon. Edited, with Introduction, by JOHN HENRY BRIDGES, F.R.C.P. 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1897.)

In the preface to this edition Mr. Bridges speaks with regret of the absence of communication between two able investigators (Professor Brewer and M. Emile Charles), who chanced to be simultaneously at work upon friar Roger. A like piece of ill-luck befell Mr. Bridges himself. The discovery by Dr. Gasquet of the unknown preface (printed in this REVIEW last July) came too late for the Oxford edition, in which it is but inadequately dealt with on a fly-leaf appended to the new editor's preface. We cannot perhaps acquit Mr. Bridges of some negligence in not making the discovery his own by more persistent inquiry for the Vatican MS., the existence of which had already been noticed in a trustworthy work of reference. Be this as it may, the misfortune is in the present circumstances of less moment than it would have been in the case of most editors. It is unluckily necessary to say clearly that for reasons quite unconnected with this mishap the present edition will be found to be nearly useless. There is, indeed, little reason to doubt that a fairly satisfactory text might have been constructed from the manuscripts known to Mr. Bridges. The task however required an editor possessed of rather special training, and such training Mr. Bridges has failed to acquire.

I have a natural desire to speak respectfully of an editor who has evidently devoted a very considerable amount of time to the production of a laborious piece of work in an unfamiliar field. It is obvious that we have here the results of several years of honest pains. That there should be mistakes and limitaticns would have been inevitable, even had the editor been a specialist in medieval learning all his life. That a scholar who was not among the few specialists in this field should attempt an edition of the 'Opus Maius' does not, I hold, necessarily imply a rash precipitancy, nor can he fairly be blamed for a severe self-restriction in the matter of working out Bacon's references. Any one familiar with the standard authorities of the thirteenth century knows how often a mere marginal reference to a printed text would be impossible, inadequate, or misleading. Take, for example, the three or more different tracts which passed under the common name of 'Aristotelis Physiognomia,' or the tract on medicine of Pliny 'the younger.' Necessary consideration for the interests of his publishers might reasonably restrain an editor both from full treatment of such questions and from a general survey of Bacon's writings, such as would be necessary to piecing together the 'Scriptum Principale'—if there be in existence a work to which that name properly applies. The dictum of a great authority that it is impossible to write history from manuscripts has much truth, and it applies equally to the treatment of many questions that arise from Bacon's works. Hence an editor might well consider his duty done in supplying a working text with such explanations as were absolutely necessary, a fit foundation on which others might build.

But no such foundation is to be got from the volumes before us. Mr. Bridges, in a letter to the *Athenaeum*,¹ has stated that he did not intend to produce a critical edition. If he means by this a scientific estimate of the exact manuscript evidence for verbal differences, nobody will complain of his plan; but if he means that differences of text, due not to inaccuracy of scribes, but to a succession of recensions by the author, have been deliberately ignored, then the defence is bad upon the pleadings. I prefer, however, to believe that his statement that 'all variations which are of more than verbal importance have been noted in the present edition' (preface, p. xii) implies a fuller conception of an editor's duties. I regret that I cannot say the execution is equal to the design. A comparison of Mr. Bridges's text with two or three of the older manuscripts impels me to the belief that the editor has found the reading of thirteenth-century hands not only difficult but distasteful, that he has grudged to turn to them so long as a fair sense could be got from the later text, and has shut the book with relief whenever the older writing was mutilated or could at first sight be regarded as illegible. It is not a happy frame of mind for any editor of medieval works; it is doubly unhappy in the present case, because it happens that the Cotton MS. Julius D. V. is for parts i.-iv. of the 'Opus Maius' of somewhat special importance. It is necessary to insist upon this, lest it seem that too much stress is here laid on Mr. Bridges's ill-success with one only of his authorities, and this a manuscript which is the sole authority for but some half-dozen pages in the book. To extract and utilise to the full the information about the history of the Opus Maius contained in the manuscript in question might require the powers of a Henry Bradshaw. Certainly I can make no pretence to give a final account of it, but something must be said on the point. The marginal sign of a man's head, which Bacon mentions that he uses, is not absolutely rare, so that its occurrence in the manuscript may seem but a small sign on which to base a theory that the book was executed under the author's eye. Certain other evidence, however, goes, as I think, to corroborate the notion. This evidence is to be found first in the extreme rarity of those errors of ignorance which are so inevitable in the transcription of works on abstruse subjects written in the contracted hand of the period; secondly, in the structure of the text itself; and thirdly, in the other contents of the volume. It is upon the second of these points that, in spite of some trepidation, I am tempted to put forward a theory, less for any value I imagine it to possess than as an example of the kind of question to pass which in silence is a fatal flaw in the editor's work. The crucial passage is the junctura between parts iii. and iv. of the 'Opus.' Part iii. in the old text (*i.e.* in Jebb's edition, and presumably in the Oxford and Dublin MSS., which I have not seen) ends at p. 92 of Mr. Bridges's text, and is complete in itself. After this Mr. Bridges has added, from the Cotton MS., a continuation, extending to five pages, in which Bacon raises several new points, but the discussion as printed is not complete in itself. One of the paragraphs (p. 96) begins thus:—*Quinto* [the manuscript has *secundo*] *multum est necessaria Rei Publicae Latinorum dirigendae cognitio linguarum propter tria*, but the

¹ 16 Oct. 1897.

exposition here promised never comes. Instead of it Mr. Bridges places, a few lines lower down, a line of dots, then two sentences to close the part. No indication, except the dots, shows any divergence from the manuscript. Now the fact is that at the point where the dots are placed the Cotton MS. meanders away from the subject, gives an unnecessary repetition, rather than recapitulation, of matters previously discussed, and finally, after about 35 lines, enters without any break (in thought or writing) upon the subject of part iv., at the words *Et quod peius est*, near the foot of p. 97. Out of these 35 lines Mr. Bridges has arbitrarily selected his two closing sentences. From *Et quod peius est* the manuscript continues steadily down to the end of p. 108. Here there is a break; the manuscript returns to the point where we first got into difficulties, recasts the last sentence before the dots on p. 96, and enters on a long and most interesting discussion of the political utility of the tongues, an anecdote of the Soldan's ambassador, criticisms on the usefulness of crusades, the proceedings of the Prussian order, &c.—all this is tacitly omitted by Mr. Bridges—finishes up the logical conclusion of part iii. and begins anew *manifestato quod multae &c.*, as in Mr. Bridges's text, p. 97. It is to me almost irresistible to imagine the first draft of the passage written or dictated by the author in a sleepy state, forgetting much of what he wished to say in his hurry to get on to the new subject. The revised draft presents itself on this view as, we may say, the next morning's second and better thoughts. A keener grasp of the work reveals to him the omissions and the fact that clearness requires a new section for the new subject. As a matter of fact, the whole system of subdivision in this manuscript is suggestive of unfinished work. It differs from the Bodleian MS. in ways which can hardly be imputed to careless scribes, and it is, I believe (the mutilation of the manuscript makes it difficult to be certain), inconsistent with itself. Thus part ii. appears to end with cap. 5, p. 41. Part iii. is written continuously with the end of part ii. and headed *dist. secunda*, and so on. Whatever the true explanation of these facts, we certainly have here two recensions. Which is the later I do not undertake to decide, but I protest against a mixture which gives us neither one nor the other, and conceals the fact of their existence altogether.

Mr. Bridges's curiosity does not seem to have impelled him to an examination of the other contents of the Cotton MS. Had it done so, he would have found in it the three difficult but interesting letters to John of Paris—they ought to have been noticed on p. lxxiv under the heading of 'Barology'—each with a colophon written in a simple cipher. These, being interpreted, give the quaint result, '*magnum et primum mendacium Rogeri Bacon ad fratrem Johannem Parisiensem,*' '*maius mendacium,*' &c., and '*tercium mendacium,*' &c. If the editor had not fled from the manuscript the moment he could do without it, he might have been led to examine the question whether the jest is of the kind a man makes at his own expense or not.

I have dwelt at disproportionate length on the interest of this manuscript; it unfortunately requires but a short specimen or two to show how far Mr. Bridges was capable of using it. The following is not the worst sentence on the page (p. 93) on which it stands, and that page is not worse

than any other among the pages of the text which depend solely on the one manuscript.

Cotton MS.

Necesse est igitur nobis in omnibus psalmodiis et obsecrationibus nostris, ut sciamus rite perferre et intelligere, quodque iuxta uerborum proprietatem sciamus deuote petitiones nostras formare, ut quod recte et deuote petimus, Dei et sanctorum pietate et meritis ecclesie consequamur.

Mr. Bridges.

Necesse est ergo nobis in omnibus psalmodiis et obsecrationibus nostris ut sciamus recte proponere et intelligere quaecunque et iuxta uerborum proprietatem deuote nostras petitiones sonare, ut quod recte et deuote petimus Dei et sanctorum pietatem et merita ecclesiae consequamur.

In a few lines of p. 95 (ll. 3-11) *Tertia uero causa est de* requires the obvious emendation *de causa est, Syrii* should be *Syri* (MS. *Siri*), *subiiciuntur* should be *scribuntur*, *sciant linguas earum* should be *scirent linguarum harum rationem* [the manuscript has *lingue* (corr. to *linguarum*) *huius*], *et ordines ecclesiae salutare per sincerum non recipiunt* should be *et negligunt ordines eccl. sal. quia persuasionem sinceram non recipiunt*, *Unde accidit quod* should be *Unde ubique*.

It is unnecessary further to multiply instances. The samples are chosen as fairly representing the editor's ability to escape the pitfalls which thirteenth-century contractions lay for the unwary. As showing their perils it is but fair to note that I have remarked several slips (*quum* for *quoniam*, *prebentur* for *preberentur*,² &c.) in the corrections made by Mr. Bridges's reviewers. Of course, too, with other texts to fall back upon, Mr. Bridges has not given us mistakes at the same rate throughout the book, but we can have little confidence in his corrections of later scribes' errors when we see what his collation with the older manuscripts means. Surely, too, the editor's critical acumen might have come to the rescue of his defective reading powers in such a passage as that on p. 76 where Bacon is made to say that the dative of the first Greek declension ends in *φ*. So the verification of accessible references would have turned the quotation from St. Augustine on the same page from nonsense into sense by the insertion of a negative, and on p. 89 must have suggested 18^{no} *Actuum* for the unintelligible misreading *iq[noratio]ne Actuum*. In any of these cases an editor working from transcripts made for him by others would, one would suppose, have sent back queries for verification.

Space is lacking for further criticism of details. About general principles I have still a word to say, lest any incautious reader be tempted to use the book in the belief that it contains that which it does not contain. Perhaps of all faults in an editor the worst is the concealment, whether conscious or due to carelessness, of the sources from which an intelligent reader may correct his errors. Of this bad kind of reticence we cannot altogether acquit Mr. Bridges. In particular I desire to protest against the strain upon the reader's power of divination made by the editor's dots. Who, on reading the attack on Dr. Jebb (in the note on p. 74) for his omission of the Hebrew alphabet, could be expected to know that the three or four dots after *dabo* represent a considerable passage in 'Chaldean' omitted

² *Athenæum*, 25 Sept. 1897.

by Mr. Bridges? So the three dots on p. 79 stand for a sentence which has no other difficulty than the interpretation of a contraction (*pos* for *postillator*). These examples are not solitary.

Again, the editor's account of the manuscripts is confused and incomplete. Among other things it serves to hide the fact that of one available ancient manuscript of the 'Multiplicatio Specierum' no use whatever has been made. This manuscript (Add. 8756), which, as Dr. Brewer remarks, is very trying to the eyes, is probably for its actual readings not comparable in importance to Jul. D. V. in the 'Opus Maius.' It includes, however, a few short passages not in the Bodleian text, and—a much more important fact—it has the tract actually written as part of a larger whole in continuity with other portions assigned to the 'Scriptum Principale.' Fortifying by this manuscript evidence his connexion of the work, the editor would perhaps have done more wisely to omit the tract altogether from his volumes, gaining thereby space for fuller treatment of the 'Opus Maius' proper, and leaving the 'Multiplicatio' to the editor of the larger work when time shall disclose him. But when will that be? Mr. Bridges (or rather, no doubt, his printer) begins an unlucky note on perfect numbers (p. 7) with the words 'when 2^{n-1} is a prime number.' Before the event contemplated we may look for many remarkable things. Perhaps among them will be the publication of satisfactory editions of all Bacon's works, and among these not least of the 'Opus Maius,' for enough has been said to show that we are still far from having attained such an edition. The only part of the present volumes I can safely recommend to the scholar is the very full analysis, and even this with the reservation that it represents a recension containing either too much or too little. We can be sorry for Mr. Bridges, but we shall be sorrier for the interests of scholarship.

J. P. GILSON.

Select Cases from the Coroners' Rolls (1265-1413), with a brief account of the history of the office of Coroner. By CHARLES GROSS, Ph.D. (Selden Society. 1896.)

THIS volume partakes of the nature of extracts from the medieval 'Police News.' Dr. Gross found his material 'in the Public Record Office among the Assize Rolls of the Queen's Bench (Crown side).' From these he gives us the earliest preserved rolls, in substance complete; but contents himself with a selection of cases from those of a later date. It is not only the office of coroner, nor even of the coroner's jury, that is thus illustrated. We learn much about the whole working of the county courts. Dr. Gross has come to the conclusion that these surviving rolls are 'merely transcripts, and in some cases abstracts of the originals . . . made especially for the use of the royal treasury.' There is much mention of the property of felons, however small it may be: a collection of the *deodands* valued would form a respectable introduction to the study of medieval implements. There does not seem much need for the printing of so many extracts as the volume contains. For instance, a larger space is given to Bedfordshire than to any other county, and the thirty-eight pages by themselves would give us a very fair idea of the information

which may be culled from the whole set of printed extracts. But it was right to give examples from other parts of England: practically some sixteen counties are represented. The space devoted to Bedfordshire might have been considerably curtailed without any real loss of information. Of course there are lessons, and valuable lessons, to be learnt from wearisome reiteration. We begin to appreciate the amount of routine in the working of the courts; we become aware of the local activity of mediæval life. But the variety of that activity can only be set before us by judicious extracts from many rolls placed in juxtaposition. Dr. Gross furnishes us with an admirable summary in his introduction. His section on the functions of the coroner, together with a note on the part played in the work of the local courts by the representatives of the Four Neighbouring Townships, are full of interesting matter, and they may be recommended to any one who has come fresh from an attempt to grapple with the account of the procedure of the local courts in the great 'History of English Law.'

Into the merits of the controversy between Dr. Gross and Professor Maitland on the antiquity of the coroner's office we cannot here enter. But Dr. Gross does seem to make out a very strong case for its existence before the articles of the eyre of 1194. The justitarius of the London and Colchester charters, who is not only to keep (*custodire, servare*) the pleas of the crown, but also *placitare* them, sounds very like an official to whose duty it would fall to hold (*tenere*) the pleas in question. Much food for reflexion is supplied by all that Dr. Gross has to say about the early history of the coroner. He regards the office as an outcome of the extension of crown pleas, and as growing in importance alongside of the itinerant justices into whose hands the coroners played. Their work was not merely to inquire into cases of sudden death. 'They were the principal agents of the crown in bringing criminals to justice.' They acted as a check on the sheriff, and, if Dr. Gross's estimate of their position and duties is correct, their power was co-ordinate with that of the sheriff in most things, and superior to it in some of the more important. But the sheriff was the king's officer, while the coroner owed his post to election in the county court. We can scarcely think that the Plantagenet kings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries would unduly exalt the popularly elected official at the expense of their own. That the sheriff was depressed we know, but that the coroner not only took over some of his duties and discharged others which the sheriff never possessed, but even disputed the chief local authority with him, seems a matter of considerable doubt. From the coroner's duties we pass to the coroner's jury of the representatives of the four neighbouring vills, and here Dr. Gross attempts to work out the suggestion of Professor Maitland, that perhaps in them is to be sought the origin of the petty jury. But Dr. Gross does not stop here. The coroner's jury was representative, but so was the coroner himself. Two or four coroners were elected in each county, and at first they must be knights. 'The machinery for the election of coroners seems to have been the mould which shaped the representation of the shires in parliament; the coroners were prototypes of the parliamentary knights of the shire.' But knights of the shire were elected for other purposes; and it seems more likely that the employment

of such a committee for the assessment or collection of taxation should suggest to the king the assembly of such representatives in his presence, than that he should have been led to the idea by a machinery designed for the appointment of a local officer of justice and police.

D. J. MEDLEY.

Robert the Bruce. By SIR HERBERT MAXWELL. (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1897.)

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL is weighted by his subject. He wants to be fair and critical, and must be national. The marvel is, that he has been so successful, for he has certainly produced a biography which must be called successful, if only because he has put away the perfervid style. He breaks into panegyric on occasions, but he disposes of the myths. The fact is, that he really goes as near as possible to the fountain-head. He waters the usually unadulterated draught of Barbour and Fordun by an admixture of cold documents. Bain and Stevenson supply him, and he has practically worked out their material into a consecutive story. Unfortunately he has stopped there. He has not examined the documents themselves, which is the more annoying in that Bain frequently gives rather meagre abstracts or extracts, and we want the whole document. A good instance is the inventory of the horses in 1298. Mr. Bain does not give us the total, so therefore Sir Herbert does not; but we have ourselves added up a total of 1,217 horses from the two rolls in the Public Records.¹ Allowing 500 horse as the contribution of five great feudal lords and of Henry Percy, the number which they furnished in December of the same year,² or enough to complete in round numbers 2,000 horse, with the bishop of Durham's unrecorded contingent thrown in, we are still immeasurably short of the 7,000 cavalry that Hemingburgh supposes present at the battle of Falkirk. The largest force of foot which the earl of Surrey commanded on the borders in the beginning of 1298, when he was expecting to receive orders to march against Wallace, was just over 25,000 strong, a number which rapidly dwindled. The evidence of the pay lists is conclusive that the infantry could never be kept together for any great length of time, and Surrey's average force of foot was about 18,000.

Sir Herbert is vague on the position of Stirling bridge. A site must be sought at some little distance up the Forth, in fact somewhere near the traditional site, simply because the battle must have been fought within the widest loop of the river. On the other hand, his description of the field of Bannockburn, as well as his map, could not be better; the common account of this battle gives the reader no idea of the extent of the swamps, or of the nature of the Bannock's banks. It is a pity that he is unacquainted with Mr. Hereford George's book on British battles where Bannockburn is presented from the English point of view. He would then have known that Baker of Swinbrook is a military authority whom no student of medieval tactics should neglect. He does just

¹ Exchequer Accounts, Army, &c., Bundle vi. nos. 39 and 40.

² Bain, *Calendar*, vol. ii. no. 1014.

mention Sir Thomas de la More, but a glance at Sir E. M. Thompson's introduction to Baker's chronicle would have shown that it is doubtful if the whole of Baker's narrative is to be considered as copied from Sir Thomas's French original. At least, the theory that the main English archer force was kept in the rear, and was therefore useless, is not noticed, on which, however, Baker speaks definitely. Sir Herbert, however, makes up for this by showing, on his plan of the battle, that Keith's light horse only cut up one unsupported wing of archers. The rest of the two days' fighting is admirably told. Clifford's flanking movement and its failure, Gray of Heton's value as an authority, the absolute impossibility that the traditional bore-stone can mark the position of Bruce's reserve, or even of the centre of the front line on the day of the main battle, the leading fact that the solid 'schiltrome' gave the victory over the blindly rushing and stumbling horse, no matter where exactly the pits were dug—each point receives good treatment. Nothing could be better, especially as some notes by Sir Evelyn Wood, on the position of the Scottish army, have been used. Unfortunately this only satisfies the reader of biography, who is content to study the battle as the crowning achievement of a great career. It is not enough for a student of military science, to whom one battle is a link in a chain. The triumph of the pike was short-lived. Bannockburn taught the English the necessity of remodelling their military array, for even at Falkirk the archers were regarded as an inferior corps to the knights. Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill were the first triumphs of the fully evolved archers, handled and combined with the dismounted knights. But Bruce, Douglas, and Thomas son of Randolph were then dead.

Yet if Sir Herbert does not treat his military topics quite fully enough to satisfy the English mind, he atones by his handling of Bruce's earlier career. The 'humiliating record' of his actions, down to 1305, is given in full. It is shown how Wallace fought as guardian for the absent Balliol, and how the earl of Carrick fought or made terms with Edward for himself. Yet in Stirling the memory of each is still green, as if they were comrades in arms. The influence of France is acknowledged, but more stress should have been laid upon it. Had Edward never gone to Flanders, or had there been less important matters to negotiate with the pope and the French, Wallace would not have had his opportunity. The presence of Gascon mercenaries in the garrisons in Scotland, and the naturally overbearing conduct of the English soldiers towards peaceful townfolk, of which there is interesting evidence in Bain and Stevenson, are not emphasised. Yet Wallace and Bruce probably owed much of their early success to the animosity so caused. There is too much detail of the exciting adventures of either hero, too little of what caused the spirit of patriotism just when Edward's rule seemed likely to be universally accepted; nor is the price that Scotland paid for her independence reckoned. Bruce is the hero of the nation, and the succeeding non-heroes are kept out of sight.

The main purpose of the book is a good one. Myths are systematically attacked. Not the least interesting of Sir Herbert Maxwell's admissions is that Cromwell is not to be credited with the destruction of every monument destroyed in Scotland. Tourists know how every piece

of wanton mischief is put down to him, as if the Covenanters were never iconoclasts. So, too, it is interesting to find a Scottish writer who does not consider every Comyn to be a traitor.

J. E. MORRIS.

Philippe de Mézières, 1327-1405, et la Croisade au xiv^e siècle. By N. JORGA. (Paris: Librairie Emile Bouillon. 1896.)

It was a happy choice that led M. Jorga to take the life of Philip de Mézières as the centre round which to group a history of the crusading idea in the fourteenth century. Philip was born early enough to catch something of the traditional spirit of the early crusaders, and he lived long enough to witness and in part to inspire the last effort of western chivalry in the expedition of Bouceiant in 1403. Philip himself is, moreover, in many ways a striking personality, and his lifelong zeal for the holy war, combined with his intimate share in the projects for its renewal, gives a unity to the narrative which it could not otherwise possess. The story of the ill-success which attended his unceasing labours to revive the interest of western Europe enables M. Jorga to show why in the fourteenth century, despite all its display of chivalry, a new crusade was so hopeless an undertaking. There were three great motives that had inspired the early crusaders; the spirit of adventure, the desire of gain, and the zeal for religion. But in the fourteenth century princes had full scope for their energies in the direction of that national sentiment which the crusades had done so much to foster. Private adventurers also found a more promising field in the great wars which convulsed the west. The commercial motive again had ceased to act; the great trading communities had grown averse to the continuance of a warfare, which threatened to endanger the commercial system that it created. As for religious zeal, the church, through the decline of papal authority, had lost the power, if not the will, to excite and direct popular enthusiasm. All these facts Philip had to learn by personal experience in the courts of France and England, in the republics of Venice and Genoa, and in the papal curia. On another side his relations with Cyprus illustrate the partial success of one phase of crusading enterprise, and the reasons of its failure; whilst his 'Order of the Passion' points out the most hopeful means for maintaining crusading energy, and at the same time shows how futile was the attempt to revive it.

Born in Picardy, the young Philip grew up among the traditions of Peter the Hermit. His knightly ancestry inclined him to a life of adventure, whilst a careful education made him familiar with the whole range of medieval romance and history. So in a sense he combined the zealous spirit of the twelfth with the chivalrous ideals of the fourteenth century. His first service had been with the unfortunate Andrew of Hungary, who might equally have inspired or caught Philip's enthusiasm. In 1346, Philip won his spurs in the abortive attack by Humbert of Vienne on Smyrna, and in the following year made a long-intended pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he conceived his idea of a new military Order of the Passion to take the place of the effete Hospitallers. Coming home, he stayed in Cyprus, and there made the acquaintance of Peter de Lusignan, in whom he found a prince after his own heart. But it was more than

ten years before Peter's accession to the throne of Cyprus gave Philip his opportunity. The interval was spent by Philip in the west. But soon after his return to Cyprus in 1360, Peter made him his chancellor, and from this time forward Philip was the king's chief counsellor in his plans for a new crusade. He accompanied Peter in his mission to western Europe, travelling like him from country to country in the vain endeavour to extract something more fruitful than high-sounding promises. Still some western knights joined in the new crusade, and eightscore Englishmen, like Chaucer's knight, were

At Alisaundre . . . when it was wonne.

Philip's dream never came so near accomplishment. A third of the city was to be his share, and he could at last establish his new military order. But his hopes were rudely shattered. The army broke up, and its conquest was perforce abandoned, whilst the Venetian republic took alarm at an achievement which threatened to endanger its commerce. Next year Philip went on a mission to the west, but found his enthusiasm baffled by the indifference of people and princes, and by the desire of the commercial republics for peace. He was with Peter de Lusignan during his second visit to the west in 1367. But the assassination of his master on 16 Jan. 1369 robbed him of his position in Cyprus and of his hopes for the crusade. He retained the empty title of chancellor of Cyprus, and never renounced his favourite dream of the Order of the Passion. After a few years spent in Italy, he passed into the service of Charles V of France, who loved him as a man of letters, of devout mind, and sage in counsel. On the death of Charles, Philip entered the cloister of the Célestins at Paris, where he died on 29 May 1405. He kept up his relations with the outside world, and by his writings, partly mystical and partly reminiscent of his past life, continued to the last to advocate the renewal of the holy war.

His own enthusiasm was unquenched, if a little disillusioned. He could see the futility of such an enterprise as the expedition of the comte de Nevers in 1396. With all his imaginative zeal, Philip was indeed no mere visionary. In his last years he laboured to restore peace between France and England, and to heal the schism in the church, realising that until these objects were accomplished Latin Christianity could make no united effort. Herein he anticipated the aspirations of Henry V, and, like the English king, he saw that the new crusade must strike at Egypt and Syria, and not waste itself in the valley of the Danube. To the last he sought recruits for his Order of the Passion, and if his dream of a new military order was vain, it shows that he had studied the history of the crusades to some purpose. He came to realise the hopelessness of the circumstances of his own time, but he looked forward to a regeneration of society when 'honourable men of the middle estate of Christendom' should furnish adherents to his Order. There is something prophetic in the idea, and it is this catholicity of sentiment through which he lived both in the past and in the future, that makes Philip's career so pathetic and so full of interest.

M. Jorga's book covers what is practically a new field, and is full of interest. It is furnished with a copious bibliography and notes. A number

of English knights and adventurers find notice in his pages. I have marked a few slight errors in English names; it was John, and not Richard, Grey of Codnor who fought at Alexandria in 1365; Alain de Booksell should be Alain de Buxhull, and Richard de Pembroke should be Richard de Pembridge or Pembrugge. C. L. KINGSFORD.

Deutsche Geschichte. VON KARL LAMPRECHT. IV. and V. (Berlin : Gaertner. 1894-5.)

Zwei Streitschriften den Herren H. Oncken, H. Delbrück, M. Lenz zugeignet. VON K. LAMPRECHT. (Berlin : Gaertner. 1897).

THE plan of Dr. Lamprecht's History was fully explained in the notices of its earlier volumes that have appeared in the ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW. Only in one respect has it been departed from. The promise to tell the whole story of the German nation from Ariovistus to Bismarck in seven volumes has been kept in the letter, but not in the spirit; the fifth volume is longer by some three hundred pages than its predecessors, and published in two parts. But such miscalculations are pardonable enough. Succinct in its narrative, clear and crisp in style, and interweaving with the political history many sides of the national life which must usually be looked for in special works, it seems to have met with favour among the reading public, if we may judge from the fact that the first and second editions of the second part of vol. v. were published simultaneously. To some extent, indeed, this may have been a *succès de polémique*, for Professor Lamprecht has had to run the gauntlet of very severe criticism from the reviewers of his own country. His claim to be (in the words of one of these critics) 'the prophet of the new evolutionist school of history' has roused a not entirely good-humoured controversy on the text, *Was ist Culturgeschichte?* His assailants also declare the fifth volume to be full of errors and exaggerations, and roundly charge him with borrowing a good part of his narrative from the older descriptive historians whom he professes to supersede. Many of the mistakes are of no great importance, but enough seems to be made out to warrant the conclusion that it is rather beyond the powers of a single historian to treat every part of such a wide sweep of history with equal adequacy. In his latest reply to these critics Professor Lamprecht, while repelling the charge of plagiarism and retorting with an accusation of personal animus, pleads guilty in his own defence to more numerous and more serious misprints than a careful writer should allow to slip into his work. But though experts may pick holes the book will probably maintain its ground as, despite defects, the most satisfactory history of the great German people in manageable compass and incorporating the most recent researches. JAMES TAIT.

Bibliotheca Erasmiana. I.: Adagia. (Gand: C. Vyt. 1897.)

THE indefatigable curators of the University Library at Ghent, MM. Vander Haeghen, Vanden Berghe, and Arnold, have celebrated the centenary of their institution by publishing the first instalment of their stupendous bibliography of Erasmus. This section, which appears within four years of the publication of their preliminary *Listes sommaires*,

contains the 'Adagia,' and is a marvel of minute detail. Every known edition is treated with such literal accuracy that a student who wishes to examine any particular issue can do so as perfectly here at second hand as in the original. Besides the more obvious information about title-pages, prefaces, colophons, &c., the additions and excisions made in various issues have been thoroughly examined, and to every book is subjoined a list of the public libraries in which it is to be found, private collections also being enumerated in the case of rare editions. The remoteness of many of the libraries thus mentioned is in itself an indication of the far-reaching inquiries of the authors. The book ends with a summary list of all editions, which enables the reader to compare them roughly at a glance; and herein are included a few of which no copies are known to exist. It is perhaps a pity that in this list at any rate, if not in the book itself, the authors have not allowed themselves more latitude of conjecture, and placed in their approximate order the early undated editions, instead of putting them in a body at the end as *éditions sans date*, leaving the student to discern for himself which are contemporary with Erasmus and which not. They have abandoned the confusing arrangement adopted in their 'Bibliotheca Belgica' of printing on the recto only; yet even so the book in its three divisions dealing with the writings of Erasmus, the works he edited, and the authorities to be consulted about him, cannot fail to fill a great many volumes. But as it is a model of bibliographical work, the student of Erasmus will only hope for the rapid completion of such an invaluable undertaking.

P. S. ALLEN.

Die Geschichte der Fugger'schen Handlung in Spanien. Von KONRAD HÄBLER. ('Socialgeschichtliche Forschungen.' I. Heft.) (Weimar: E. Felber. 1897.)

KONRAD HÄBLER'S studies in Spanish economical history are always welcome. This monograph explains in full detail the position which the Augsburg house of Fugger held in Spain from the accession of Charles V to the middle of the seventeenth century. It is not only the story of the family splits, the confidential agents, the business methods, the enviable profits of these leading German bankers; it acts as a guide to those who follow the career of Spain down the road to ruin. Each fresh source of revenue which was farmed to the Fuggers was, mainly without their fault, a fresh milestone on this road. Long before the goal was obvious, in the reign of Charles and the earlier years of Philip II every important item of receipt was assigned as security for loans—the *alcabala*, the tolls, the subsidy ordinary and extraordinary, the royal share of precious metals from the Indies, the papal concessions of the *cruzada*, the *quarto* and its later substitute the *ussidio*. Important above all were the permanent leases of the silver mines of Guadalcanal, the quicksilver mines of Almaden, and the territories of the grandmasterships, now definitely annexed to the crown. In addition to this the Fuggers undertook for the government the function of exchange, at once highly important and highly profitable. There were, of course, other private sources of profit. The rival German houses, in trading with Spain, usually made the Fuggers their intermediaries; every traveller

would bring a letter of credit on the firm ; the great Spanish landlords remedied the inequalities of their rent roll by their aid ; through them were paid to Spanish statesmen the pensions from foreign princes ; Spanish capitalists used them as brokers for investments at home and abroad. To the government the Fuggers gave a substantial *quid pro quo*. No Habsburg king could have existed for six months without a loan, and the risk of the lender was often great. The Fuggers provided the salaries for several of the Spanish ambassadors, and also the secret service money which these envoys so lavishly expended. Granvelle even wished that they should undertake the payment and supply of the troops engaged against rebels in the Netherlands. Later Philip II strove by their aid to divert the carrying trade with Spain from the Dutch to the Hanseatic ports.

The leases of Almaden and the lands of the grandmasterships were, if highly profitable to the lessees, also a national benefit. Bringing to Spain a ripe experience of mining in the Tyrol, Hungary, and Silesia, they made the management of the mines of Almaden a model even for those of Mexico. The prosperity of these mines was exactly coeval with their administration ; the quicksilver monopoly was, throughout the reign of Philip II, the most elastic source of Spanish revenue. This was not an ordinary case of farming. The ordinary process was reversed, the Fuggers undertaking, in consideration of a dead rent and a royalty, the quicksilver which the crown then placed upon the market. No less successful was the administration of the lands of the grandmasterships, which were first leased to the Fuggers in recompense for the loans which had secured the empire for Charles V. By wise forbearance in bad seasons, by loans of seed and money for the extension of arable land, they made these territories the centre of the grain trade, which still thrived in these districts when Spanish agriculture was in full decline. If the principal agent of the firm must needs follow the court, Almagro, in the territory of the order of Calatrava, was the rural headquarters. Here the Fuggers rebuilt the parish church, and made it a family foundation, with its endowment for five chaplains, its pictures, bells, plate, and organ, all of German workmanship. The strength of their position is proved by the honours conferred on their agents, and repeated licenses for the export of precious metals, in direct defiance of law and national feeling. The Fuggers could snap their fingers at Philip II's decree of repudiation ; they refused the composition offered and bided their time till the king was forced to accept their terms. From the similar decree of Philip III they were expressly exempted. Nevertheless, in the long run the fortune of the Fuggers must depend on the solvency of the government. They had almost become in the seventeenth century the national bank of Spain ; their credit and that of the crown were mutually interdependent ; any accident might bring a crash for both. The grandmasterships and the exchange were now conducted at a loss ; Guadalcanal had passed from their hands ; only Almaden was still profitable, and here a fire in 1639 brought work to a standstill. This was nearly the end of Fugger enterprise in Spain, though the process of liquidation dragged on for many years. The situation was aggravated by the long-smouldering jealousy of the Spanish officials, stimulated by Genoese rivals.

The Fuggers had their faults and virtues. They placed their private interests before those of their clients, their class, and their nation. They were revengeful in ruining both Guadalcanal and Almaden when their term was not renewed. Not content with 14 per cent. interest, they forced the government to antedate its receipts for loans. But they rightly claimed that they were less extortionate than the Genoese, and not nearly so corrupt. Their agent, indeed, confessed that if the cart would not move the wheels must be well greased ; but they did not shamelessly rob the crown in collusion with members of the council of finance. They were generous and intelligent landlords ; the miners of Almaden were probably the only men in Spain who received their wages to a day. If the fire in the mine was the cause, this punctuality was the curious occasion of their fall. Olivares, in his well-meant schemes of reform, insisted that they should undertake the payment of the salaries of the court and household. The Fuggers reluctantly undertook the task, but did not succeed, owing to the failure of the government to execute its contract, and this immediately produced the rupture.

The Augsburg bankers nearly founded a great chartered company. The author devotes a chapter to a long series of negotiations between Charles V's government and the Fuggers for the colonisation of the south-west coast of South America. The settlement of Venezuela by their fellow townsmen the Welsers supplied the model, but it seems clear that the Fuggers meant Chili and its islands to be a 'jumping-off place' for the Moluccas, the monopoly of which Charles V had mortgaged to the Portuguese. The Fuggers had already shared in the enterprises led by Loaisa and Cabot ; they had induced Charles V not to confine the spice trade to his Spanish subjects. The negotiations for the charter turn upon the number of colonists to be supplied within a certain time, the proportion of conquered land to be allotted to the Fuggers as private property, the remission of the crown's royalties, the hereditary right of appointment to civil and military commands and ecclesiastical benefices. The German firm wished to pledge both the crown and themselves to forego the principle of forced native labour implied in the grant of *encomiendas* to the settlers, although the philanthropy of the Welsers had proved fatal to the survival of the Venezuelan Indians ; the colonists regarded the natives either as miners or as vermin. The negotiations proved abortive, probably owing to the civil troubles in Peru, but they illustrate the jealous precautions of the council of the Indies against colonial independence and unlicensed control. Now and much later, even under extreme financial pressure, the crown refused to grant concessions beyond three lives. We have spoken always of the Fuggers. They, however, even as the great Florentine bankers who preceded them, were no mere family firm. Sometimes their name represented a syndicate in which German, Italian, and Spanish houses took their part. More often it covered a joint-stock company for which the Fuggers invited capital. It is characteristic that when clouds gathered over Spain the firm withdrew its own capital to Germany, and conducted the Spanish branch with their clients' funds. Fourteen per cent. can always tempt credulity very far afield.

E. ARMSTRONG.

Church Briefs, or Royal Warrants for Collections for Charitable Objects.
By W. A. BEWES. (London: A. & C. Black. 1896.)

THIS contains a history of the origin and employment of briefs in England, with lists of all known to be issued and a number of documents relating to the subject. Many of the briefs calendared are of purely local interest, being authorisations to collect money for churches to be built or repaired, or for towns which had suffered by flood or fire. Those of most historical interest are the briefs for the redemption of sailors and others captured by Turkish pirates, or those referring to collections for the benefit of foreign protestants. Of the latter class the briefs for Montpellier and Geneva, for refugees from the Isle of Rhé in 1627, for the people of the Palatinate, the Vaudois, the Huguenots both before and after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and for protestants in Poland and Hungary, are the most important. These Mr. Bewes prints at length, adding in an appendix a number of papers relating to the expenditure of the money raised for the Vaudois. Mr. W. A. Shaw's article (*ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW*, ix. 662) has already made some of these papers known, and his conclusions on the subject agree generally with those of Mr. Bewes. Among other briefs which deserve special mention are one for Teignmouth after its burning by the French fleet in 1690, one for Montreal after the great fire of 1765, and an extremely curious one for the colleges of New York and Philadelphia in 1762. Facsimiles of briefs for the endowment of Bethlehem Hospital in 1560 and on behalf of the refugees from Orange in 1704 are given, and a curious ballad on the great storm of 1703 is reprinted in the notes. There is an excellent index, and the editor has done his work throughout with great care and exactness.

C. H. FIRTH.

Captain Cuellar's Adventures in Connacht and Ulster, A.D. 1588. By HUGH ALLINGHAM. To which is added *An Introduction and Complete Translation of Captain Cuellar's Narrative of the Spanish Armada and his Adventures in Ireland.* By ROBERT CRAWFORD, M.A. (London: Elliot Stock. 1897.)

MR. ALLINGHAM has done well to publish this enlarged and corrected edition of his paper, which originally appeared in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, and still better in adding to it Mr. Crawford's translation of Cuellar's letter, the original of which is, in many passages, not easy of interpretation. The identification of the places from misspelt names and vague descriptions could only be done by a local antiquary, and adds much to the interest of this curious picture of the state of Ireland. But in his identification of one of the ships wrecked on the Streedagh Strand with the 'San Juan de Sicilia' I think Mr. Allingham is wrong. If the ship referred to was the 'San Juan' at all, she was more probably the one distinguished as the 'San Juan de Diego Flores,' or the 'San Juan' of the Castilian squadron, whose captain was D. Diego Enriquez, whereas the captain of the 'San Juan de Sicilia' was D. Diego Tellez Enriquez, a totally different man. I am strongly inclined to believe that the 'San Juan de Sicilia' went down in the North Sea. It seems very probable that

the ship of Streedagh Strand was the Castilian 'San Juan,' and that the figurehead depicted on p. 5 belonged to her, which would explain its bearing the royal arms of Spain.

J. K. LAUGHTON.

East Anglia and the Civil War. By ALFRED KINGSTON.
(London: Elliot Stock. 1897.)

MR. KINGSTON has written a very interesting book, and in spite of various shortcomings it deserves to be read by every one interested in the history of the civil war or the life of Cromwell. He has collected a large amount of new information from newspapers and pamphlets, and has made judicious use of the Tanner MSS. and of other unpublished documents dealing with the history of the war in the eastern counties. This is the first attempt made to treat the history of the Eastern Association as a whole, and to show how it arose, how it was organised, and how it was supported. The expense of maintaining the army and the defences of the associated counties was very considerable. Mr. Kingston prints an account of money received by the treasurers in 1644, showing that in that year Suffolk paid in 68,000*l.*, Norfolk 59,000*l.*, Essex 60,000*l.*, Cambridge 19,600*l.*, and Huntingdon 11,600*l.*; and to these sums must be added the contributions of Hertfordshire and Lincolnshire. Most of this money was provided by direct assessments, but a small portion came from the sequestrations and fines imposed on the royalists. Of the seven counties, says Mr. Kingston, Lincolnshire contributed by far the largest share to the parliamentary treasury from royalist estates. Next to Lincolnshire, Cromwell's own county of Huntingdon, for a small county, paid the largest penalties for its divided allegiance. Then came Norfolk, Suffolk, Herts, Essex, and Cambridgeshire. Another interesting calculation shows the number of royalist clergymen sequestered in the seven counties, and in the appendix there is a valuable list of the deprived clergy of Cambridgeshire, contributed by Mr. W. M. Palmer (pp. 293, 320, 375, 390).

Mr. Kingston treats the opening of the civil war very fully, and gives a narrative of Cromwell's activity in the summer of 1642 and the spring of 1643, which contains many new facts, and proves the great value of his services to the parliament long before he became famous. On the other hand, the struggle for the possession of Lincolnshire, which was the crisis in the history of the Association, is very imperfectly related, and the connexion between the general war and the local war is not clearly shown. The consequences of the battle of Winceby, the events which preceded the victory at Gainsborough, and the importance of Rupert's relief of Newark in 1644, are omitted or very obscurely stated (pp. 119, 145, 155). The author is also rather uncritical in his use of authorities, gives too much credit to mere newspaper rumours, and quotes those notorious forgeries the Squire papers. The discussions in the earlier numbers of this REVIEW should have convinced him of their worthlessness. A minor error is the identification of Viscount Camden with Charles Cavendish, thus confounding two royalist leaders in one (p. 116). The nobleman in question was Baptist Noel, 3rd Viscount Campden, whose life may be found in volume xli. of the 'Dic-

tionary of National Biography.' There are many other places in which a consultation of the same work would have been useful to Mr. Kingston. Sanford's 'Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion' would have also helped him in his account of Cromwell's early life. For instance, Mr. Sanford clears up both the reasons why Cromwell left Huntingdon, and the story of his defence of the right of the commoners of Somersham (pp. 232, 368). In spite of all defects, however, Mr. Kingston's book is both interesting to the general reader and useful to the student of the civil war. It is to be hoped that it will reach a second edition, and thus enable him to make the corrections and additions it requires. One of these additions should be a map of the associated counties, which is very necessary in these local histories of the war, and is invariably omitted.

C. H. FIRTH.

History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1660. Vol. II. 1651-1654. By SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, D.C.L., LL.D. (London: Longmans. 1897.)

To the student of history the publication of a new volume of Mr. Gardiner's great work is always a noteworthy event. It is not only that he is certain of finding in it new lights on subjects which he may have fancied himself already familiar with, suggestions on problems which he may often have pondered over, but that he is sure of a valuable lesson on the best methods of historical research. What impresses me most in all Mr. Gardiner's writings is the calm, judicial spirit which pervades the whole; the utter want of tinsel embroidery; the almost ideal fairness with which he marshals the facts for or against different opinions or causes, and, without even indicating his own prepossessions, shows how, why, or in what respects one or the other failed or excelled. In the present volume we recognise all the familiar merits, and are again impressed by the oft-repeated lesson. As to the matter, it includes the important political revolution in which Cromwell seized on the supreme power; and the picture of Cromwell in his might and its limitations is one on which we dwell with admiration and conviction. But the chapters that are freshest, that will be to many the most interesting, are those which give the detailed history of the Dutch war, now, for the first time, written with some approach to completeness. We have had nothing at all comparable with it; and if, in the course of the next two or three years, we have fuller details—as we are promised—it will be from the same hand, and will be the presentment of material which is already, in some degree at least, familiar to the writer; so that we may fairly suppose that, as far as it goes—and it goes a long way—the story of the war is here told with an accuracy till now impossible. Mr. Gardiner brings out clearly the fact that both Cromwell and the army were opposed to the war, and suggests that Cromwell, in the hope of maintaining peace, 'advocated at least a partial appeal to the country.' 'It is possible,' he thinks, 'that fresh supplementary elections under the influence of Cromwell and the army might have averted war.' It was not to be; and though it is now the fashion among a certain school of philosophical writers to deplore

the war as one between kindred people, alike in religion and the spirit of independence, it may, on the other hand, be regarded as, in some sense, the foundation of England's naval and commercial pre-eminence, and as the overthrow of England's most dangerous rival. From that point of view it is not to be regretted. Sooner or later the quarrel had to be fought out, and the crisis could not have come when England was better able to meet it. We shudder at the thought of what England's fortune might have been had the first fury of the war fallen on it while Charles II controlled its expenditure.

The story of the fighting cannot be repeated here, but I may mention two points in connexion with it on which I have formerly expressed opinions different from those now put forward by Mr. Gardiner, with a more exhaustive knowledge of the evidence. The first relates to the engagement off Dungeness on 30 Nov. 1652, as to which, indeed, the difference is mainly a matter of opinion, and must remain so. I quite accept Mr. Gardiner's suggestion that Blake left the Downs, 'perhaps-fearing the fate of Oquendo.' It is, in fact, one which I have often made in my lectures, very nearly in the same words, and is enforced by the fact that the batteries which Ayscue had erected in July for the defence of the anchorage had been recently dismantled. As to what happened afterwards Mr. Gardiner's story is clear, consistent, and intelligible, and he concludes it with 'My own belief is that Blake meant to fight all along.' What I wrote in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' (*s.v.* 'Blake') is—

The next morning, 30 Nov., the two fleets weighed nearly together, and, with a fresh wind at from N. to N.N.W., stood to the westward along the coast, Tromp unable, Blake, it may be, unwilling to attack. But as they came near Dungeness the English were forced to the southward by the trend of the coast; with or without their will they were obliged to close, and their leading ships were thus brought to action.

I may be permitted to say that the difference—to which Mr. Gardiner refers—is really very slight. He believes that Blake considered his fleet, notwithstanding its numerical inferiority, as superior to the Dutch by the individual force of his ships, and was therefore bent on fighting. It seemed to me, on the other hand, that, having discovered the superiority of the Dutch, which I think it probable he was not fully acquainted with before he came out of the Downs, Blake was not sorry to put off the moment of collision as long as he could. He had resolved against being attacked at anchor, and he knew that by standing along the coast he would be forced to the southward at Dungeness; but the delay might give time for a shift of wind in his favour. If the wind had freshened to a gale at N.N.W., the Dutch fleet would have been driven off the coast, and possibly dispersed. I cannot and do not object to Mr. Gardiner's interpretation of the facts, but I do not feel sure that Blake would not have considered a north-north-westerly gale an interposition of Providence.

The other point to which I have referred is a matter of fact, not, perhaps, of very much importance, but still interesting—the position, namely, of Lawson in the battle of Portland, 18 Feb. 1652-3. Both in the text and in the diagram Mr. Gardiner has placed him astern of the generals. He has not given his authority for this, but from the way it is

worded I conjecture it is the narrative of Captain Saunders as quoted by Granville Penn (i. 578), where it is said, 'Lawson, vice-admiral of the red . . . being about a mile on the starboard quarter, and as much astern of the generals when the fight began.' If this is so, it would almost seem that Mr. Gardiner has not noticed that this narrative of Saunders's is virtually identical with another by Mr. Gibson, the purser of Saunders's ship, also printed by Granville Penn (ii. 615; Add. MS. 11684, f. 9), with, however, one small but very important difference: instead of *generals* Gibson has *general*. It seems to me quite possible that Gibson's *general* means Penn (who was not, it is true, appointed a general till several months later; but neither was Lawson knighted till several years later), and that Lawson was really ahead of the generals, between them and Penn. So placing him would make the Saunders-Gibson statement intelligible. Gibson has it—

Your father [*sc.* Penn] with his division, in which was the 'Assurance,' tacked and stood through the Dutch fleet, with the wind on the larboard side, as Sir John Lawson (then vice-admiral of the red) in the 'Fairfax' did, with his larboard tack aboard, being about a mile on the starboard quarter, and as much astern of the general when the fight began, General Monk . . . being at least four miles to leeward of the generals when the fight began.

The narrative printed as by Saunders is in even verbal agreement, except that Lawson is not called Sir John; 'generals' takes the place of 'general;' and Monk is 'to leeward of the other generals.' As to this Mr. Gardiner says, 'The account given by Captain Saunders, that Lawson "tacked and stood through the Dutch fleet with the wind on the larboard side," is inexplicable. . . . Probably *Lawson* is written by a slip of the pen for *Penn*.' But, if so, what becomes of the position of Lawson? and Penn was not vice-admiral of the red. On the other hand, if we may suppose that by *the general* Gibson meant Penn, that Saunders's '*generals*' is an error of transcriber or compositor—Granville Penn has not said where the original is—and that Lawson was really ahead of the generals, the statement is perfectly intelligible. Substituting Penn for Lawson does not make it so. It is, of course, possible that Mr. Gardiner has other evidence, which he did not judge it necessary to refer to, and that, as the action began, Lawson was certainly astern of the generals; but in that case Gibson and Saunders agreed in writing nonsense, and their whole story is discredited.

As I conclude I may express my satisfaction at finding that Mr. Gardiner, after a much more exhaustive examination of the evidence than I could pretend to, endorses my denunciation of the story of Tromp's 'broom' as a fable. 'No Dutch authority,' he says, 'mentions it, and no English authority earlier than the "Perfect Account" published on 9 March.' He refers to another account in 'New Brooms Sweep Clean,' 'also published on 9 March,' the date which I too had given; so that it may be taken as proved that the *canard* was first let loose on the town on 9 March, and then only, on feeble wing, to tell of what had been done in France. It was not till it had grown old and shameless that any mention was made of the celebrated cruise in the Channel. J. K. LAUGHTON.

The Diplomatic Relations between Cromwell and Charles X of Sweden. By GUERNSEY JONES. (Lincoln, Nebraska: 'State Journal' Company. 1897.)

MR. GUERNSEY JONES has, with great care and diligence, set forth in this dissertation the leading facts of the desultory and ultimately abortive negotiations for an offensive and defensive alliance between Cromwell and Charles X of Sweden. The negotiations in question were indeed almost necessarily bound to come to naught. Quite apart from Cromwell's financial and domestic difficulties, there can be little doubt that his fanatical hatred of the Roman Catholic party in Europe hampered his policy by blinding him to the fact that a grand Protestant alliance had become an anachronism, and that the time was past when commercial and religious objects could be made to harmonise. Hence the apparent tergiversation and irresolution of the Protector's Scandinavian policy, which resulted in Sweden's supplanting England for a brief period as the dominating power of northern Europe. A common jealousy of the maritime expansion of the Dutch seemed likely at one time to unite England and Sweden, but ultimately the imperial policy of Charles X, who would have erased Denmark from the map of Europe and made of the Baltic a Swedish lake, seemed even more dangerous to the Protector than the commercial rivalry of the republic nearer home. On the other hand, the violently aggressive policy of the Swedish king was, from his own point of view, not only justifiable, but statesmanlike and patriotic. He was simply bent on consolidating the empire which his great ancestor, Gustavus Adolphus, had built up on such precarious foundations, and the only method of doing so was to weld together the scattered and exposed possessions of Sweden into a compact and composite whole by means of fresh conquests on both sides of the Baltic. The weakness and disunion of his enemies seemed to facilitate an enterprise too vast, perhaps, even for his genius, but the ablest Swedish statesmen of the day by no means regarded such an enterprise as hopeless. This point of view seems to have escaped Mr. Jones's attention, yet without it the whole policy of the Swedish king is unintelligible. The dissertation would also have been much improved by a final summing up of results. We note, in conclusion, one or two typographical errors, *e.g.* Holland for Halland, Drunthcim for Drontheim. R. NISBET BAIN.

Burnet's History of my own Time. Part I. The Reign of Charles II. Edited by OSMUND AIRY, M.A. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1897.)

MR. AIRY has given us, or perhaps I should say has begun to give us, the scholarly edition of Burnet's gossipy notes which has so long been wanted. The present volume only goes down to 1672, that is to say, it covers the period of Burnet's childhood and adolescence and stops short of the time when he accepted the permanent position in London as preacher at the Rolls which brought him into the centre of political life. The volume which is to come will therefore be the more important of the two, but as the principles adopted by the editor for the conduct of his

work are necessarily the same for both volumes it requires but little of the gift of prophecy to foretell from the manner in which he has discharged his present task that the completed work will prove the standard edition of Burnet for many years to come. The text of the original manuscript purchased by the Bodleian Library in 1835 has been carefully followed. In the margin references to the paging both of the manuscript and of the folio edition are inserted so as to avoid all difficulty of verification. All important alterations and erasures made by the bishop's own hand in his manuscript are notified, and all that is valuable in the notes of Dr. Routh, Speaker Onslow, Lord Dartmouth, and Dean Swift which have appeared in former editions of the work is preserved. Some readers indeed may think that the editor has been too lenient to the splenetic utterances of the tory dean. The chief alteration that has been made with regard to the text is that it has been divided into chapters. This will probably be disliked by some readers who are attached to archaism for its own sake, but to most its obvious convenience will outweigh sentimental objections.

The value of Burnet's work has by this time been pretty accurately gauged by historical scholars and calls for little remark in the pages of this REVIEW. Its faults lie on the surface and have been very carefully and ruthlessly exposed by his political opponents. Burnet was nothing if not a partisan, and his ears were always greedily open to stories which affected the credit or character of those whom he disliked. His memory was of that kind which, though substantially accurate in important matters, is positively irritating in its inaccuracy as to minor details. His pompousness and conceit are as conspicuous as his shrewdness and bustling activity. But it is impossible not to like the man personally and to admire him for his honesty, his pluck, and his energy, whatever views we may hold as to good or bad influence which he exercised on the political and religious life of Englishmen. Materials for history collected and written by such a man require the most careful editing if they are to be of permanent value, and in Mr. Airy Burnet has found just the editor that he required. He has a detailed and impartial knowledge of the period; he is trained in habits of minute accuracy; and he has had the assistance of scholars like Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Firth to advise him on doubtful points. The result is that his notes are models of what such notes ought to be—full of information, but terse, to the point and never self-assertive. Indeed, the only complaint that the reader will be inclined to make is that there is not more of Mr. Airy in the notes and less of Dean Swift and Lord Dartmouth.

H. O. WAKEMAN.

Journal of Sir George Rooke. Edited by OSCAR BROWNING. (Navy Records Society. 1897.)

THIS ninth volume of the active Navy Records Society is not a success. Mr. Browning has indeed prefixed a lucid account of the expeditions of Sir George Rooke to the Sound in 1700, and to Cadiz and Vigo in 1702, illustrating the former with interesting extracts from the despatches of John Robinson, H.M.'s minister resident at Stockholm. He gives a sketch of the political circumstances attending those expeditions, and explains in a

helpful way the geography; but he has not, unfortunately, considered it part of his editorial duty to provide a correct text, and the book teems with errors. A not exhaustive comparison with the manuscript has revealed some two hundred and sixty departures therefrom, other than alterations of spelling; and over one hundred of these affect the sense in a greater or less degree.

The subject matter is interesting. Sir George Rooke himself was distinguished for those qualities of pluck and straightforwardness which have become traditional in the British navy. He retained in success and failure the confidence of a William III, and his laurels bear the names of La Hogue, Vigo, and Gibraltar. His command of 1700 was a remarkable one, designed to compel Denmark to cease hostilities against the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, without damaging her or forfeiting her friendship, so important to England on grounds both political and commercial. William calculated that the mere appearance of an Anglo-Dutch fleet in Danish waters, prepared to act in concert with the irritated Swedes, would bring about the desired result. But Frederick was not to be so intimidated. He withdrew his fleet to a safe refuge under the guns of Copenhagen, where its bombardment by the allies was as ineffectual as it was half-hearted. The desired peace was only obtained after Charles XII, protected by the fleets, had landed at the head of 5,000 foot in Seeland (24 July); it was signed at Travendal fourteen days later. The journal relates how on 29 June Rooke and Almonde were in imminent danger of defeat at the hands of the superior force of the Danes, who fortunately had orders to remain on the defensive. The peace signed, the Swedes were not allowed to prolong their occupation. Rooke saw them safely back to their own country, and returned to the Downs, where occurred the only disaster of the expedition—the accidental blowing-up of the ‘Carlisle.’ William’s policy was successful. The peace between Sweden and Denmark, so essential to his plans, was kept till after Poltava, and Danes and Holsteiners alike swelled the armies of Marlborough.

Of the year 1701 Mr. Browning says nothing. The great war had actually begun, and William was awaiting from day to day his call to take part in it. Rooke lay at Spithead in command of a fine fleet, watching the French ships in Brest harbour, and expecting orders to sail for the coast of Spain. On 15 August he actually sailed, despite his protestations that the season was too far advanced. But stormy weather hardly allowed him to proceed beyond the Lizard, and he was back in the Downs on 22 Sept. But though there are no warlike operations to record, the daily account of his command supplies many interesting details of the maintenance and management of a fleet at the time, and is an important part of the journal.

The circumstances of the disgrace at Cadiz, and of the saving and brilliant victory at Vigo, are so well known that nothing need be said of them here. Appended to the account of them are the questions put to Rooke on the occasion of the lords’ inquiry into the conduct of the expedition, with his answers. There is also a telling document on the pressing of sailors, showing the extraordinary hardships which that institution entailed on the maritime community in former days. But the correspondence *re* Captains Whetstone and Wishart forms no part of the

journal, and should not be printed as such. It is taken from a transcript made in a handwriting of at least a century later, on a loose sheet of paper placed within the cover of the volume.

Interspersed in the journal are a number of copies of documents and correspondence. Of particular interest are the letters which passed between Rooke and the Danish and Swedish admirals in 1700, and the urgent appeals of Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt in 1702, that the expedition should winter in Spain—appeals which Ormonde supported (p. 208), but which had to be finally rejected.

Of the manuscript itself, Mr. Browning strangely omits all account. It is contained in a vellum-covered volume stamped with the royal arms of William and Mary, and is certainly original. It was picked up, with a fellow volume containing lists of naval officers, at a marine dealer's store in Battersea, now removed. The purchaser sold the two volumes, through Messrs. Hodgson, of Chancery Lane, in January 1889, and they were subsequently bought for the library of the Public Record Office, where they now are. The journal was kept by Rooke's secretary, who entered it up, as many diarists do, several days at a time. In the margin he entered the days of the week, denoted by their planetary symbols, and of the month, and the points of the wind, also a good many notes, which in printing have either been incorporated (incongruously sometimes, *e.g.* pp. 142, 184) in the text, or omitted. Some of the documents he copied in their proper place, others at a later part of the book, giving references to them in the margin. Hence some of those of 1700 appear in the middle of the journal for 1702, which overtook them. In printing the manuscript, the endeavour has been made to arrange these displaced documents in their proper order. But with what success? In three instances the marginal directions of the scribe have been neglected. The instructions of 23 July o.s. 1700, printed on pp. 106-7, should appear on p. 97. The 'Line of Battle' on pp. 257-8, and the 'Memorial' on pp. 255-6, should be placed respectively on p. 147, under date March 17, and on p. 145. In the latter case, not only has the date 1702 been mistaken for old style, and altered to 1703, but the words 'his Majesty,' which might have betrayed the error, have been changed to 'her Majesty'!

At the British Museum is another version of the journal for 1700 (Add. MS. 28125). This is one of the Norris volumes purchased in 1869, and the version was possibly made for Sir John Norris, who did not take part in the Danish expedition. At first sight it appears to be adapted from the Record Office original; the handwriting, to judge without actual comparison, is the same, and it is written consecutively. But the language is greatly altered, and there are curious additions; for instance, under date June 8 it is stated that the Danes had despatched some frigates to look out for a French fleet expected to come to their aid. Many of the same documents are inserted, and in their proper order, but others are added; for instance, the extracts from Cressett's letters which Rooke pleaded in justification for the bombardment (Add. MS. 4202, f. 127, *cp.* Journal, p. 97), and the articles of the treaty of Travendal. The journal is only carried from May 10 to September 1. There are many mistakes, and it is evidently of authority greatly inferior to the other.

There are also at the British Museum (Add. MS. 4202) Rooke's original letters to Secretary Vernon, May to September 1700, with others. Here also are copies of some of the documents. Add. MSS. 28925 and 29591 may also be consulted. The latter has the lords' examination not of Rooke only, but of Ormonde, Fairborne, and others, with a copy of the committee's report.

For the expedition of 1702, the Record Office possesses also Admiral Hopsonn's journal (Admirals' Journals P). This extends from May 10 to November 28. It supplements that of Rooke in a number of interesting particulars, the most noticeable a detailed account of the breaking of the boom at Vigo, and the burning of the 'Torbay,' from which Hopsonn himself had some ado to escape.

Turning to the text, some of its errors are so obvious that it is astonishing that Mr. Browning could pass them. They are far too numerous to be cited here, but a word may be said about the spelling. The society prescribes that this shall be modern, with certain exceptions, one of these being that persons' names shall follow as far as practicable the person's signature. On the propriety of this opinions will no doubt differ; for common words, at all events, the result is decidedly agreeable. But the rule being adopted, special care should be taken to obtain uniformity. We ought not to find, as we do here, Sparr and Sparre, Croft and Crofts, Ruuth and Ruth, Calembergh and Calemburg, and so on; Wenn and Wenne, d'Hogue and La Hague (MS. D'Hague), Finester and Finisterre (MS. Finester), Tangier and Tangiers (MS. correctly Tangier). The impression which these differences give to the reader is opposite to the fact; he is led to infer that the readings of the manuscript have been sedulously preserved.

We notice a few faults in Mr. Browning's own work. 'Denmark' for 'Darmstadt' on p. xxxviii, and the want of a hyphen to connect Brunswick-Lüneburg on p. viii, are obvious slips. But on the latter page we must read 'resident' for 'envoy.' On p. xii it is necessary to the sense to state that Robinson wrote on 26 June from Malmö. It can hardly have been the reigning duke of Würtemberg (p. 111, *note*) who visited Rooke, rather Duke Ferdinand William (p. 26 *note*), the Danish commander-in-chief. Both he and his brother Charles Rudolph were commonly known in England as 'Duke Wirtemberg.'¹ Morrice (p. 249, *note*) was captain of the 'Newport' (cp. pp. 128, 184), and no engineer officer; they are, indeed, distinguished in the text.

Lastly, the society prescribes a full index of names of persons, ships, and places, and of subjects. In the present case, the entry of names of persons and ships occurring in the main text is far from perfect; those in the tables are not indexed at all. And geographical names are conspicuous by their absence.

J. F. CHANCE.

Postscript.—Since the above was in type the Navy Records Society, warned of the shortcomings of its publication, has printed eight pages of errata. This list, being incomplete in several important points, is, we understand, to be amended, but it can never be satisfactory, nor obviate the real want, that of a new edition.

J. F. CHANCE.

¹ Luttrell's *Diary*, passim.

La Torture aux Pays-Bas Autrichiens pendant le XVIII^e Siècle: son Application, ses Partisans, et ses Adversaires; son Abolition. Par EUGÈNE HUBERT. (Bruxelles: Office de Publicité, J. Lebègue et Cie. 1897.)

PROFESSOR HUBERT'S monograph has been elaborated with so extraordinary a diligence in the use of an enormous mass of archivistic and printed materials, and treats the various aspects of its theme with so dispassionate a candour, that it would be ungrateful to quarrel with what we might wish otherwise in the plan of the essay. The introductory chapter, however, cannot be said to err on the side of exhaustiveness, and we miss in particular any sufficient attempt here or elsewhere in these pages to trace the growth of the legal absurdity that no condemnation is justifiable in the case of an unavowed crime. Again, though this further demand may perhaps not be quite reasonable, we should have welcomed a more explicit statement as to the restrictions placed on the actual choice of methods of torture practised in the Austrian Netherlands. In his introduction Professor Hubert claims for them the credit of having fallen short of the refined cruelties applied in France, Italy, and Germany, and the assertion of Cobenzl that *la question en ces pays-ci est terrible quoique peu douloureuse* seems to be incidentally borne out elsewhere in the case of methods of ordinary torture. A more significant *lacuna* in the argument of this essay, pointed out by M. A. Prins in his able report on it to the Brussels Royal Academy, is very frankly acknowledged by Professor Hubert in a supplementary note. What special reasons account for the endurance of the use of torture in the Austrian Netherlands to so late a date as 1794? It is true, as he observes, that if Belgium was late in abolishing it, other governments were later still. In Holland it only came to an end in 1795; in Hanover, according to the professor's statement, which, so far as I can see, must refer to the deliberations of the estates in the last fortnight of the year, it was *reintroduced*, at least on paper, in 1814; in parts of Switzerland and Sicily it was in vogue within living memory. As to the Austrian Netherlands, Professor Hubert is not satisfied with the explanation offered by the eminent historian *du Droit Pénal de l'ancien Duché de Brabant*, M. Edmond Poulet, who attributes the tardiness of the accomplishment of this reform to the absence of a literary influence like that which popularised the idea of it in France; for, as he observes, the ideas of the encyclopædists were actively propagated on the other side of the frontier. He prefers to seek the explanation in the conservative tendencies of the Belgian magistrature; but neither can this solution be accepted as altogether adequate, more especially as there is point in the generalisation to be found on an earlier page of this essay as to the unflinching attitude of lawyers towards reforms of any and every description. The weakness of the government, both at Brussels and at Vienna, in its struggle with the bench is indeed abundantly illustrated in this essay, as is the ill-luck which included the abolition among the ephemeral changes introduced by Joseph II; but this part of the subject might perhaps have been more amply unfolded. On the other hand, no statement seems to have been thought requisite concerning the influence exercised in this matter by the church. It is striking that the most important deliverance

of the period against the practice of the torture proceeded, nearly half a century before Beccaria, from the poised pen of the eminent canonist Van Espen, in his '*Jus Ecclesiasticum Universum*' (Louvain, 1720). Nor can it be wholly without significance that in the tragic case of Mertens, who after seven confessions under torture, each of them except the last being followed by a revocation, at last ceased from revoking, and was accordingly executed on 21 Sept. 1293, two Augustinian canons intervened with a protest which was not less powerful than modest, but which appears to have been simply ignored, and indeed to have remained unknown till discovered by Professor Hubert.

The lamentable story told by him with so much lucidity and force contains innumerable instances of the cruelty bred from a system rooted in unreason. He shows that the legal foundation of the later Belgian practice of torture is to be sought in the Ordinances of Philip II., dated 9 July 1570, which limited its application to cases where the proof of guilt should be so apparent as seemingly to require for its absolute completion nothing but the confession of the prisoner, although he should have continued to declare himself not guilty. As a matter of fact, however, it was obstinately applied to prisoners *convicted* of a crime which they continued to deny, in deference to the principle, cherished by many judicial personages as a matter of conscience, that without confession no criminal ought to be sentenced to death. Exceptionally, it was also put in use against the 'contumacious'—*i.e.* accused persons persisting in silence—or for the purpose of inducing a convicted criminal to reveal the names of his accomplices, as Mr. Gardiner has recently reminded us it was in this country in the case of Guy Fawkes. The kind of torture called 'of the inquisition,' and inflicted upon vagabonds in order to oblige them to give an account of themselves, though specially regulated by an ordinance of Charles V., seems to have been further restricted under the government of Albert and Isabella, and to have become quite obsolete in the eighteenth century, though it was still pertinaciously upheld in theory by the tribunals of Brabant. But the large majority of the applications of the torture noticed in these pages belong to the category authorised by Philip's tender mercies, and developed with appalling zeal and consistency by the Belgian magistrature during the course of more than three centuries.

A. W. WARD.

Maupertuis et ses Correspondants. Lettres inédites du Grand Frédéric, du Prince Henri de Prusse, de La Beaumelle, &c., &c. Par l'Abbé A. LE SUEUR. (Paris: A. Picard et Fils. 1897.)

THE interest of this volume is chiefly biographical, and even as such is not particularly profound. Maupertuis' name still has a solid sound in the domain of mathematical science; but though he took the trouble of a journey to Lapland to verify some of his results, and was thus esteemed a very great catch when Frederick II found him willing to become head of the Berlin Academy, the heroic element was sadly defective in his character. The Abbé Le Sueur in his introduction, which is written in a very praiseworthy spirit, though without much lucidity of arrange-

ment, shows sufficiently how Maupertuis' mind was perforated by jealousies of all kinds, and that his quarrels were very far from being confined to his battle-royal with Voltaire, the brunt of which seems, by the way, to have been borne by the faithful La Beaumelle. When Koenig, a rival mathematician, died, Maupertuis paid to him a parting tribute which the Abbé Le Sueur justly thinks worth extracting: *La mort de Koenig fait un ingrat et un fripon de moins dans le monde; mais qu'est-ce qu'un de moins dans le monde?*

A history of Frederick's efforts on behalf of his Academy might have been worth writing from the point of view of a French scholar; in those of the king's letters which are here printed there is, however, nothing specially noteworthy, except a characteristic 'reply' or two. The suggestion is worthy of the king's practical genius, that a law should be passed for erasing from the roll of the academy the name of any member who has not produced a paper within a period of two years. Nor is the following comment out of keeping: *Le Roy est pauvre comme un rat d'église; il établit grand nombre de colonies de paysans: lorsque celles-là seront pourvues, on pensera aux astronomes.*

Far more effusive are the assurances of goodwill to France and her illustrious men in the letters of Prince Henry, who was imbued with genuine admiration for her peculiar forms of culture. *Vice versa*, some curious illustrations are to be found in the course of this correspondence of the popularity of Frederick and his cause in parts of France at the commencement of the seven years' war, after the reversal of the time-honoured system of alliances. Writing from Nîmes in 1758, La Beaumelle assures Maupertuis that this popularity is by no means due to religious motives; 'for neither at Nîmes nor at Montpellier is any one in favour of Great Britain.' The editor naturally doubts the correctness of this diagnosis; but there can be no doubt that the change in the foreign policy of France was far from being universally approved in that country.

I leave the letters of Euler, Koenig, Knestner, and others to those whom they may concern; the chief literary interest as connected with the controversies between Voltaire and 'Doctor Akakia' will be found in the letters of La Beaumelle. There are only one or two replies in this collection from the hand of Maupertuis himself—a fact explained by the correspondence now before us having been bequeathed by him to his friend La Cardamine, and afterwards by the latter to the Estouilly family, in whose *château* it was preserved in manuscript. Apparently it comprises a series of letters which La Beaumelle had intended to insert in the life of Maupertuis that he left behind him, but of which, owing to circumstances, and more especially to his breakdown in health, the copying out was not completed in time. Thus, although the gleanings are considerable, they merely supplement materials of superior importance already known to the world, and including the body of the correspondence between Maupertuis and his patron-in-chief, Frederick the Great.

A. W. WARD.

The Paget Papers : Diplomatic and other Correspondence of the Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Paget, G.C.B., 1794-1807, arranged and edited by his son, the Right Hon. SIR AUGUSTUS B. PAGET, G.C.B., with Notes by Mrs. J. R. GREEN. 2 vols. (London: Heinemann. 1896.)

THESE handsome volumes are a monument erected by a distinguished son to a father not unknown in his generation. Family influence, perhaps also his social importance as a young man of fashion, the intimate friend of the Prince of Wales, obtained rapid promotion in the diplomatic service for Arthur Paget, third son of the Earl of Uxbridge. The confidential and cordial friendliness of the letters addressed to him by such veterans in his profession as Lords Malmesbury and Minto, Whitworth, and St. Helens are good evidence of his capacity. Yet it cannot be said that he was a successful diplomatist. No doubt the reason which he himself suggests is in the main true—it was his fortune to be employed where success was all but impossible; but his letters show a want of the imagination or sympathy without which he could not adequately realise the position and motives of those with whom he was called upon to negotiate. The incapacity to understand foreign politics often imputed to English statesmen was mainly due to a tendency, in which Paget largely shared, to look at international relations too exclusively from an insular standpoint, to regard as not only foolish but criminal any want of zeal on the part of continental allies in supporting a policy mainly determined, and rightly determined, by British interests. This was especially the case during the struggle with revolutionary France, when England appeared to herself to be the leader of a crusade, the champion first of order against anarchy, and afterwards of the independence of Europe against insatiable and unscrupulous ambition. The majority of Englishmen were convinced that the only favour which the continental powers could hope to obtain by disgraceful subservience to the monster was that of being devoured last; they had therefore no patience with a temporising policy which appeared to them as dangerous as it was dishonourable, and they did not make sufficient allowance for statesmen who, when the irresistible armies of Napoleon were at their gates, preferred whatever chance the future might offer to an immediate and hopeless conflict.

At the age of twenty-three, and with little previous experience, Paget found himself chargé d'affaires at Berlin, then (1794) an important post, since the success of the coalition against France was supposed to depend on persuading Prussia to earn her subsidies by uniting her forces with those of Holland and England in the Low Countries. The young envoy seems to have shown firmness and tact in dealing with the ill-will or indifference of the Prussian ministers; for, as he says, the king was the only man in the country who heartily wished to prosecute the war. He showed himself a match for Haugwitz—*homme sans foi et sans loi*, according to his rival Hardenberg; he denounced the malign influence of Lucchesini and the 'fatal' Bischoffswerder, and penetrated the intention of the Prussian cabinet to make peace with France as soon as terms could be secured satisfactory to their policy of cautious greed. 'You have done,' Lord Malmesbury wrote, 'everything that prudence or ability could desire.'

Arthur Paget was next sent to Munich in 1798, nearly a year after the treaty of Campo Formio; in which, as he writes in January 1799, he suspected that there were 'secret articles that are monstrous.' He had, he said, 'the worst possible opinion of the court of Vienna.' The Austrian government acted most foolishly, no doubt, in alienating Prussia by raising difficulties to her acquisition of the secularised ecclesiastical principalities and in frightening Bavaria into the arms of France, but neither when at Munich, nor subsequently when ambassador at Vienna, did Paget sufficiently appreciate the very difficult position of the imperial government. While in Bavaria he made the acquaintance of the Archduke Charles, and he pronounces him to be 'one of the finest characters that either personally or by fame I ever became acquainted with.' But when the archduke in 1803, aware of the unsatisfactory condition of the Austrian army, opposed a precipitate renewal of hostilities, the lustre of his virtues was singularly dimmed in the eyes of his admirer (ii. 163). Munich was an unpromising field for the labours of English diplomacy, but the next mission entrusted to Paget was even more thankless. He was sent to Palermo, in order that he might direct and support the most odious government in Europe, that of the Neapolitan Bourbons, a corrupt despotism in which, as he complained, law and justice were neither practised nor understood. His immediate task was to induce the cowardly and incapable king to return to Naples. This prince, the object of Nelson's enthusiastic devotion, was, as Paget says, 'timid, bigoted, cruel, and revengeful.' In a confidential letter to Lord Grenville (i. 217), Paget complains of the pernicious influence of Lady Hamilton, who had done her best to thwart the object of his mission, and who represented him 'as a jacobin and a coxcomb, a person sent to bully, and,' he continues, 'I am sorry to say that Lord Nelson has given in to all this nonsense; his lordship's health is, I fear, sadly impaired, and I am assured that his fortune has fallen into the same state in consequence of great losses which both his lordship and Lady Hamilton have sustained at faro and other games of hazard.' To search for spots in the sun is justly invidious. But in these days of exaggerated Nelsonolatry, it may be well to remember how much weakness, both moral and intellectual, was mingled with the heroism of the great sailor, and that what it may be permitted to call his *jingoisism* sprang as much from his egotistic and emotional prejudices as from his patriotism.

In 1801 Paget was appointed to succeed Lord Minto in the important post of ambassador at Vienna. He conceived from the first a strong dislike to Cobenzl. The vice-chancellor owed his position to the interference of England, and, although very inferior as a statesman to such predecessors as Kaunitz or even Thugut, was far from being the 'miserable minister and unpatriotic citizen' he appeared to Paget. In a despatch written shortly after the murder of the Duke of Enghien (ii. 100) there is an interesting account of an interview between the English ambassador and the Austrian vice-chancellor. The former declares 'that he never witnessed the display of so much ignorance, weakness, and pusillanimity on the part of any individual calling himself a statesman,' but an impartial reader must doubt whether Cobenzl was quite so wrong in maintaining

that it was well not to talk till you were ready to act, and in declining to allow his country to be drawn into war while unprepared and almost defenceless. No hint was given by the English government to their representative at Vienna of the negotiations carried on at St. Petersburg, which led to the third coalition (July 1805). A month after the treaty had been concluded Paget was denouncing as proofs of Austrian perfidy measures concerted with England and Russia to deceive Napoleon. The small confidence placed in him by Lord Mulgrave was not calculated to improve his position at Vienna. It became untenable after the uncalled-for and indefensible publication of his despatches by the English foreign office. Fox, in a straightforward letter (ii. 272) written immediately after his accession to power, told Sir A. Paget that he should in any case have recalled him, since the ambassador at Vienna must be in his particular confidence and share his views in regard to foreign politics, but that he should not have done so at once had not the unfair publication of his despatches 'necessarily rendered his continuance at Vienna disagreeable to himself and by no means conducive to the public service.' Sir A. Paget was only once more employed to negotiate a peace between Russia and England, then allied, and Turkey. In his instructions, drawn up by Canning (ii. 290), we find English statesmanship already perplexed with the familiar problem how to coerce Turkey without precipitating the fall of the Turkish empire, supposed to be imminent. On board a man-of-war off Tenedos Paget carried on a tedious and fruitless negotiation for three months, and had ample opportunity of appreciating the skill of 'the good, the honest Turk,' as Nelson called him, in diplomatic subterfuge and procrastination.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the correspondence contained in these volumes is the letters from the Prince of Wales to his 'dearest, his beloved Arthur.' To the taste of the present day they must appear excessive in protestations of affection, but they bear witness to the natural amiability of the writer's disposition, and they are the letters of an educated gentleman. The best of those about this unfortunate prince thought only of using him so as to further their political ends, while the majority of his associates sought profit or pleasure by flattering his vices. Although Paget shared in the taste of his royal friend for dissipation, it would be unjust to place him in either of these categories. That he was no injudicious adviser appears from a letter written by him from Berlin to Lord St. Helens in 1794 (i. 45) upon hearing that a treaty of marriage was on the point of being concluded between the Prince of Wales and Caroline of Brunswick: 'a connexion,' he says, 'which may draw with it calamities which are unknown, or at least forgotten, in England,' and that, too, when an admirable wife, a jewel without flaw, might have been obtained, the Princess Louisa of Prussia. The prince, on his part, was scarcely less solicitous to see his friend in possession of another 'jewel of the first water,' the duchess dowager of Rutland, and the letters written by him in the hope of furthering this match show both delicacy and good feeling.

Sir Augustus Paget has edited his father's papers with piety and discretion, the notes are such as might be expected from Mrs. J. R. Green, and the twenty-four excellent portraits which they contain greatly add to the attractiveness of these volumes.

P. F. WILLERT.

American History told by Contemporaries. By ALBERT B. HART, Professor of History in Harvard University. Vol. I. (New York: Macmillan. 1897.)

The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542. By GEORGE P. WINSHIP. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1896.)

Cabot Bibliography. Compiled by G. P. WINSHIP. (Privately printed. 1897.)

To a writer who has incurred odium and sustained some coarse personal vituperation for holding, contrary to received opinion, (1) that John Cabot made only a single voyage to the North American coast—namely, that from which he returned in August 1497—and (2) that this voyage was in substance and fact a ‘Northman’s voyage’—having been performed, as Gomara states in so many words, by ‘following the Iceland route to the Cape of Labrador’—it is comforting to find the former proposition practically accepted by one so keenly interested in American history as Professor Albert Hart, and it may be hoped that the latter proposition will in good time be deemed worthy of consideration. Those interested in the Cabot centenary—and every one is interested in it—will read with pleasure Professor Hart’s division entitled ‘Cabot’s Voyage,’ which consists of excerpts from Sir Clements Markham’s translations of the letter of Pasqualigo and the first one of Soncino, together with the whole of Soncino’s second letter. These texts, which tell all that is known or is likely ever to be known about it, have not hitherto been accessible in a popular form; and they should suffice in themselves to secure Professor Hart’s volume a good reception. There are some inaccuracies in the translations; and one of these, trifling as it seems, is in truth no trifle, inasmuch as it begs the whole of the important question whether Cabot started in 1496, as the present reviewer believes, or in 1497. Sir Clements, if Professor Hart’s reprint is correct, translates *e stato mesi tre sul viazo* ‘he has been away three months on the voyage.’ As the great event described by Pasqualigo is Cabot’s *return* from the expedition, rather than the expedition itself, considered as a whole from beginning to end, the most reasonable version would seem to be the literal one, ‘he has been three months on the voyage,’ *i.e.* the return voyage from the American coast. Nobody who considers seriously the conditions under which the voyage was made, can for a moment suppose that the whole expedition occupied only three months.

To contemplate Professor Hart’s book as a whole is to feel disappointment that he has not, in some important respects, done it better. The idea which has prompted it, though by no means new, is so excellent as to impose on any one who aspires to realise it the imperative duty of taking at least twice the trouble which Professor Hart has seen fit, or perhaps in the midst of onerous professorial engagements has been able, to bestow on its details. The work of selection, on the whole, has been done fairly well, though it might have been done better; the extracts themselves are mostly valuable, always interesting, and sometimes amusing. Nobody can help liking the book; yet nobody with any real knowledge of the subject can help wishing that it had been undertaken in a more genuinely historical spirit. There are defects, though not serious

ones, both of thought and taste; and there is far too much of the cheap antiquarianism which perniciously leavens the study of American history in America itself. Authors would doubtless plead that this is a matter in which they must consult the taste of their public. Surely such a taste, even if it were widely prevalent, which is doubtful, or prevailed at all among the better class of readers, which is more doubtful still, should be rather disdained than propitiated, most of all by a professor of history in a great university. History is one thing; black-letter type, the use of U for V and V for U, contractions incorrectly reproduced, antiquated and often grotesquely erroneous spelling, and the usually slipshod and universally inaccurate English of the 'oldest translator' are another. And if we must perforce have these rags of the past thrust on us, let them be at least presented accurately and intelligibly. Not that Professor Hart has not taken a good deal of pains in the last-named behalf. But this sort of thing, poor as it is, has a standard of its own, a standard of which the book falls decidedly short. A graver fault is that the scanty additions made to the texts by way of direction and explanation are too often inadequate and sometimes misleading. Immediately after 'Barlowe in Virginia,' for instance, we come upon 'Raleigh in El Dorado.' We do not for a moment suppose that Professor Hart imagines that there ever was such a place, or rather such a person, as 'El Dorado,' or that Raleigh was ever within hundreds of miles of the locality where 'El Dorado' was alleged to be. But the only hint of this vouchsafed to the presumably simple-minded reader is the succinct remark that 'this narrative shows the credulity of the age.' Does it not rather show an ill-founded belief on Raleigh's part in the credulity of the wealthy English public, a belief quickly dissipated by the general indifference with which his crazy project was received?

Coronado's expedition to New Mexico, which Professor Hart calls 'First Expedition to Kansas and Nebraska' (?), is an interesting episode in Spanish American history; and students will be grateful to Mr. Winship for the trouble he has taken in reproducing the original narrative of Castañeda from a manuscript in the Lenox library. 'No attempt,' the reader is warned, 'has been made to add marks of punctuation, to accent, or to alter what may have been slips of the copyist's pen.' In taking this course the transcriber was undoubtedly well advised; for anybody who turns to his translations must shudder to think what Mr. Winship, had he rashly attempted to edit it, in the ordinary sense of that word, would have made of the original text. But for Professor Hart's quotation from Mr. Winship's version of Jaramillo's narrative—inserted in the volume as an appendix, without the original text—Mr. Winship's exploits as a translator would have remained unnoticed. No one can read a page of Professor Hart's extracts without feeling that in many places they cannot properly represent the meaning of the writer; and a comparison of the four pages with the original discloses the fact that these pages, adding to them a few passages which Professor Hart judiciously suppresses, contain blunders in translation brief corrections of which would go far to fill a page of this REVIEW. Nor are these blunders trivial ones; they occasionally make the author contradict himself or utter what is little better than nonsense. It is to be

hoped that Mr. Winship shines more as a bibliographer than as a translator from the Spanish. In the mechanical task of compiling his 'Cabot Bibliography' he had few opportunities of going wrong; it is at least difficult to suppose that, with the assistance afforded by the late lamented Dr. Winsor's admirable 'Narrative and Critical History,' he can have made many mistakes of omission.

E. J. PAYNE.

History of South Africa under the Administration of the Dutch East India Company, 1652 to 1795. By GEORGE M'CALL THEAL, LL.D. (2 vols. London: Sonnenschein. 1897.)

THIS is the second edition, revised and enlarged, of Dr. Theal's standard work, though a great part of his history has passed through three editions. He modestly disclaims in the preface any attempt to do more than to relate events in their chronological order, even at the risk of making the narrative heavy and dull. 'I feel,' he says, 'that for me to attempt to give a polish to my writing would be like a quarryman attempting to give the finishing touches to a statue;' but most people will probably prefer the solid merit of Dr. Theal's work to a more pretentious style. He has investigated a very great mass of documents not only at the Cape, but also in Holland; and the minuteness of his researches is shown by the amount of what is really genealogical information contained in these two volumes. Such information is, of course, more generally interesting to the South African than to the English reader, but even here there is much to interest every one. It is, of course, well known that there was an influx of Huguenots into the Cape, but it is not generally recognised that a considerable number of Germans arrived among the old Dutch settlers. They came chiefly in the eighteenth century. But they left no mark, as they brought no German women with them; and what is curious is that they were not so prolific as the French, who came to South Africa in youth and early manhood, while many of the Germans were of the roving class who settled down late in life.

A history so minute as Dr. Theal's, and based on so careful a study of original documents, cannot indeed fail to contain much that is interesting. The Cape settlement may almost be said to have been founded as a kitchen garden. But when we realise that the voyage from Europe sometimes took months and months, and read the figures given of loss by scurvy, it is clear that, apart from military reasons, the directors of the Dutch East India Company were justified in founding the settlement, which, however, never appears to have produced sufficient revenue to meet the expenditure down to the time of the English occupation. Here is an instance showing how terrible a scourge scurvy was. In 1747 the company's outward-bound ship 'Reygersdal' ran ashore near Robben Island, and went to pieces at once, only twenty men reaching land. She was four months and a half out from Holland; she had lost 125 men from scurvy, 83 of the remainder were too ill with the same disease to keep their feet, and the few who were able to work could not manage the ship. This is perhaps the worst case quoted, but similar instances abound.

The Dutch in South Africa have often been accused of ill-treating the natives. But the company's rule certainly seems to have been remarkable

for the absence of conflict with natives, except Bushmen, with whom it was difficult to remain on friendly terms, owing to their habit of cattle-lifting. The instructions sent by the company were always conciliatory, and, on the whole, were well observed. It was only when the Dutch settlement, spreading east towards the Fish river, met the Xosas (Kaffirs) moving westward that serious conflict arose between the white and the black man, and the wars which the colonists then had to undertake were the beginning of a series which have continued until recently. Dr. Theal remarks that in the seventeenth century, though the heathen were not considered to have any rights, a baptised black enjoyed all the rights and privileges of a European; but in 1742 the church authorities had become sceptical as to the fitness of Hottentots for instruction in Christian principles or baptism. It is curious to learn that Van Riebeeck wished to import Chinese—a wish shared by his successor Wagenaar, and due, no doubt, to the intimate connexion with the East Indies always maintained by the company. South Africa is peopled, as it is, by very heterogeneous elements, and it is probably fortunate for the country that yet another was not added.

The company's rule became towards the end extremely corrupt. The company itself was overburdened with debt, and the government became averse to undertaking any measure involving expense. Hence, while at Capetown there was 'a condition of affairs in which no transaction with government could be carried on without bribery,' on the frontier the colonists were left to defend themselves. At Graaf Reinet they had indeed practically thrown over the company's rule before the English took the colony; and it is clear from Dr. Theal's account that, although some of the burghers near the Cape peninsula were ready to fight for the Dutch against the English, there was no one who was prepared to conduct an energetic resistance on the part of the company. The Dutch, both at home and at the Cape, were divided between the revolutionary and the Orange parties. The domination of one meant French rule; the victory of the other could not, in the circumstances, have restored the old condition of things. It was therefore inevitable in 1795 that the Cape should fall into the hands of Great Britain; and its capture forms a convenient conclusion to the two volumes before us. H. LAMBERT.

The first part of Dr. Liebermann's long-awaited edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws has lately come to our hands (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, herausgegeben von F. Liebermann, I: Text und Uebersetzung; erste Lieferung. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1898). It contains the laws of the Kentish kings, and of Ine, Alfred, Edward, Æthelstan, and Edmund. We understand that a second part will contain the laws of Edgar, Æthelred, Cnut, the miscellaneous fragments, and the Anglo-Norman law-books. Then there is a whole volume of apparatus to follow. It would be premature to say much on the present occasion, but apparently all our best hopes will be fulfilled, and we shall soon have of our Old English laws an edition which will take a very high place among the achievements of modern scholarship. All that learning and skill and untiring labour could do is being done. How much this is we may learn from the first

sentence. In the only old manuscript of Æthelbirht's laws there stands a word which begins with *M* and ends with *frip*, intervening letters having disappeared. Hitherto we have had to be content with *Mynstresfrip* and the warning that there was not room enough for so long a word. From a sixteenth-century copy Dr. Liebermann learns that Francis Tate read the word as *Mæthlfrip*, and thus the peace of the assembly is restored to us from a source to which many editors would have scorned to look for assistance. But this only by way of illustration. Already we see many interesting corrections of the text, and a careful translation which endeavours to render word by word and yet, by means of bracketed interpretations, to make good sense. We await the completion of the book impatiently, but with full confidence that it will satisfy all our expectations and will begin a new era in the study of Early English history.

The thirteenth centenary of the mission of St. Augustine has produced, besides the special work of Dr. Mason, on which we commented in our last number, two new editions of books illustrative of English church history which have long been well known and duly esteemed. One of these is the second edition of Bishop Stubbs's *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), which first appeared in 1858, and has since been accepted as an indispensable manual for ascertaining the dates and particulars of the consecration of English bishops, as well as for sundry other matters, such as lists of suffragans before the reformation, about which it is hard to collect data from scattered sources elsewhere. The chief difference in the new edition is that the consecrations in England of Indian and colonial bishops are omitted from the regular chronological series, and are only to be found in a distinct section arranged under Indian and colonial sees, which now appears for the first time, and is due not to the bishop of Oxford himself, but to his chaplain, the Rev. E. E. Holmes. Hence the present bishops of Manchester and Bath and Wells are not included in the main list, but must be sought under the colonial sees of Melbourne and Adelaide. The book, however, has been revised throughout. Many new notices and references to authorities are added, and many references to transcripts of subsidiary value are omitted. The chief changes in detail affect the names and dates of Anglo-Saxon bishops, in which department the author has been largely indebted to the help of Mr. W. H. Stevenson. Sometimes an approximate date is now given, where formerly we had to be contented with the year (as in the case of Bishop Alfred of Worcester, 1158); in other cases renewed examination has led to the disappearance of an exact date (as happens with the consecration of Bishop John Catterick, of St. David's, which was formerly dated on 29 April 1414). The only points in which the new edition is not an improvement on the old one are its size and arrangement. The handy little quarto of 1858 has grown a third as large again in the number of pages, and still more in superficial measurement; and the growth has been attained mainly by an unnecessary enlargement of type and by much spacing. The beautifully clear tabulated arrangement of the old book has

been abandoned, and its scholarly appearance has suffered not less. A heavy black type is now used for the leading dates and names, but the result is not really in the direction of clearness; for the dates which ought to have been brought into prominence by means of the 'indentation' here adopted fail to catch the eye, since they are now preceded by the quite unnecessary letters 'A.D.,' which occupy the open space at the beginning of the line. Moreover it is a mere waste of space to give all the Christian names of consecrators in full, when they can easily be ascertained by reference to the notices of their own consecrations. Nor do we understand on what principle the archbishops alone are designated not by Christian names but by surnames.

The other book to which we have referred is the third edition of Dr. William Bright's *Chapters of Early English Church History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), which has now been enlarged by some fifty pages. Wherever we look we see traces of the professor's unwearied care and minute accuracy, and the fresh illustrations from varied sources, if not always important, bear testimony to his ceaseless activity. From a note to the preface we learn that Professor McKenny Hughes has not persuaded him that St. Augustine landed at Richborough, and that he thinks it 'safer to acquiesce in some form of the Ebbsfleet theory;' but is there any authority for Ebbsfleet earlier than Dean Stanley? It is a pity that the author had not access to the proof sheets of Bishop Stubbs's work, noticed above, for there are about a dozen discrepancies in the dates of consecration of the English bishops (pp. 503-504), in some at least of which comparison might have led to a reconciliation. This new edition has a useful map of England, c. 700, due to the skilful hand of Mr. Charles Oman.

Very little information is to be found in any of the earlier books relating to the university of Bologna and its doctors about the actual schools or buildings—originally the private houses of the individual doctors—in which the vast audiences were gathered. Signor Francesco Cavazza has, therefore, done well to make the history of these buildings the subject of an elaborate and exhaustive study (*Le Scuole dell' antico Studio Bolognese*. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1896). The task appears to be executed with much thoroughness. The book contains a valuable appendix of unpublished documents and some pleasing illustrations. H. R.

Mr. Oswald J. Reichel's papers entitled *Extracts from the Pipe Rolls of Henry II relating to Devon and The Domesday Hundreds of Teignbridge and North Tawton*, which have appeared in the twenty-ninth volume of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art, are not easy to criticise. The subjects are precisely those on which local research should be encouraged; but their treatment is unsatisfactory. It is much to be regretted that the Pipe Roll Society has not met with more support from those county associations which derive from it valuable material for their local history. Mr. Reichel, realising the value of that material, has here translated and annotated the Devonshire entries on the Rolls for 1159-1167, and has done the same in an appendix for an 'Account Roll from Testa de Nevil, A.D. 1236.' Unless such work as this is done by an expert, the result is worse than useless, be-

cause it is misleading. Thus on the same page we find such an entry as this: 'And by a disbursement to Snecca (*liberatione Snecce*) for conveying her over sea (*transfretatione ipsius*) seven pounds;' and a note that 'Richard de Redvers was created by Henry I earl of Devon, baron of Plymton, and lord of Tiverton,' an old but incorrigible mistake embellished. 'The canons of the Trinity House' is an absurd misrendering, and so is 'which is in the Mare case' for the *quod est in forulo Mar[escalli]* of the 'Testa.' Mr. Reichel has read some recent works, such as the 'Red Book of the Exchequer,' and acknowledges the help he has received from other workers; but we fear he is not competent to deal with these subjects. On the Devon Domesday, thanks partly to Sir Frederick Pollock, a good deal of work has been done. The two papers here printed seem very obscure, possibly owing to the fact that they are numbered 'III' and 'V,' so that we are left in ignorance of Mr. Reichel's principles. They certainly testify to great industry, and all labour expended on Domesday identification is welcome. One regrets, however, to find them disfigured by such a statement as that 'Earl Brictric's estates belonged to his grandfather, Haylward Mere, whom Leland calls Alredus Meaw, and who is said to have been also called Snow or Sneaw.' Only a few lines lower down we recognise 'Alward Merta and Brietric' as merely 'two free men.' The real problem raised by these papers is the old difficulty of combining the knowledge of the expert historian with that of the local worker. Each can give what the other cannot; but the co-ordination of their labours has not yet been effected.

J. H. R.

Caudatus Anglicus, a medieval slander, by Mr. George Neilson (Edinburgh: George P. Johnston, 1896), is a *tirage à part* of a paper read at a meeting of the Glasgow Archæological Society, and is a model of bright, effective, and scholarly popularisation. Mr. Neilson works through the long list of authors who agree that the medieval Englishman possessed a tail, as well as the testimony of those who, by bitterly resenting the imputation, in some wise increase the consensus of opinion by showing that the slander was at least seriously accepted. From the first full statement of the story in Wace's 'Brut,' down to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries rationalists, who admitted that Englishmen were no longer tailed men, but suggested, like Major, that they were once 'caudati,' or, like John Bulwer, relied on an 'honest young man' in Ireton's regiment who made the statement that divers slain Irishmen 'were found with tails near a quarter of yard long,' Mr. Neilson examines and discusses his sources with diligence, yet with the lightness that becomes his theme. Were it not for his graceful apologies, we should have ventured to criticise some of his translations, but only on quite small points. We note with concern that not one of the public libraries of Edinburgh or Glasgow contains a copy of the 'Roman de Brut.'

T. F. T.

Mr. Henry John Feasey's *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial* (London: Thomas Baker, 1897) contains a useful collection of inventories, &c., but the work is done in a somewhat haphazard and uncritical manner. The proofs have been very inadequately corrected, and the references do not appear to have been verified. Thus, while there is a good

deal of matter interesting to the antiquary in the volume, its historical value is slight. It is not often that we have seen so many mistakes on two consecutive pages as on pp. 190-91 of Mr. Feasey's book.

The third series of *Facsimiles of Royal, Historical, Literary, and other Autographs in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum*, edited by Mr. G. F. Warner (printed by order of the trustees, 1897), usefully fills up gaps in the preceding parts. We have now a complete series of autographs of English sovereigns from Henry V to George III, with the exception of Henry VI and George I, but including a specimen of that very rare signature 'Jane the Quene.' We cannot here call attention to the letters—and there are many of them—especially interesting for their contents; such, for instance, is one from Harley to the elector of Hanover, announcing the fall of the duchess of Marlborough. It is sufficient to say that the selection has been made with great care and knowledge, that the plates are finely executed, and that full transcripts are supplied in ordinary type. The work is projected to end after two more parts, when (at the present rate) we shall have a hundred and fifty facsimiles for the modest price of less than two pounds. Such an opportunity for acquiring a representative collection of specimens will not be overlooked by students or by those who have charge of college and school libraries.

Mr. W. H. Woodward's *Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators* (Cambridge: University Press, 1897) is a thorough and scholarly piece of work, which will be read with pleasure and profit by all who are interested in the history of classical education, and may serve to convert those sceptics who renounce classical studies as being incompatible with a practical training for after life. Small as is the volume, it gives evidence of a peculiarly close knowledge of the authorities, to most Englishmen obscure, while the author has kept at arm's length the beguilements of the 'gush' which has disfigured most books on the classical revival. The notes are short, crisp, and well calculated to guide the reader to the bibliography of the subject. Some exception may be taken to the arrangement of the volume. It opens with its *pièce de résistance*, an essay on Vittorino da Feltre, and concludes with another on the teaching of other humanists. Between these lie scraps of translation, interesting enough, from humanist pamphlets on education. If these had been relegated to the third place, the painful impression of a broken back would have been avoided. The author's statement (p. 40) as to the absolute exclusion of the vernacular Italian from any scheme of serious education may perhaps provoke argument. It is, however, undoubtedly true if it be confined to the system of Vittorino and Guarino.

E. A.

It is with particular pleasure that we direct the attention of our readers to an effort of patriotic collaboration almost without a parallel in contemporary historical literature. Political controversy, and at times the fury of war which is one of its ultimate products, have in our own generation raged round the historic self-consciousness of the Danish people, never

content, like European political communities of more recent growth or make, with allowing its destinies to be shaped by either a conflict or a concert of greater powers. But whatever opinions may have been held as to particular developments of theories of national government at home, and as to the consequences which they may have contributed to entail upon the relations of the state to European politics at large, historical observers have rarely failed to take into consideration the influences of a warranted sense of past greatness, combined with a singular openness to the advance of the intellectual life of the West in almost every field of its activity. Of the great undertaking which proposes to present in six divisions the history of the Danish monarchy (*Danmarks Riges Historie*, Copenhagen, E. Bojesen) there lie before us a succession of numbers belonging to the last three series, designed to cover the periods of 1588–1699, 1699–1814, and 1814–1864, and edited by Dr. Fridericia, Professor C. Holm, and Dr. A. D. Jørgensen, of the Danish Record Office, respectively. The first of these begins, accordingly, with the accession to the throne of Christian IV, the prince whose splendid ambition has constituted him, in a sense, the Lewis XIV of the Danish monarchy; while the last already reaches the end of the reign of Frederick VI, one of the least fortunate, but by no means one of the least popular, of Danish kings. The work is profusely adorned with pictorial illustrations of the progress of the national history and the national life, and the very first portrait that meets our eye—a true Guelph likeness of the unhappy Caroline Matilda—may serve to remind English readers of international relations which, notwithstanding far graver historical incidents than the catastrophe of this ill-fated princess, have not yet fallen into a condition of coldness. We hope to return on a future occasion to this interesting publication, and in the meantime wish it a full measure of the success which it ought to command both at home and abroad.

A. W. W.

This new edition of Mr. James Waylen's *House of Cromwell* (London: Elliot Stock, 1897) is a great improvement on the old one. It has been revised by the Rev. J. G. Cromwell, and much condensed. The account of the expedition to Flanders and the capture of Dunkirk, which had no connexion with the rest of the work, has been judiciously omitted. The omission of the list of public letters, and other documents of the same nature signed by Cromwell, is rather to be regretted. The editor has added a useful chapter on the origin of the Cromwell family, which incorporates the researches of Mr. John Phillips on the Cromwell and Williams families. He has also inserted a chapter on the Cromwells of America, which is interesting, but fails to prove any connexion between these American Cromwells and the Protector's house. There is now a good index, so that Mr. Waylen's genealogical researches are made intelligible and accessible to any one interested in pedigrees. Altogether it is a useful book, and should be considered as a necessary supplement to Noble's *Cromwell*.

Miss Edith Sichel's *The Household of the Lafayettes* (Westminster: Constable & Co., 1897) gives an account of the members of the family of Madame de Lafayette, a daughter of the duke of Ayen, and of their

fortunes during the Revolution, but is chiefly a biography of Lafayette himself, who, though perhaps the smallest man whom Fortune in a playful mood ever raised to so great a position, is in the author's eyes a blameless hero. Miss Sichel has skimmed the memoirs of the period, and has extracted from them whatever she thought most likely to be entertaining to her readers, and most creditable to the general and his connexions. The result, it must be allowed, is eminently readable, even though we are somewhat wearied by a constant determination to be lively and epigrammatic. The author finds the closest parallel to Lafayette in Hampden, but we cease to wonder at this after being told that 'in our revolution the able men of either side were opposed from the first. Falkland, Hyde and Clarendon (*sic*) never wished to work with Hampden, Pym and Hazelrigg.' The generalisations about the French revolution are not always more happy; yet Miss Sichel describes vividly some aspects of French society on the threshold of that great convulsion, and of the life in prison and exile of its victims. P. F. W.

Old newspaper articles, however good they may have been as journalism, are seldom worth reprinting as a book, and the letters which Karl Marx contributed to the *New York Tribune* from 1853 to 1856 on 'the events of the Crimean war' were not particularly good journalism and do not deserve publication under the comprehensive title of *The Eastern Question* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1897). Marx was extremely biassed by his economic opinions, and had little real grasp of diplomatic questions. He denounces every one and everything in violent language; for him the peace party is merely 'the hypocritical, phrasemongering, squint-eyed set of Manchester humbugs;' the heroic Montenegrins, of whose history he is sublimely ignorant, are 'a set of robbers,' and 'a nuisance in Europe;' Prince Albert is 'a prolific father and obsequious husband;' and the whole war is only a proof of the 'extreme impotency of conservative Europe.' Of the Catholic Albanians he has never heard. Mrs. Eleanor Marx Aveling and Dr. Edward Aveling, who have edited these letters, should correct the two maps at the end of the volume. In the second, which professes to give the state of the Balkan peninsula in 1897, the railways are not brought up to date; in the former, which represents the peninsula in 1856, railways are inserted which were not constructed till within the last ten years.

There is a noticeable movement now on foot in several of the countries of Europe, and in certain parts of the United States, in favour of the introduction into the schools of instruction in the duties of citizenship. Several little manuals of considerable excellence, though each, perhaps, with the limitations of a particular point of view, have been written and largely brought into use, such as those of M. Bert in France, of Mr. Macy and Mr. Dole in America, and the *Citizen Reader* of Mr. Arnold-Forster in England. Such attempts have usually been limited to the elementary schools. But the Prussian school programme of January 1892 directed that in the *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen* of that state the historical teaching should be utilised for a like purpose, and especially that the opportunity

should be taken to give instruction concerning the development of social and economic conditions. These directions were undoubtedly prompted by the fear of social democracy; and critics of the government were of course ready to see in the new policy a weapon of 'reaction.' A great deal of discussion took place in educational circles as to the way in which the regulations should be carried out. Thus, at the conference of school directors of the Rhenish province in 1893, the following resolutions were passed among others: 'So far as non-German history is concerned, special attention is to be given in the upper classes to the French Revolution, and its effects on political and social thought in Germany;' and 'the merits of the Hohenzollern, and their measures for the welfare of the people, are to be set forth historically in their natural progress and connexion with the development of the power of the state.' Dr. K. Schenk, director of the Realprogymnasium at Grobow, has had the courage to prepare a volume of *Belehrungen über wirtschaftliche und gesellschaftliche Fragen auf geschichtlicher Grundlage* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1896), designed especially for teachers, together with a companion volume (*Hilfsbuch*) of documents and chapters selected from distinguished historians, for class use. The volume of *Belehrungen* is so intensely solemn, so virtuous, and yet frequently so commonplace and trivial, so painstaking in showing the teacher the sort of leading question he is to ask, and in printing the very obvious *Ja* or *Nein* to which it is meant to lead up, that it is hard for any one not a Prussian teacher to read it with a sober countenance. The passion for classification is given full scope: A, B, C are regularly divided into 1, 2, 3, and these into *a, b, c*, and these again into *a, β, γ*. After what we have been told of the peculiar intelligence of German educational methods, it is almost a relief to find that even German teaching can sometimes be formal and wooden. The author believes that the monarchy of the Hohenzollern is alone able to guide Germany into the new era of social peace, but only on condition that the upper classes show themselves ready for self-sacrifice and the lower classes remain obedient. He ends with an impassioned appeal, from which we may quote one sentence, which we will not spoil by translation.

Am Steuer steht ein edles, wackeres Geschlecht, das Deutschland die politische Einheit gegeben hat, wird auch die soziale Einigung und Befriedigung, wird auch die innere Eintracht herstellen. In altgermanischer Treue stehen Sie zu ihm und helfen ihm, unserein Volke bessere Wege zu bereiten.

The author's childlike simplicity and inadequate sense of proportion give abundant opportunity for easy scorn. But the book seems an honest one, if not a learned or clever one; and the ideal of the social monarchy, though perhaps too great and good for political nature's daily food, is quite as defensible as the ideal of parliamentarism. Instruction of this sort will certainly make boys think, and think, on the whole, in a useful way. It may be added that the English reader who takes up the book will find food for reflexion in the references to his own country. They show what a great many educated Germans sincerely think of us and the future of our empire. That they are based largely on misapprehension does not prevent their containing a measure of truth, and they are far from comfortable reading.

W. J. A.

CORRESPONDENCE

'THE DAWN OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY'

1. MR. LE STRANGE, in reviewing the 'Dawn of Modern Geography' in the July number of the ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW, apparently complains, in the case of Solinus, that I have 'quoted' only from old editions (of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries), and have not noticed Mommsen's second edition of 1895. Yet on pp. 247, 249, 251, 255, and 528 this edition is referred to; it was the one I used throughout, and I should never have thought of recommending any other. In my list of editions on p. 528 I thought I had sufficiently 'warned' the reader as to the quality of Mommsen's final edition, compared with others. Thus—'SOLINUS: six editions previous to Mommsen's, best and last, 1895.' This final (second) edition of 1895 of course supersedes Mommsen's earlier and much slighter edition of 1864, which I have not thought necessary to mention separately in the bibliography. As to the old editions of Solinus (Salmasius's, &c.), they are never 'quoted' by me; but they are enumerated in the bibliographical note ii. 'on the editions of the principal texts;' and I hope that students of the subject will not find it useless.

Mr. Le Strange's remark, 'taking Solinus, for example,' seems to be a *suggestio falsi*, as it implies that it has been my constant practice to use old editions for the principal texts. On the contrary, the latest editions have been employed; and any one who has read the volume in question will be aware of the fact. The case of the Cologne Einhard of 1521, mentioned by Mr. Le Strange, is not really to the point; the page (41) of this edition is quoted (unnecessarily) as an addition to the chapter reference (33). Pertz, about whom the reviewer displays so much solicitude, is referred to on p. 172, note 1, one of the very places cited by Mr. Le Strange. He could not, therefore, have supposed that I was unacquainted with Pertz, as he suggests. Einhard was not one of my 'principal texts;' he only gave one point for my subject, and for this I had to read through the 'Vita Caroli'—in Pertz, as a matter of fact, though a reference has also been given to the old Cologne edition.

2. The reviewer considers it obvious that I have not read any of Mukaddasi, as 'this authority is . . . inaccessible in any translation.' But his account of Syria has been translated by Mr. Le Strange himself for the Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, and copious extracts from the same are given by him in his compilation 'Palestine under the Moslems.' No account was attempted of Mukaddasi, who belongs to a later period than that included in my volume; only a passing reference was made to him in a note.

3. The voyage of Moslem merchants from Basra to China was doubtless a longer journey than any undertaken by the ships of Henry the Navigator, but it is certainly not true (as the reviewer argues) that the former involved new discovery in the same sense as the latter. The Basra-China voyage was known and practised long before Mohammed; and, passing to another point, the longest Arab journeys would surely, by any fair criticism, be put alongside the greatest of the European ventures of

the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and not paralleled with merely initial enterprises such as those of Prince Henry's seamen.

4. Mr. Le Strange also says that on p. 443 I have implied that Lane is responsible for a statement concerning the chief devil of the Kasil island—viz. that his name was Ed-Dejjal, head of the genii in rebellion against Allah. But if the reviewer refers to p. 443 he will see that Lane's name is never there mentioned or 'implied.' What is referred to is Sindbad's own statement that 'the islanders and travellers informed us that Ed-Dejjal is in it' (Kasil). Further, if 'head of the genii in rebellion' is not a tolerably clear synonym for our 'antichrist,' I do not know what it is.

5. 'Alkateb' I never imagined to be a proper name, any more than 'Alkharizmy,' 'Alkendy,' 'Albyrouny,' &c., nor can I understand how any fair-minded reader could think so, unless wherever a nickname or surname is given without translation this is to be reckoned as proof that it has been mistaken for a proper name.

6. As to 'Halwan,' it is (comparatively) spoken of as 'close to' Bagdad, being one hundred miles distant, in a note dealing very briefly with the position of the chief Nestorian bishoprics scattered all over Asia, and in some cases separated by thousands of miles (*e.g.* Socotra from Singanfu). The reviewer will have nothing but *Hulwan*; yet Sir Henry Yule writes it *Halwan*, *Assemani Halacha*, and *Al Hariri Holwan*—'a town in Irak, on the mountains east of Bagdad,' says Chenery (p. 112), defining the position of the place, as I have done, by Bagdad.

7. Though I have confined my reply to these points, there are others in which I do not admit the justice of the criticisms of Mr. Le Strange, but to enter into them in detail would occupy too much space. I will, therefore, only add that in treating of the early Arab geographers I never claimed to write as a specialist, and always spoke of the account I had attempted as a 'sketch,' a 'summary,' a 'short review,' a 'supplement' to the real subject of this volume, viz. that account of early Christian geography which occupies nearly four-fifths of my space (see pp. 6, 46, 393, 468, &c.) But of these explanations the reviewer takes no notice.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

I AM extremely sorry that Mr. Beazley should feel that my criticisms of his work are unfair. In my review I pointed out its many excellent characteristics. It is a work of erudition and likely to become a book of reference. Under these circumstances it was my opinion that the authors quoted should in every case be referred to in the best edition only.

1. My point is that, to take the case of Solinus, since we have Mommsen's edition of 1895, it is misleading to quote, *in any case*, the editions of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and unnecessary (except from the bibliographical point of view) even to mention them. I mentioned the Einhard of 1521 as a case in point.

2. Coming to the Moslems, I beg to point out that the whole of my criticism centred in this: that I hold that, in any serious work, we have a right to know whether authorities are quoted at *first hand* or not. Mr.

Beazley speaks of Mukaddasi as though he had read him. I pointed out why it seemed to me unlikely that he had done so. I have translated one chapter of Mukaddasi, it is true, the account of Syria, occupying about 40 pages out of close on 500 of the Arabic text. If that is all that Mr. Beazley knows about Mukaddasi, he is, I venture to think, hardly in a position to say what he does of him on p. 425.

3. As to the Chinese voyages of the Arabs, I still think that, *for their age*, they are comparable to any of later times; but I only expressed my opinion.

4. As to my criticism about 'El Dejjal, head of the genii in rebellion against Allah,' the fact is simply this: In Arabic, Dajjāl means the Antichrist, neither more nor less, as anybody who has a smattering of the language can tell Mr. Beazley. To call him 'the head of the genii' is nonsense.

5. To call the geographer Ya'kubi *Alkatib* was merely instanced to show that Mr. Beazley had not a fair hold on his authorities. The said Ya'kubi had various names, but to call him Alkatib, 'the scribe,' proves that Mr. Beazley has no clear idea of whom he is talking, and therefore is hardly in a position to instruct the general reader on this point, and pass judgment in any way on Ya'kubi's work.

6. As to Hulwān, I can only repeat it is this or Holwan, but never Halwan, and in preference Hulwān the better to distinguish it from Helwān near Cairo. I think a place 100 miles off is not 'close,' but that is a matter of opinion.

7. Mr. Beazley has quoted the Kitab al Fihrist, Mukaddasi, Ya'kubi, and the rest, as though he had referred to them; authorities quoted at second hand should, I think, be quoted giving the source whence the information is gathered.

GUY LE STRANGE.

Notices of Periodicals

[Contributions to these Notices, whether regular or occasional, are invited. They should be drawn up on the pattern of those printed below, and addressed to Mr. R. L. Poole, at Oxford, by the first week in March, June, September, and December.]

The letter of the people of Jerusalem to the Jews in Egypt (2 Macc. i. 11–ii. 18) : by A. BÜCHLER.—*Monatschr. Gesch. und Wissensch. Judenth.* xli. 11, 12.

Polybius : by Sir M. E. GRANT DUFF.—*Trans. R. Hist. Soc., N.S.*, xi.

The origin of the Jewish annus mundi : by F. RÜHL [who connects the *circulus lunaris* with the Jewish era, which began (B.C. 3761) with the first year of a lunar cycle. This era he takes to be the invention, not of Hillel Hanassi in the fourth century after Christ, but of rabbi Adda bar Ahabah in the third, whose lunar cycle agrees with the Jewish era ; and he gives reasons for holding that the era was calculated from the data supplied in the 'Seder Olam Rabba' (c. 200 A.D.) The Jewish lunar cycle, it is argued, was introduced into the Alexandrian Easter tables ; and the Byzantine era, beginning 1 Sept. 5509 B.C., was formed by a combination of this lunar cycle with the era of Panodorus, which was thrown back sixteen years, so as to begin not only a lunar but also a solar cycle and an indictional and bissextile series as well.]—*D. Zft. Gesch.-Wiss. N. F.* ii. 3.

On two recently discovered Visigothic laws : by K. ZEUMER [dealing with the law of king Theudis, 546, in the Leon palimpsest, and the title 'de nupciis incestis prohibendis' in the Lex Baiuvariorum, which, it is argued, was derived from the code of Euric].—*N. Arch.* xxiii. 1.

Greco-Roman law in the code of the Georgian king Vakhtang VI : by V. SOKOLSKI.—*Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. Sept.*

On a gloss on Lucan in the Bern MS. 370 [explaining 'Gebennas' ('Cebennas')—'Burgundionum clausurae sunt quas inter se et Gallos habent'] : by H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE [who assigns the date of the gloss to about 473].—*Bibl. École Chartes*, lviii. 4.

The chronology of Ennodius : by F. VOGEL [who claims that the order of the manuscripts is substantially the order of composition, and investigates doubtful points].—*N. Arch.* xxiii. 1.

The biography of archbishop Andrew of Caesarea in the codex Athous 129 : by F. DIEKAMP.—*Hist. Jahrb.* xviii. 3.

Note on Jordanes' 'Getica', i. 6, 7 : by A. BACHMANN [who emends the punctuation].—*N. Arch.* xxiii. 1.

The chronology of Theophanes and of certain letters of the popes (726–774) : by H. HUBERT.—*Byz. Zft.* vi. 3, 4. *Aug.*

Notes on Einhard's style : by M. MANITIUS.—*Mith. Oesterreich. Gesch.* xviii. 3, 4.

A new life of Theophanes Confessor : printed by K. KRUMBACHER.—*SB. Akad. Wiss. München (phil.-hist. Cl.)* 1897, 3.

The Χρονολογιακὸν σύντομον of Nikephoros : by C. DE BOOR.—*Byz. Zft.* vi. 2. *May.*

Verses on Lewis the German : printed by P. VON WINTERFELD.—*N. Arch.* xxiii. 1.

Various readings to Hinemar's tract 'de villa Novilliac' : by O. HOLDER-EGGER.—*N. Arch.* xxiii. 1.

- Documents supplementary to the 'Diplomata,'* i. ii., in the 'Monumenta Germaniae historica:' by M. MEYER, H. BRESSLAU, and H. BLOCH [Henry I—Henry IV: some spurious, the origin of which is here examined].—N. Arch. xxiii. 1.
- On the annals of Flodoard:* by P. LAUER [who points out that the manuscripts of the work bear an incomplete numeration in Greek letters which implies that its first year should be 893, not 919 as is the case with the preserved text, and infers that Flodoard's work originally began, as Richer's did, with the accession of Charles the Simple. This lost part would presumably be the source of the earlier historical notices in Richer. The writer, however, suggests, without adopting, another explanation of the numeration, namely, that it indicates merely the years of the author's life].—Bibl. École Chartes, lviii. 3.
- The teaching of tironian notes in medieval schools:* by W. SCHMITZ [connecting the practice specially with Fleury in the tenth century].—N. Arch. xxiii. 1.
- Leo Diaconus and the chroniclers:* by G. WARTENBERG.—Byz. Zft. vi. 2. May.
- Collation of the Codex Barocceanus of Johannes Malalas:* by J. B. BURY.—Byz. Zft. vi. 2. May.
- The canonical collections attributed to Ivo of Chartres:* by P. FOURNIER. III: The 'Panormia' [on its close relation to the 'Decretum,' and on its other sources]. IV: The authorship of the three collections attributed to Ivo. [The 'Panormia' is certainly his, probably also the 'Decretum,' and very likely the first two parts of the 'Tripartita.'] V: The later influence of the collections [evidenced by other compilations].—Bibl. École Chartes, lviii. 3, 4.
- On some of the sources of Zonaras:* by E. PATZIG.—Byz. Zft. vi. 2. May (continued from v. 1.)
- Brief calendar of 26 papal documents [1126-1193] not registered by Jaffé and Löwenfeld:* by E. SCHÄUS.—N. Arch. xxiii. 1.
- Report on travels chiefly in search of imperial constitutions and ordines:* by J. SCHWALM [who prints an order of coronation from the Codex Casanatensis 614, and a series of German royal documents, 1270-1312].—N. Arch. xxiii. 1.
- Verses and satires on Rome:* by E. DÜMLER [twelfth to fifteenth century].—N. Arch. xxiii. 1.
- Brief Holstein annals [1225 (= 1227), and 1319-1341]:* printed by O. HOLDER-EGGER. N. Arch. xxiii. 1.
- On the date of publication of the second edition of the chronicle of Martin of Troppau:* by B. SEPP [who argues for 1276].—N. Arch. xxiii. 1.
- Two accounts of the officials of the papal court in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries:* printed by J. HALLER.—Quellen und Forschungen Preuss. hist. Inst. in Rom, i. 1.
- Inventory of the cargo and nautical instruments of a ship of Messina captured by the Genoese [1294]:* printed by C. DE LA RONCIÈRE.—Bibl. École Chartes, lviii. 4.
- Notarial instrument [1320] containing the notice of Galeazzo Visconti's consultation of Dante in connexion with a project for killing John XXII by magical art:* printed from the Vatican archives by K. EUBEL.—Hist. Jahrb. xviii. 3.
- The medieval service-books of Aquitaine:* by R. TWIGGE. IV: Clermont-Fer and [useful notes hastily put together].—Dublin Rev. N.S. 24. Oct.
- Documents illustrating the history of the emperor Sigismund [1410-1437]:* by W. ALTMANN.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xviii. 3, 4.
- A system of shorthand found in a fifteenth-century Italian manuscript of a treatise on alchemy [Bibl. Nat., Fonds Lat., nouv. acq. 635]:* explained by H. OMONT.—Bibl. École Chartes, lviii. 3.
- Italian notes on French history:* by L. G. PÉLISSIER [documents relating to the treasury of war at Milan, 1500-1501, 1504-1505].—Arch. stor. Ital. 5th ser. xx. 3.
- An unpublished despatch of Alexander from his first nuntiature to Charles V [1520]:* printed by W. FRIEDENSBURG.—Quellen und Forsch. Preuss. hist. Inst. in Rom, i. 1.
- A narrative of the pursuit of English refugees in Germany under queen Mary:* printed by I. S. LEADAM.—Trans. R. Hist. Soc. N.S. xi.

The plain of Thebes [in connexion with recent Egyptian exploration].—Edinb. Rev. 382. Oct.

The beginnings of socialism in Europe : by R. PÖHLMANN. I.—Hist. Zft. lxxix. 3.

Astrology in the Roman world : by A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ.—Rev. Hist. lxx. 2. Nov.

Archæological and epigraphical researches into the history of the Roman province of Dalmatia : by C. PATSCH.—Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien Hercegovina. 1897.

St. Peter and the foundation of the Roman church : by F. BACCHUS [who argues against placing the saint's martyrdom so early as A.D. 64].—Dublin Rev. N.S. 24 Oct.

Early Christian missions in some of their relations to heathen religions.—Church Qu. Rev. 89. Oct.

Decimus Clodius Albinus : by O. HIRSCHFELD.—Hist. Zft. lxxix. 3.

Cyprian [on archbishop Benson's work].—Church Qu. Rev. 89. Oct.

The youth of the emperor Julian : by P. ALLARD.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxii. 2. Oct.

Provincial life in the days of St. Basil [illustrated from recent volumes of the 'Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers']—Qu. Rev. 372. Oct.

Historical and legendary controversies between Mohammad and the rabbis : by H. HIRSCHFELD.—Jew. Qu. Rev. 37. Oct.

Kasia, the poetess, and her works : by K. KRUMBACHER.—SB. Akad. Wiss. München (phil.-hist. Cl.) 1897. 3.

On the contest, between Hincmar of Rheims and his predecessor Ebo and his adherents : by K. HAMPE [who ascribes the forgery of the bull of Gregory IV in favour of Ebo (Jaffé 2583) to Ebo himself, and prints fragments of a newly discovered letter of Nicolas I to Charles the Bald (866)].—N. Arch. xxiii. 1.

Sabartioasphaloi [the name given to the ancient Hungarians by Constantine Porphyrogenetos, 'De admin. Imperio,' xxxviii.] : by W. PETZ, J. THURY, and C. FRÖK [on its signification].—Phil. Közlöny, May 1896 ; Századok, Sept. 1896, April, May, Sept., Oct. 1897.

The proceedings at Canossa in January 1077 : by H. OTTO [who agrees with G. Meyer von Knonau, against O. Holder-Egger, that Henry IV encamped at the foot of the castle, but rejects the three days' penance].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xviii. 3, 4.

A hitherto unknown Messianic movement among the Jews, particularly those of Germany and the Byzantine empire : by D. KAUFMANN [based on a document published by A. Neubauer in the same Review, 33].—Jew. Qu. Rev. 37. Oct.

The Egyptian nāgid : by D. KAUFMANN.—Jew. Qu. Rev. 37. Oct. (cf. 33.)

The situation in the Balkan peninsula at the beginning of the thirteenth century : by D. FRANIĆ.—Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien Hercegovina. 1897.

The foundation of the Rumanian state : by L. KROFF [who argues against Xénopol's view that an exodus took place from Transylvania under Radu Negru during a rising at the end of the thirteenth century, on the grounds (1) that this rising took place among the schismatics of the diocese of Kalocsa (*Colocensis*) and not in the Transylvanian diocese ; (2) that the story about Radu is not mentioned by any writer earlier than Luccari, who published his chronicle at the beginning of the seventeenth century ; (3) that both Luccari and the later local tradition, as preserved in the travels of archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, make the exodus to have taken place with the permission of the Hungarian king's lieutenant ; (4) that the chrysobuls of Cimpulung are only known through eighteenth-century copies, the originals (if such there were) having disappeared].—Századok. Oct.

The scale on which the 'minuta servitia' payable on provisions of cathedral churches and monasteries were reckoned : by K. H. KARLSSON [showing that the rule was to divide half the amount of the 'commune servitium' by the number of cardinals present at the provision, and printing a constitution of Paul II (1470) whereby the number of cardinals was for this purpose assumed to be always fourteen and no more].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xviii. 3, 4.

Peter Paul Vergerius the elder ; a contribution to the early history of humanism : by K. A. KOPP. II.—Hist. Jahrb. xviii. 3.

The itinerary of John XXIII ; supplementary notices : by H. V. SAUERLAND.—Hist. Jahrb. xviii. 3.

- Ceremonial processions in various countries*: by J. BALFOUR PAUL, Lyon.—Scott. Rev. 60. Oct.
- St. Ignatius of Loyola*: by C. MIRBT.—Hist. Zft. lxxx. 1.
- The journey of Edmund Campion from Rome to England* [1580]: by J. H. POLLEN [with two letters from St. Charles Borromeo and Ralph Sherwin].—Month. Sept.
- On some political theories of the early Jesuits*: by J. N. FROIS.—Trans. R. Hist. Soc. N.S. xi.
- The survivors of the Spanish armada in Ireland*: by M. A. S. HUME.—Trans. R. Hist. Soc. N.S. xi.
- St. Francis de Sales as a preacher*: by H. B. MACKEY. II.—Dublin Rev. N.S. 24. Oct.
- Negotiations with Melchior von Hatzfeldt touching the restoration of Charles II to the English throne (1649–1650)*: by J. KREBS [based on documents from the Hatzfeldt archives at Calcum near Düsseldorf relating to Charles's attempt to secure the military aid of the well-known imperial field-marshal].—D. Zft. Gesch.-wiss. N.F. ii. 3.
- Russia and France in the first half of the eighteenth century, continued*.—Russk. Starina. Sept.—Nov.
- The conference of Pillnitz*: by O. BROWNING.—Trans. R. Hist. Soc. N.S. xi.
- Prussia, the armed neutrality, and the occupation of Hanover, 1801*: by H. ULMANN. D. ft. Gesch.-wiss. N.F. ii. 3.
- Carrion-Nisas, an envoy of Napoleon in Spain* [1810]: by G. DE GRANDMAISON.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxii. 2. Oct.
- The French in Warsaw in the war of 1806–1807*: by N. SCHILDER [explaining the views of Napoleon on the restoration of the kingdom of Poland].—Russk. Starina. Sept.
- The tragi-comedy at Bayonne in 1808*: by N. SCHILDER [on the intrigues of Napoleon with Charles IV of Spain].—Istorich. Viestnik. Nov.
- Napoleon at Lomzha in 1812*: by N. SCHILDER [on his retreat from Russia].—Istorich. Viestnik. Sept.
- Russia and Persia* [during the war of 1827]: by I. ZINOVIEV.—Russk. Starina. Oct.
- Johann Adam Möhler*: by A. VON SCHMID. II. [chiefly on his theological position].—Hist. Jahrb. xviii. 3.
- Wilhelm Wattenbach* [†20 Sept.]: by K. ZEUMER.—Hist. Zft. lxxx. 1.

France

- Confirmation by St. Louis of a treaty between the duke of Brittany and André de Vitre* [1237].—Bibl. École Chartes, lviii. 4.
- The customs of Pouy-Corgelart and Bivès* [in the viscounty of Lomagne]: described from charters by F. FUNCK-BRENTANO.—Rev. hist. lxxv. 2. Nov.
- The Bastille* [dealing with materials published by F. Bournon and F. Ravaisson].—Quart. Rev. 372. Oct.
- Margaret of Navarre and the Platonism of the renaissance*: by A. LEFRANC [who claims for this queen the honour of introducing the movement into France, and emphasises the influence exerted on her by Nicolas Casanus through Briçonnet and Lefèvre of Étapes].—Bibl. École Chartes, lviii. 3.
- The commercial life of the Jews in the country districts of Languedoc in the seventeenth century*: by N. ROUBIN.—Rev. Études Juives. 69. July.
- The rebellion at Hesdin; Fargues and the first president Lamoignon* [1658–1668]: by A. DE BOISLISLE. II.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxii. 2. Oct.
- Three letters of Rabaut de Saint-Étienne* [1765–1789], on the position of the protestants in France: printed by N. WEISS.—Bull. Hist. Protest. Franç. xlvii. 10. Oct.
- Mirabeau, a victim of the lettres de cachet*: by F. M. FLING.—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 1.
- An inquiry into the state of the parishes in 1788*: by C. BLOCH [being answers sent to a circular issued by the intermediary provincial commission of the Orléanais to the municipalities of the generality, concerning population, agriculture, commerce, &c.].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 2. Aug.

- The attitude of the Roman catholic clergy towards the protestants in 1789*: by A. LODS [illustrating their dislike of the toleration edict].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 2. Aug.
- The expenses of the electoral assemblies in 1789*: by A. BRETTE [based on a correspondence between the lieutenant-generals of the bailliages and the government, preserved in the Archives Nationales, and illustrating the various money claims advanced by different bailliages].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 2. Aug.
- The debate and division list on Marat's accusation* [13-14 April 1793]: by F. A. AULARD [a reprint from a rare text, which has not, to the writer's knowledge, been reprinted in any collection].—Révol. Franç. xvi. 12, xvii. 1, 2. June-Aug.
- Letters from Brest fédérés written from Paris* [August-September 1792]: printed by A. CORRE.—Révol. Franç. xvii. 5. Nov.
- The Panthéon society and the patriot party in Paris*: by C. PICQUENARD [mainly based on unpublished police reports].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 4. Oct.
- The siege of Toulon*; England and the princes [1793]: by P. COTTIN.—Révol. Franç. xvii. 1. July.
- The ecclesiastical system of Montbéliard* [1793-1801]: by J. VIÉNOT.—Bull. Hist. Protest. Franç. xlvi. 11. Nov.
- Du Val à'Eprenesnil*: by H. CARRÉ.—Révol. Franç. xvii. 4, 5. Oct., Nov.
- Municipal organisation in Paris during the Thermidorian reaction*: by F. A. AULARD [showing how most of the functions of the commune were taken over by the central government, but two municipal commissions were established, one for police, the other for ways and means].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 3. Sept.
- Robert Lindet before and after the 18th Brumaire*: by A. MONTIER.—Révol. Franç. xvii. 4. Oct.
- The duke of Richelieu and the first years of the restoration*: by L. RIOULT DE NEUVILLE. Rev. Quest. hist. lxii. 2. Oct.
- Church and state under Louis-Philippe, from Lamennais to Montalembert*: by A. DEBIDOUR.—Révol. Franç. xvi. 12. June.

Germany and Austria-Hungary

- Note on the Passau annals*: by G. RATZINGER [who discerns passages in Ebendorfer and Schreitwein which he considers to be derived not from the Passau annals, but from the literary remains of Albertus Bohemus].—Hist. Jahrb. xviii. 3.
- An unknown manuscript of Felix Fabri's 'Descriptio Theutoniae, Sueviae, et civitatis Ulmensis'* [at Cassel]: described by G. LEDINGER.—N. Arch. xxiii. 1.
- The treaty of Ratisbon between Charles V, Ferdinand, and Maurice of Saxony* [1546]: by E. BRANDENBURG.—Hist. Zft. lxxx. 1.
- Letter of Maximilian II to Ferdinand I* [1562]: printed by H. KRETSCHMAYR.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xviii. 3, 4.
- Matthias Flacius Illyricus, the theologian, at Strassburg* [1567-1573]: by A. HOLLÄNDER.—D. Zft. Gesch.-wiss., N.F., ii. 3.
- Documents concerning the reforming work of Felician Ninguarda, especially in Bavaria and Austria* [1572-1577].—Quellen und Forsch. Preuss. hist. Inst. in Rom, i. 1.
- The Carmelite father Dominic a Jesu Maria and the council of war before the battle of the White Mountain* [1620]: by S. RIEZLER [who brings forward new evidence that the friar was present at the council].—SB. Akad. Wiss. München (phil.-hist. Cl.) 1897, 3.
- The Prussian campaign of 1758*: by H. L. TUTTLE. I. [a posthumous fragment of the author's 'History of Prussia'].—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 1.
- The duke of Zweibrücken and the mission of count Goertz* [on the Bavarian question, January-April 1778]: by A. UNZER [who prints Goertz's final report].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xviii. 3, 4.
- The Prussian court in 1797*, described from letters of Horazio Borghese, Spanish minister at Berlin: printed by C. KUPKE.—Quellen und Forsch. Preuss. hist. Inst. in Rom, i. 1.
- Ecclesiastical affairs in Austria* [1816-1842] from documentary sources: by A. BEER. Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xviii. 3, 4.

Great Britain and Ireland

- A proposal for a bibliography of English history*: by F. HARRISON.—Trans. R. Hist. Soc. N.S. xi.
- The Ecole des Chartes and English records*: by F. YORK POWELL [who advocates the establishment of a school for archivists on the French model].—Trans. R. Hist. Soc. N.S. xi.
- The Celtic church in Wales* [on J. W. Willis Bund's work].—Church Qu. Rev. 89 Oct.
- The planting of the English church* [in connexion with A. J. Mason's 'Mission of St. Augustine' and W. Bright's 'Chapters of early English Church History.'].—Church Qu. Rev. 89. Oct.
- The shield-wall and the schiltrum*: by G. NEILSON.—Antiquary, N.S., 95. Nov.
- The history of the diocese of Lincoln*.—Church Qu. Rev. 89. Oct.
- Richard Rolle of Hampole*: by T. E. BRIDGETT.—Dublin Rev. N.S. 24. Oct.
- On the ecclesiastical policy of England in the fourteenth century*: by J. LOSERTH. I Down to the great schism [1378]. [The writer treats the relations of England to Rome from the time of Edward I. Incidentally he omits to notice that the clergy did not join in the famous protest of the parliament of Lincoln, 1301. He repeats the substance of his convincing argument which appeared in this REVIEW in April 1896, showing that Wycliffe's 'Determinatio contra unum Monachum' (Lewis, 'Life of Wiclif,' app. 30) relates not to 1366, but to a later time, probably 1377; and maintains that his political career begins with his commission at Bruges in 1374. As for the monk whom he opposed, Professor Loserth takes him for a friar, which is contrary to English usage: the identification remains a puzzle. The writer concludes by an examination of Wycliffe's political doctrine in the treatises 'De Dominio divino' and 'de civili Dominio.' Some documents are added, with a calendar of rescripts of Gregory XI relative to England, 1374-1377. The monograph is of high importance for the study of the sequence and contents of Wycliffe's writings].—SB. Akad. Wiss. Wien. cxxvii. 1.
- Inventory and sale of goods at St. Peter's, Cornhill* [1546-1552]. II, III.—Antiquary, N.S., 94, 95. Oct., Nov.
- Elizabethan village surveys* [illustrated from the monuments of King's College, Cambridge]: by W. J. CORBETT.—Trans. R. Hist. Soc., N.S., xi.
- Sir Kenelm Digby*: by J. HOPWOOD.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 24. Oct.
- The case of Elizabeth Canning*: by C. KENNY [who reargues the *cause célèbre* of 1753-1754, and convicts the prisoner].—Law Qu. Rev. 52. Oct.
- Samuel Butler, head master of Shrewsbury school* [1798-1836] and afterwards bishop of Lichfield.—Church Qu. Rev. 89. Oct.
- Sheriffs and coroners in Scotland*: by H. COWAN [who gives some useful particulars about the sheriffs, not, however, unmixed with fables].—Scott. Rev. 60. Oct.

Italy

- The early archives of Florence*: by D. MARZI [notices of the various groups of documents, twelfth to fourteenth century].—Arch. stor. Ital. 5th ser., xx. 3.
- Documents* [1226] used by Corio illustrating the history of the Lombard league: by F. GÜTERBOCK.—N. Arch. xxiii. 1.
- The acts of the podestà of Savona* [1250]: described from a manuscript in the archives at Savona by G. CARO.—N. Arch. xxiii. 1.
- Facino Cane and the Guelfo-Ghibelline wars in North Italy*: by E. GALLI [continued to 1395].—Arch. stor. Lomb. 3rd ser. xv.
- The origin of the name 'The Two Sicilies'*: by G. ROMANO [who traces to papal influence the limitation of 'regnum Sicilise' to the mainland kingdom, while 'Trinacria' designated the island, but shows that this nomenclature was not accepted in popular usage. 'Regnum utriusque Sicilise' came in with Alfonso of Aragon in 1442. An unpublished oration of Lorenzo Valla bearing on the question is here printed].—Arch. stor. Napol. xxii. 3.

- Innocent VI and Joanna I of Naples*; unpublished documents from the Vatican archives: printed by F. CERASOLI. II.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxii. 3.
- A commercial ordinance of Trani* [1394]: printed by G. BELTRANI.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxii. 3.
- Letters of Piero de' Medici to Otto Niccolini and Matteo Palmieri* [ambassadors at Rome 1467-1469]: by GINEVRA NICCOLINI [the letters relate to the peace negotiations which closed the Colleonian war].—Arch. stor. Ital. 5th ser. xx. 3.
- The municipality of Milan and its resistance to the Spanish inquisition in 1563*: by E. VERGA. [The municipality and nobles dwell on the inevitable ruin of trade. The opposition of the Milanese clergy at Milan, Rome, and Trent is notable. Even the Spanish governor, the duke of Sessa, disapproved of Philip's project. The unpublished bull of Pius IV and the remonstrances of the municipality are printed.] Arch. stor. Lomb. 3rd ser. xv.
- Paolo Sarpi*: by HORATIO F. BROWN.—Scott. Rev. 60. Oct.
- Gambling at Naples during the Spanish period*: by G. CECI.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxii. 3, concluded.
- Freemasonry at Naples in the eighteenth century*: by M. D'AYALA.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxii. 3.

Russia

- Sketches of Russian criminal law according to Russkaia Pravda*: by J. ROZHKOV [from the Russian code of the eleventh century].—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. Nov.
- The oldest redactions of the chronicle of Nestor*: by A. SHAKHMATOV.—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. Oct.
- The retirement of A. Ordin-Nastchokin* [the minister of the emperor Alexis] and his relations to the Malo-Russian question: by V. EINHORN.—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. Nov.
- The emperor Paul in his acts and orders. II.* [characteristics and anecdotes].—Russk. Starina. Nov.
- Catherine Nelidov* [1758-1839]: by E. SHUMIGORSKI [giving details of the private life of the emperor Paul].—Istorich. Viestnik. Oct., Nov.
- Alexander I and his time. I: 1801-1810*: by V. TIMIRIAZEV.—Istorich. Viestnik. Oct.
- Count Speranski and count Arakcheiev* [the two ministers of Alexander I], from the recollections of G. BATENKOV.—Russk. Starina. Oct.
- The movements of the Russian army from Moscow to Krasnaia Pakhra* [1812]: by A. POPOV.—Russk. Starina. Sept., Oct.
- Contributions to the history of the reign of the emperor Nicholas I* [letters and anecdotes].—Russk. Starina. Nov.
- Recollections of the Polish insurrection of 1863*: by I. PONOMAREV.—Istorich. Viestnik. Sept., Oct.

Spain

- Spanish historic monuments*: by J. L. POWELL. I: A mosque and synagogues in Toledo. II: El Cristo de la Luz.—Antiquary, N.S., 95, 96. Nov., Dec.
- Yoles (Yolande), queen of Aragon*: by L. THALLÓCZY.—Századok. Sept.
- Don Alonso de Ercilla* [the author of 'Araucana'] and the order of Santiago: by F. DE UHAGON [giving the genealogical proofs of his qualification for admission; so strict was the inquiry, that it occupies 155 pages of print].—Boletín de la R. Acad. Hist. xxxi. 1-3. July-Sept.

America and Colonies

- The proprietary province as a form of colonial government. II*: by H. L. OSGOOD.—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 1.
- The causes of Know-Nothing success in Massachusetts*: by G. H. HAYNES [explained as a revolt of the native-born against Irish Roman catholic immigrants].—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 1.
- Goree and its intermittent dependence on England* [1663-1817]: by W. F. LORD.—Trans. R. Hist. Soc., N.S., xi.

List of Recent Historical Publications

I. GENERAL HISTORY

(Including works of miscellaneous contents)

- BARTH (P.) Die Philosophie der Geschichte als Sociologie. I: Einleitung und kritische Uebersicht. Pp. 396. Leipzig: Reisland. 8 m.
- BROGLIE (duc de). Histoire et politique. Pp. 499. Paris: C. Lévy. 7-50 f.
- FRACCAROLI (G.) Dei codici greci del monastero del ss. Salvatore che si conservano nella biblioteca universitaria di Messina. Pp. 28. Florence: tip. Bencini.
- LANGLOIS (C. V.) & SEIGNOBOS (C.) Introduction aux études historiques. Pp. 308. Paris: Hachette.
- GOEBEL (H.) Das Philosophische in Humes Geschichte von England. Pp. 114. Marburg: Elwert. 2-40 m.
- LETOURNEAU (C.) Évolution du commerce dans les diverses races humaines. Paris: Vigot. 9 f.
- MADAN (F.) A summary catalogue of western manuscripts in the Bodleian library at Oxford. IV: Nos. 16670-24330. Pp. 715. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 25/.
- MANDARINI (E.) I codici manoscritti della biblioteca Oratoriana di Napoli, illustrati. Pp. 403. Naples: tip. Festa. 4to. 35 l.
- MEIXNER (O.) Historischer Rückblick auf die Verpflegung der Armeen im Felde. II. Pp. 196. Vienna: Seidel. (4-40 m.)
- MORPURGO (S.) I manoscritti della r. biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze; manoscritti italiani. I, 7. Pp. 481-560. Rome: Loescher. 1 l.
- ΠΑΡΑΔΟΦΟΥΛΟΣ - KERAMEUS (A.) Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδικῶν. III. St. Petersburg. (Leipzig: Harrassowitz.) Pp. 440. (20 m.)
- PERTILE. Storia del diritto. II, 1. Pp. 156. Turin.
- POOLE (R. L.) Historical atlas of modern Europe from the decline of the Roman empire, comprising also maps of parts of Asia and of the New World connected with European history; ed. by. XIII, XIV. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 4to. Each 3/6.
- SCHENK (H.) Bibliotheca patrum Latinorum Britannica, bearb. von. II, 2: Die Bibliotheken der Colleges in Cambridge. I. Pp. 80. Vienna: Gerold. (1-80 m.)

II. ORIENTAL HISTORY

- Arif; Tabari continuatus, quem edidit M. J. de Goeje. Pp. 213. Leyden: Brill.
- CHABOT (J. B.) L'école de Nisibe; son histoire, ses statuts. Pp. 55. Paris: impr. Nationale.
- CHILJS (J. A. van der). Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek [1602-1811]. XV: 1808-1809. Pp. 1164. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- CORDEIRO (L.) Batalhas da India; como se perdeu Ormuz; processo inedito do seculo XVII. Pp. 76. Lisbon: impr. Nacional.
- DUBOIS (J. A.) Hindu manners, customs, and ceremonies. Tr. by H. K. Beauchamp. 2 vol. Pp. xxxvi, 730. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- HOMMEL (F.) Die altisraelitische Ueberlieferung in inschriftlicher Beleuchtung: ein Einspruch gegen die Aufstellungen der modernen Pentateuchkritik. Pp. 356. Munich: Lukaschik. 5-60 m.
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- NIZAM OUL-MOULK (vizir). Siasset Namèh. Traité de gouvernement, composé pour le sultan Melik-Cháh. Texte persan édité par C. Schefer. Supplément. Paris: Leroux. 15 f.
- PETERS (J. P.) Nippur, or explorations and adventures on the Euphrates. II. Pp. 420. London: Putnam. 12/6.
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- BAHRFELDT (M.) Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde der römischen Republik im Anschluss an Babelon's Verzeichniss der Consular-Münzen. Pp. 316, illustr. Vienna. (Paris: Welter.) (16 f.)
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- LANCIANI (R.) Forma urbis Romae, dimensus et ad modulum 1: 1000 delineavit. Milan. 25 l.
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- WOODHOUSE (W. J.) Aetolia, its geography, topography, and antiquities. Pp. 398. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 21/.

IV. ECCLESIASTICAL, MEDIEVAL, AND MODERN HISTORY

(For works relating to the history of FRANCE, GERMANY, GREAT BRITAIN, and ITALY, see the special sections below.)

- ANDRÉ (P.) Geheime Konferensraad Carl Georg Andræ. I. Pp. 332. Copenhagen. (9 m.)
- AUBIGNÉ (Agrippa d') Histoire universelle. IX: 1594-1602; édité par A. de Ruble. Pp. 486. Paris: Laurens. 9 f.
- BAIN (R. N.) The pupils of Peter the Great; a history of the Russian court and empire [1697-1740]. Pp. 318. Westminster: Constable. 15/.
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- BRÜCKNER (A.) Julian von Eclanum, sein Leben und seine Lehre; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pelagianismus. (Gebhardt & Harnack's Texte und Untersuchungen. XV, 3.) Leipzig: Hinrichs.
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- CAIS DE PIERLAS (E.) La ville de Nice pendant le premier siècle de la domination des princes de Savoie; documents inédits. Pp. 558. Turin: Bocca. 24 l.
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- CUSANI VISCONTI (L.) Sulle ricerche compiute dalle flotte inglesi negli anni 1798, 1799, e 1805. Pp. 30. Leghorn: tip. Debate. 4to.
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- FERNÁNDEZ DURO (C.) Armada española, desde la unión de los reinos de Castilla y de Aragón. III. Pp. 522. Madrid: Rivadeneyra. 4to.
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- FRANCISCANA, Analecta, sive chronica

- aliaque varia documenta ad historiam fratrum minorum spectantia, edita a patribus collegii s. Bonaventurae. III. Pp. 748. Quaracchi: tip. s. Bonaventurae. 12 l.
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- HARRISON (F.) William the Silent. Pp. 260. London: Macmillan. 2/6.
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- HAZEN (C. D.) Contemporary American opinion of the French revolution. Pp. 315. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- HJLMANS (P.) Histoire parlementaire de la Belgique. III. Pp. 202. Brussels: Bruylant. 4.50 f.
- HUME (M. A. S.) Philip II of Spain. Pp. 262. London: Macmillan. 2/6.
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- MOTTAZ (E.) Stanislas Poniatowski et Maurice Glayre; correspondance relative aux partages de la Pologne. Pp. li, 303. Paris: C. Lévy. 18mo. 3.50 f.
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THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

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The Early History of Babylonia

II. THE RULERS OF SHIRPURLA OR LAGASH

IN a previous paper I described some of the important new materials for the history of the Babylonian plain which have been the fruit of the American excavations at Nuffar. I shall now pass to the French discoveries at Tell Loh. Before doing so it will be convenient, however, to state shortly the present position of the much-debated question as to the affinities of the language of primitive Chaldea, and the racial connexion of the people who spoke it.

Among the earliest discoveries of the Assyriologists was the fact that the syllabic and phonetic characters in which the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions were written were merely modified and condensed forms of ideographs, very much as was the hieratic writing of the Egyptians, which was derived from the hieroglyphic script; and a considerable number of these primitive ideographs were recovered. On examining the ideographs which represented objects and ideas graphically, it was speedily discovered that the sounds which the characters bore in the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions had in most cases no connexion whatever with the names of the objects (represented by the primitive ideographs) in the same languages, and the conclusion forced itself upon Dr. Hincks and others that the writing was not home-made among the Assyrians and Babylonians, but had been borrowed by them from some race in whose language the names of the objects represented and the sounds of the characters corresponded.

This hypothetical language was presently found to have left a very large number of actual specimens in texts composed entirely

in it; and not only so, but a large number of dictionaries and vocabularies were recovered in which the words were explained by the corresponding terms in Babylonian and Assyrian. For this primitive language Dr. Hincks proposed what has turned out to be the not very fortunate name of Akkadian; and it was gradually shown that the Semitic Assyrians and Babylonians had derived not only their writing, but a considerable part of their literature also, from this language, and that in all human probability the main part of the culture and civilisation of the Assyrians and Babylonians was borrowed from the so-called Akkadians.

This fact was a stumbling-block to some, who were loth to believe that the Semitic races, to whom the lamp of culture seems at certain historical periods to have been especially entrusted, should have borrowed their early culture and letters from others. Among them, one of the most learned and acute was the distinguished Hebrew scholar, M. Halévy, of Paris. Before he had studied Assyrian he committed himself to the extraordinary position that this so-called Akkadian language was no language at all, but a cryptic form of writing, invented by the Semitic literary men of Babylonia, just as Sanscrit was declared by Dugald Stewart to have been a mere invention of the Brahmins. This extraordinary contention he has fought for with pertinacity and ingenuity in the teeth of every kind of evidence. For a while his view acquired a somewhat factitious importance from the fact that Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, the Assyrian lexicographer, gave him some countenance; but he also has now abandoned him and reverted to his older view, which is that of every other Assyriologist of any repute; and well may it be so. That in very primitive times the Assyrians should have commenced by inventing cryptic ideograms in which the sound and sense were entirely at variance; that they should have constructed not merely characters and words, but a whole grammar and syntax; that they should have carefully and painfully prepared vocabularies and dictionaries of this tongue, and taken the trouble to translate a large number of documents out of it—these are staggering facts in themselves which could be supplemented by many others. But that they should have had the wit and inspiration to construct a cryptic speech which corresponds *in vocabulary* and grammar so closely to a well-known non-Semitic form of human speech far removed in every way from it, and should then have employed it not for secret or religious writings, but for the ordinary everyday work of life—for conveying land and for all the deeds and documents which have been preserved in tens of thousands, in which peasants and merchants recorded their homely arrangements and their daily business transactions—assuredly transcends all human possibilities.

When it was seen that the oldest literature and records in the

Babylonian lands were enshrined in an unsuspected language, and that materials for its study abounded, it was natural that it should attract the attention of scholars. Oppert, Sayce, Lenormant, and Hommel especially addressed themselves to the comparative affinities of the tongue, and speedily concluded that its nearest living allies were to be found among the languages of northern Asia. This view was first emphasised by Oppert. The great bulk of these latter tongues belonged to one generic class, separated into two well-marked divisions, one including the Turkish and Mongolian and Manchu languages, and the other the various forms of Finnish speech. The chief contention has been whether the so-called Akkadian speech belonged to the former or to the latter of these divisions. Lenormant favoured the Finnish affinity, which was disputed by the Finn scholar, Donner. Others, and notably Hommel, have favoured and apparently established on scientific and permanent grounds the Mongolo-Turcic affinity of the language. Mr. Sayce says of Hommel's researches in this field :

He has succeeded in discovering the leading laws of phonetic change between Akkado-Sumerian and the modern Turkish dialects, and has thus fulfilled the primary conditions of proof demanded by linguistic science. The structure, the grammar, the phonology, the vocal harmony, and the vocabulary, all go to show that the primitive language of Chaldea is a remotely ancient representative of the Altaic form of speech.

Such I believe to be the truest and best conclusion from the facts. I ought to mention that the latest and one of the most elaborate examinations of the problem is to be found in a work on the inscriptions of Shamas shumukin, the king of Babylon, by Lehmann, who of course strongly supports the conclusions of the great mass of Assyriologists. Let us now turn to another side of the issue.

Every one who has written about the origin and relationship of the primitive people of Chaldea has been apparently baffled by the contradiction between the physical character of the race and its language. The language, as we have seen, is closely allied to that spoken by the Turks; the appearance of the people is entirely different from that of any Turkish race. As we have seen,¹ they were probably chocolate or black in colour, while the shape of their faces and their general appearance were in marked distinction from that of the so-called Turanian races. I would venture upon a suggestion to which the key seems a long way off. It was first elaborated by Baron Eckstein, more than forty years ago, and was supported by two such famous explorers as Lepsius and Sir Henry Rawlinson. In India we find that there have been two civilised peoples, who have affected its history and who constitute the elements best worth studying in the population of the country. These are the so-called Aryans of northern India, or Hindostan

¹ *Ante*, p. 3.

proper, speaking languages derived from Sanscrit, and south of the Vindhya hills an entirely different race, divided into several sections, all related to each other, possessed of a very old culture, having a remarkably dark chocolate complexion, and now speaking languages all known generically as Dravidian, of which the main forms or dialects are Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, and Malayalim. Some look upon these tribes as aboriginal; others, on the other hand, have argued that they were not aborigines, but invaded the country at a very early time, before the Aryans did so, and settled where they are now found. For our present purpose it is only material to realise that this Dravidian stock at one time extended much further than it does at present—that it forms the basis of the population of Hindostan proper, as well as of southern India, and that the lowest, or Sudra class, in most parts of western and southern India is essentially of Dravidian blood, the Aryan elements forming a mere veneer and covering. Next it is material to remember that this primitive Dravidian stock, which underlies the population of so much of India and retains its old language only in the south, once existed much beyond these limits. For the most part the tribes of Beluchistan speak dialects of the Iranian or Persian section of Aryan tongues, but their generally dark complexion and physical features betray their origin as one foreign to the Aryan stock. And in the mountainous provinces of Sarawan and Jhalawan, the very kernel of the country, there still survives a tribe—the Brahuis—whose language, although corrupted and overlaid by Persian, Afghan, and Hindu elements, is still substantially, as Bishop Caldwell showed, a Dravidian speech. There can be little doubt from their geographical position that the Brahuis form the aborigines of the country. They are specially described as differing from the other Beluchis by their thick-set frames, larger bones, and shorter figures, while they are also of much darker colour, and among them persons of fair complexion are never found. It seems plain that the Dravidians of India and this dark race of Beluchistan were at one time in geographical contact, and that the two have been isolated by the encroachment of the Aryan races, both of the Sanscrit and Iranian stocks.

Herodotus, in enumerating the satrapies of Darius, tells us the seventeenth satrapy comprised the Paricanians and Asiatic Ethiopians, and they furnished a tribute of 400 talents.² These Asiatic Ethiopians, he again tells us, were associated with the Indians, and differed from the African Ethiopians only in their language and in their hair. The eastern Ethiopians had straight hair, while the African ones had it curly.³ Rennell and Rawlinson agree that these Asiatic Ethiopians of Herodotus must have occupied the tract intervening between Eastern Persia, or Carmania,

² Herodotus, iii. 94.

³ *Ibid.* vii. 70.

the modern Kerman, and the mouths of the Indus. Here alone, *out of India*, could blacks (at this time) have been found. Rawlinson urges that they were the ancestors of the Brahuīs and represent the people of Kusan or Kush mentioned in this district in Sassanian times. The same district was the Gedrosia of the historians of the campaigns of Alexander the Great.

When we get further west than Beluchistan, into Kerman and Fars, or Persia proper, we reach a district which has been more completely aryanised by the Iranian race, which is of course dominant in Persia. But there is every reason to believe that these Iranians were invaders, whose advent cannot be placed further back than the seventh or eighth century B.C.

Who, then, occupied Fars and Kerman before the Iranian invasion? Unfortunately we have no linguistic *boulders* like that formed by the Brahui in Beluchistan; but we have remains of another kind—namely, the physical features of the inhabitants of the coast—which distinctly point to these districts having been occupied at one time by a black race. This race we cannot help connecting with their black neighbours further east, whom we have already described. Traces of it grow more abundant as we travel northwards along the eastern shores of the Persian Gulf, and reach the province of Arabistan, corresponding to the Susiana and Elam of ancient writers. I will quote from the latest authority on the ethnography of these parts, namely, M. Dieulafoy:—

At Dizful, Susa, Kona and Ram Ormuz in Susiana; at Gourek, Haaram, Linga, and Bender Abbas in Fars and Kerman, live Negritoes crossed with Aryans or Arabs, and partially also with Baktyaris. . . . My wife and I had found a Negrito mixed people in the villages between Bushire and the southern flanks of the mountains of Fars. Afterwards came the mission to Susiana, which found the same mixed Negritoes between Bender Abbas and Dizful, where there still live from 15,000 to 20,000 degenerate Negritoes.⁴

Of these types he gives several figures. The survival of a black race in these parts is not our only evidence. M. Dieulafoy says elsewhere:

The discovery in the Parthian necropolis of the Memnonium (at Susa) of Negrito skulls; the Negroid type of the Elamites as depicted on the Assyrian sculptures; the famous frieze of black Susian archers, dating from the time of the Achæmenian dynasty, confirm the statements of the classic writers about the Oriental Ethiopians. . . . The Khusis, abject, ugly, and of a copper colour approaching to black, who, according to Yakut, in the tenth to the thirteenth century still lived on in these countries, were no doubt the ancestors of the black race we still find there.⁵ Ibn Haukal, an Arab geographer of the tenth century, speaks of the language of the Khuzi of Khuzistan as different from Hebrew, Syriac, or Farsi.

⁴ *L'Acropole de Suse*, 8.

⁵ Quatremère, *Journ. des Savants* 1840, pp. 411, 412,

M. Dieulafoy concludes that Susian Negritoes occupied the eastern shores of the Persian Gulf from the Tigris to the Persian Gulf.⁶ It may be noticed that Strabo, Pausanias, and Diodorus Siculus tell us that Memnon took 10,000 Ethiopians and Susianians to the siege of Troy. These must have been the black Susians. Ethiopians were represented on the vase which the sculptor Phidias put into the hand of the figure of Nemesis, carved from a piece of marble which the Persians had brought with them to the field of Marathon; and Memnon's own father, Tithon, who by some is made the brother of Priam, is said by Aeschylus to have married a Kissian woman, *i.e.* a woman of Kush.

It is clear, therefore, that we have good warranty for extending the black race from Cape Comorin as far as the Tigris, and it does not seem improbable that this race originally was Dravidian in blood. This brings us immediately into contact with the black race which, as we have seen, occupied Chaldea at the earliest period to which we can carry back our story. Assuredly the facts point to this race also having belonged to the same stock—a stock to which the writer of Genesis gives the name of Cush, just as Herodotus gives the name of Kissia to Susiana, and as the Arab writers give the name of Kusan to Beluchistan.

This conclusion, however, unlocks only one half of the riddle. The black people whom we have called Cushites, so far as the foregoing evidence goes, were probably Dravidians in blood; but the language spoken by the primitive race of Chaldea was, as we have seen, of Turkish or Mongolian affinities. How is this to be reconciled? The history of the Cushites, so far as we know it, is that of a race which has been continuously encroached upon by its more vigorous neighbours—in India by the Hindu Aryans coming from the north; in Persia by the Iranians, also coming from the north. In Susiana, and, as I believe, also in Chaldea, the race which pressed upon them in the first instance was that of the true Elamites, a race of mountaineers who occupied the Zagros and other highlands behind and to the north of the Tigris lowlands, and whose language is preserved in the third column of the Behistun inscription, which was a close ally of the language of the primitive Chaldeans, and belongs to the same Turkish stock. The ancient authors who speak of Elam describe it as peopled by two races: the Elamites proper—the Elymæans of Herodotus and later writers, by whom the mountaineers seem to be meant; and the Kissians—the people of the Susianian plain and the lowlands between the Tigris and the Persian Gulf and the mountains, who were otherwise called Ethiopians by the Greeks. Ezra (iv. 9) distinguishes the Elamites and Shushanchites—that is, the mountaineers from the people of the plain. In my view, the Kissians of Susiana and the Cushites of

⁶ *L'Acropole de Suse*, 27, 28, and 38.

Chaldea were of the same race, and both were overwhelmed and conquered at a very early time by the Elamites. In the heroic legend of Gilgamesh, which goes back beyond the present reach of history, we find him struggling with Kumbaba, the king of the Elamites, and the struggle of the children of Cush with the children of Elam seems to be the earliest real event of which our available legends tell us.

This being so, we may perhaps find in the corresponding case of the people of Ceylon a clue to the puzzle we started to explain. In blood they are like (what I take the people of Chaldea to have been) Dravidians, but in language they speak a tongue—Cinghalese—which is very Aryan in vocabulary, but which has Dravidian traces in its grammar, and which is due to the conquest of the Dravidians of the island by the Aryans. Thus would I explain the language of the Chaldeans as the result of the conquest of the original Cushite race by the Elamites; and when that language is better known it is not improbable that it will be found to have a Dravidian substratum, perhaps a well-marked one, together with a strongly Turanian vocabulary and syntax. This I would propose at present as the most probable solution of the problem.

We have not quite completed our survey. The conclusion seems reasonable that just as the Aryans pushed the Dravidians of India into its southern provinces, and the Dravidians of Beluchistan into the mountains and towards the seaboard, so did the true Arabs, the so-called Yoktanids, push the primitive folk who occupied the greater part of Arabia more and more towards the sea coast. The seaboard of Arabia, from the Euphrates right round to the Red Sea, and even up to the gulf of Akaba, was undoubtedly in early times occupied by a dark race known as Himyarites, &c. They were originally, so far as we can judge, a non-Semitic people, but were gradually infused with Semitic blood, and their speech was gradually overlaid by Semitic elements, so that the race became what their descendants, who migrated to Africa, namely, the Abyssinians, largely are—a race of Cushite blood and descent, speaking to a large extent a Semitic language. The Abyssinians still have as neighbours, however, tribes and races more or less sophisticated, but belonging very largely to this same Cushite stock, namely, the Gallas and Somalis in the east and south, and the Bisharas, Hadendowas, and other Ethiopic tribes proper on the western seaboard of the Red Sea and further inland. We may therefore suppose that once a more or less continuous dark race belonging to the same branch of the human family occupied the maritime districts bordering on the Indian Ocean from Cape Comorin to Southern Abyssinia. It was this race, to which the name Cushite is given, which occupied such a large place in the earliest traditions of human culture, and which was the fertile mother of many

inventions and of many new departures in the history of our race.

The beginnings of human history in Babylonia and elsewhere are very largely the history of the appropriation of this culture by the light-coloured races—by Aryans, Turanians, and Semites. The appropriation had long begun when we first meet with available records; and in the flat lands of the Euphrates and the Tigris, at the time we are writing about, we seem to have reached the second chapter of the story. In the first, the Cushites were conquered by and coalesced with the Elamites; and in the second, the mixed race thus formed was being invaded and sophisticated by the Semites.

Let us now turn again to the results of recent research in the Babylonian plain. At one time it would appear that the *main* branch of the Tigris, instead of flowing along its present stately channel, the Shatt al Arab, along which no ruin-heaps or traces of old towns occur, turned aside at Kut al Amara and followed the course of the now shrunken stream known as the Shatt al Hai (*i.e.* the River of the Serpent, so called from its meandering course). The Shatt al Hai has itself, no doubt, had vicissitudes, and, like most rivers running through deltas, has shifted its course more or less. While M. de Sarzec, the French vice-consul at Bussora, seems to argue as if the Shatt al Hai was originally a canal, Mr. Rassam distinctly contradicts him, and says that no artificial banks &c. are to be found on it. As it leaves the Tigris, and for a short distance on its way, it almost rivals that famous river in size; but it presently shrinks into a smaller space, and divides into two branches a few hours' journey below Shashtra, and joins the Euphrates by two outlets, one between Es Sheyak and Nasrieh and the other an hour's journey below Nasrieh. In very early times its waters apparently flowed along a now forsaken bed, described by M. de Sarzec as some distance from the present left bank of the river. It is near this old river-bed, on its left bank and between the villages of Zirghul and Tell Loh, that lie the scattered mounds of Tell Loh, explained by Schefer as meaning the Mound of the Written Tablet. They are more than six kilomètres in extent, and are distant about twelve hours' journey from the mounds at Warka (the ancient Erech).

The mounds at Tell Loh were opened a few years ago by Mr. Rassam, who secured a few objects from them for the British Museum; but they have been only really explored in quite recent years by M. de Sarzec, who has pursued his digging there with great patience and scientific care since 1877, and has unearthed a very important series of artistic remains and inscriptions. These are being published in a most admirable work by the very competent hands of M. L. Heuzey, whose commentary upon them is as learned as it is ingenious. It is chiefly from their combined labours that

we have recovered some notion of the appearance and surroundings of Chaldean towns and buildings at the beginning of history, such as I embodied in my previous paper. To that account I would add a description of a modern Chaldean town, which probably gives us a very effective echo of what its predecessor was like six thousand years ago, namely, the modern Bussora.

The walls of Bussora (we are told) have five gates, and are, at the lowest computation, about seven miles in circuit. Two canals cut from the river surround the town on either side, and, uniting beyond it on the western side, form a complete ditch to the fortifications. The houses are meanly built, partly of sun-dried and partly of burnt bricks, with flat roofs, surrounded by a parapet; and the bazaars, though stocked with the richest merchandise, are miserable structures, not arched as in Baghdad and the Persian towns, but covered with mats laid on rafters of date trees, which hardly afford protection from the scorching rays of the sun; the streets are irregular, narrow, and unpaved, and the town is disgustingly filthy. Of the vast area within the walls, the greater proportion is occupied with gardens and plantations of palm trees, intersected by a number of little canals.

The inscriptions found in the mounds at Tell Loh speak of two towns which were apparently in close proximity. Of one of these the name was read Girsu by Amiaud and by M. Heuzey, but Hommel and Jensen have suggested that it ought to be read Sugir. In this Hilprecht agrees; and he further argues that this is the original form of the famous name which was corrupted by the Semites into Sumer or Shumir, and which, as Dr. Haigh was the first to show, is the same as the Biblical Shinar. This view is ingenious, but is surrounded with considerable doubts, and I would therefore prefer to retain the original transcription of the name, *i.e.* Girsu, until some definite evidence is forthcoming. It is curious that the God who was especially cultivated by the early kings to be presently referred to was always called by them, not by his specific name, but by the appellation Nin Girsu, or E Girsu, *i.e.* the lord of Girsu.⁷ He was the son of In lil, or Il lil, the great Bel of Nippur, and answered to the Marduk or Merodach of the later Babylonians, which may, indeed, have been his actual name. Girsu was apparently the ecclesiastical capital of the kingdom we are dealing with, as Nippur was of that of Kengi, and it has been suggested that it was situated where the mound of Tell Id is now situated, where there has been found an inscription of a later king, named Dungi, recording the building of temples at Girsu. While Girsu was probably their ecclesiastical capital, the secular capital was

⁷ The first particle in the name is generally read Nin. Mr. Pinches suggests that it should be read É, since the character Nin has, as glosses show, the value of *e* in certain names of gods; but until a definite conclusion is possible it is better to retain the conventional word so widely used,

called Shir pur la, or Sir pur ra.⁸ Its ruins are apparently enclosed in the mounds at Tell Loh.

Mr. Pinches has discovered in a bilingual text a phonetic transcript of the name Shirpurla which reads Lagash; and it ought to be noted that Hommel long ago read the same name on a signet cylinder belonging to a person whose name is erased, and who called himself patési of Laghash. The cylinder is also marked by the figure of a spread eagle with a lion's head, of which other examples have occurred at Shirpurla, and which seems to be the emblem of the god Nin Girsu. Lagash is like Umliash and other similar names, and may be of Elamite or Kassite etymology. It seems to have been a later name given to the earlier Shirpurla.

According to Hilprecht, the remains found at Tell Loh are younger than the very oldest records he has published from Nuffar, while they may possibly overlap with the later ones already described. M. F. Thureau Danguin contests his proofs, although he does not definitely separate himself from his conclusions. As we have seen, the earliest records we possess point to a struggle between two rival communities in Lower Babylonia, Kish and Kengi, in which the rulers of a third country, whose name is doubtfully read as Gisban or Upi, took a part. The more recent discoveries, and especially an inscription to be presently described,⁹ make it absolutely plain that Hilprecht's identification of Gisban or Upi with Harran cannot be sustained. It is quite clear that this Gisban or Upi and the territory controlled by the old people who lived at Tell Loh were in proximity, if not in contact with each other, and it tends to support Father Scheil's conjectures about its position. It would also seem from M. Thureau Danguin's criticism that there is not yet much foundation for the opinion that the people of Gisban or Upi were Semites or a semitised community. They would rather appear to have been of a very similar stock to their enemies and rivals at Shirpurla, as would in fact be judged from their appearance on the carvings where the two are represented. It may be, indeed, that by Gisban or Upi we are to understand the districts of Susiana, still known in the time of Herodotus as Kissia, and its borders, the flat plain between the Tigris and the Kurdish mountains; and that the struggles with Gisban or Upi, instead of meaning the advance of the Semites, meant pressure from Elam.

⁸ So Messrs. Pinches and Boscawen read it. The former explains it as meaning the City of the Raven, while the latter makes it mean City of Bright Light or Pyropolis. Hommel says it was written Sirgurla, but pronounced Sirgulla. Oppert agrees with him, *Comptes Rendus*, 1896, pp. 331-2. Amiaud and Winckler read the name as Sir bur la, but Hommel says bur is a late Semitic corruption of the original gur. See *Records of the Past*, n.s. i. 43; *Keilinschr. Bibl.* iii. 5; Hommel, *Gesch.* p. 200 note, p. 281 note, and p. 292; and *Babyl. Record*, vii. 2. Its name perhaps survives in that of the village of Zirghul already named.

⁹ Below, p. 228.

Among the various rulers whose remains have been found at Tell Loh, Dr. Jensen placed first one whose name has been generally read Uru Kagina.¹⁰ Hilprecht on palæographical grounds does the same, and further urges, as we have seen, that he lived later than the earliest rulers of Kengi and Kish whose inscriptions have been found at Nuffar, but may have been contemporary with the later ones. M. Heuzey in his latest notice of this king disagrees with the writers just named, and is disposed to put him later. It is not impossible that he represents the old primitive dynasty who were expropriated from Nippur by the men of Kish. It is at least curious that the name of his special patron-god—In shag—seems to be the same as the first two syllables in the name of the oldest king of Nippur—In shag sag ana; while the old supreme god of Nippur, In lil, was treated as the supreme god at Tell Loh by the kings and patésis there. Uru Kagina, as well as one of his successors, built a shrine for In lil, and another of them, Eannadu, calls himself *mupada Inlila ge*.

In one inscription, which is apparently his oldest record, Uru Kagina calls himself king (*lugal*) of Girsu. This inscription has been found on the fragments of a very large clay votive conc. The inscription on it, which is fragmentary, was published by Amiaud, whose insight into these ideographic inscriptions was remarkable, and whose early death was deplorable. Such readings are, of course, partially tentative only. The inscription, according to Amiaud, records the dedications and building of certain temples with their appurtenances. The first three lines are mutilated and missing, and no doubt when complete contained, as his other inscriptions contain, a reference to the god Nin Girsu, for whom Uru Kagina tells us he built or rebuilt his temple, and also built the *an ta shur ra*, apparently a storehouse of provisions, such as was attached to various temples, and also his palace (*ib gal* or *e gal*) of *Ti-ra-ash*. Uru Kagina then goes on to say he had built a temple for the goddess Bau (she was especially worshipped at Kish). Here there is a lacuna, in which it is probable that there was a reference to a temple built for the god Gal-alimma. When it begins again the inscription describes his building a temple for Dun Shagana (who is elsewhere called a son of Nin Girsu). This temple was called Ak kil. He also made some amulets (probably tablets of black and white stone, or of metal, which were placed under the foundations of the temple, are meant).¹¹ In this temple he apparently set up shrines for three lesser gods, of whom nothing

¹⁰ The first part of his name is uncertain. It was read Lugh by Oppert, but the reading Uru has been generally adopted. It apparently meant 'man'; Kagina means 'mountain,' and occurs sometimes as an appellation of a god, in which way it is doubtless used here, where it stands probably as an appellation of In lil.

¹¹ See *Records of the Past*, n.s. i. 71.

more is apparently known than their names, which have been read *Za za uru, Im ghud ên, and Gim mur ta ên a.* He then goes on to say he built a temple for the god *Nin sar*, a dependent (perhaps sword-bearer) of the god *Nin Girsu*. Here again we have a lacuna, which apparently contained a notice of the building of a temple to another god subordinate to *Nin Girsu*, for whom he also built a great tower or *ziggurat*. The inscription then tells us how *Uru Kagina* had built an *imsagga* (? image) for the god *In lil* in his temple of *E Adda* (*i.e.* the Temple of the Father), by which a daughter temple of that so called at *Nippur* is perhaps meant; and further, how he excavated the canal *Ni na ki tum a* for the goddess *Nina*, at the mouth of which he placed some building. This canal has been supposed to be the *Khaussar*, or river of *Nineveh*. *Amiaud* argues, however, that it may have been a choked-up canal found by *M. de Sarzec* near *Tell Loh*.¹²

It is a great pity that this inscription is so much mutilated. The gap, however, can partially be filled up from a second inscription on a buttress found at *Shirpurla*. In this second inscription, in which the beginning is less injured, the god *Nin Girsu* is apostrophised as the warrior of *In lil* (*i.e.* of the great *Bel* of *Nippur*). The first thirteen lines of the two inscriptions were virtually identical, except that on this second one *Uru Kagina* calls himself king of *Shir pur la*, instead of king of *Girsu*. Line 14 refers to the god *Gal alimma*, whose name doubtless occurred in a gap at this point in the first inscription. This line is a solitary one, however, intervening between two lacunæ. In the remaining part of the inscription the building of temples is mentioned; one to the god *Ninsar*, who is described as sword-bearer (?) to *Nin Girsu*, and another to a lesser god, whose name is lost, apostrophised as the well-beloved of *Nin Girsu*, in the latter case a *ziggurat* or tower being added to the temple. Reference is next made, as in the previous inscription, to the temple of *In lil* known as *E Adda*; and finally we are given the name of the great temple of *Nin Girsu* at *Shirpurla*, *i.e.* *E melam kurra* (the Temple of the Brilliance of the Mountain). This inscription breaks off abruptly and was never finished; perhaps a sign that the reign of *Uru Kagina*, who erected the buttress on which it was inscribed, also came abruptly to an end while the building was being erected.¹³

A third inscription of the same king is preserved in the collection of *M. de Clercq*, and has been recently published in facsimile, with a long commentary, in the magnificent catalogue of that collection by *M. Menant*. It has been translated by *Menant*, by *Oppert*, and by *Amiaud*. Their translations differ a good deal in details, but are substantially agreed. I prefer to follow *Amiaud*. As in the preceding inscription *Uru Kagina* speaks of constructing

¹² *E. de Sarzec, Découvertes en Chaldée*, plate 32; *Records of the Past*, n.s. i, 71, 72.

¹³ *Records of the Past*, n.s. i. 69-71.

certain works which we cannot be quite clear about; one of these has been translated 'a House of Abundance.' This seems to have been a storehouse of provisions, like a tithe barn of a medieval monastery. From this inscription we further learn that the temple of the god Gal alimma was known as Eme gal ghush an ki, and on it he also claims to have built the temple of Eninnû or 'the Fifty,' which name Heuzey treats as a synonym of that of the Temple of the Brilliance of the Mountain already named. Perhaps the most interesting paragraph in this inscription is the last. In some way or other each of the early kings of this dynasty, and perhaps of other dynasties, had a special god of his own—a *deus domesticus*; whether he was a form or emanation of some other known god I cannot say. In this case Uru Kagina apostrophises In Shagh (or In dun, Nin Shagh or Nin dun, as his name is variously read), and he apparently prays that In Shagh will continually during the life of the king prostrate himself on his behalf (*i.e.* mediate) before the god Nin Girsu.¹⁴ A fourth inscription with the name of Uru Kagina occurs on a piece of a broken alabaster or calcite vase in the British Museum (N. 12030 + 82. 7. 14. 1018), a tracing of which has been kindly sent me by my friend Mr. L. W. King. It is mutilated, and we can only learn from it that Uru Kagina, who calls himself king (*lugal*) of Shirpurla, dedicated the vase to Nin Girsu. This is probably the oldest object from Babylonia in the Museum. A fifth inscription of the same king has been recently discovered at Tell Loh, and is now at Constantinople. It is not yet published.

M. Heuzey has figured and described certain bas-reliefs which, from their style and from their having been found below the remains which date from the time of another king named Ur Nina, must be placed at the beginning of the art of sculpture as discovered at Tell Loh. These we may provisionally place under Uru Kagina. One of them¹⁵ is a broken tablet with the very rude representation of four figures, forming part, no doubt, of what was once a considerable group. M. Heuzey has explained the figures as representing part of the story of the hero Gilgamesh and the goddess Nina or Ishtar. She is seated, and wears the divine horned and plumed biretta on her head, from which her hair falls down in two tresses behind. Her left arm and hand are enveloped in a mantle, while in her right one she holds an object which she is offering to a little figure, apparently of a naked child, of which only the upper and mutilated half remains. The latter seems to be holding an object in front of his face; perhaps he is the prototype of Adonis, namely, the Tammuz of the Chaldean myths. Standing with his back to the goddess is the naked and bearded figure of the hero

¹⁴ *Records of the Past*, n.s. i. 68 and 69.

¹⁵ See *Découvertes en Chaldée*, i. fig. 1

wearing a flat biretta and holding a club in his right hand, with which he is threatening a prisoner whose hands are bound in front of him. He is beardless, and may represent one of the Elamites against whom the goddess summoned Gilgamesh to succour her. The curious bas-relief is figured by M. de Sarzec (pl. 1, fig. 1), and is described on pages 103-105 of his text. On the same plate is shown a fragment of a small basin of dolomitic limestone, on which is figured a large bird with its wings closed.

On the succeeding plate (1 *bis*, figs. 1 *a* and *b*) we have represented on one side of a quadrilateral plaque a very primitive figure. The sculpture is in low relief, and it represents a person whose sex is doubtful. On its head are two tall plumes; the bust is nude, while its petticoat is tucked up at the waist. The garment is formed of a sort of lozenge pattern and decorated with a fringe. The hair of the figure, tied up by a ribbon, falls in a bunch on the neck. In front of the figure, which is standing to the left, stand three great poles, which are fixed in the ground. The figure holds one of them in its left hand; two of them are apparently terminated at the top by knobs or bulbs, and no doubt represent colossal ceremonial maces. The top of the third one is broken off. It probably bore the principal symbol. M. Heuzey thinks these maces mark the entrance to some sacred building, and that the figure is that of a worshipper. He compares the scene with that represented on a very early cylinder figured by him (plate 30, fig. 16), where a god, and not a worshipper, stands in front of similar uprights, two of them being evidently colossal maces, and the third being surmounted by what looks like a plant, from which depend two twisted cords or banderolles. They seem to me to recall the two pillars of Akhiz and Baaz which stood in front of the Jewish temple. The two surfaces of this plaque have inscriptions upon them, but these are so much decayed that they are illegible. The sign for statue, says M. Heuzey, occurs several times, as does the name of the god Nin Girsu.¹⁶ The tablet doubtless contained a list of the offerings made to the god, for the signs of numerals occur frequently on it.

On plate 1 *bis*, fig. 3, is represented a fragment of some curved stone object, probably a cistern or large bowl, with a frieze of figures in relief, of which other fragments have recently been found. The relief represents a procession of figures, some of them with long beards and with their hair arranged in a series of rolls, others clean-shaven. They are bare at least to the waist, and have the aquiline noses and projecting eyes characteristic of all the early figures. The greater part of them have their hands clasped on their breasts in the attitude of supplication. This is the case with five of the bearded figures, and with two others whose faces and heads are shaved.

¹⁶ *Op cit.* 166.

They seem to represent two files of prisoners marching towards each other, and it may be that the bearded ones represent Cushites, and the others Elamites. The two files of figures are apparently being conducted by two guards or officers, who are meeting each other. One of them wears plaited hair, but has his head and face shaved and carries a lance. The other leader, who seems a superior person, has plaited hair and a short beard, and he carries a sort of curved sceptre on his right shoulder and an object like a wreath in the other hand.¹⁷ Heuzey calls attention to a figure like the bearded ones which is in the British Museum and was figured by F. Lenormant; ¹⁸ it has some characters on its shoulder.

In addition to the sculptures in stone we also have remaining from this very early period a number of small figures made of copper (as the analysis shows), whose exact motive is not yet quite explained. The upper parts of the most ancient of these figures as they are shown by M. Heuzey (*vide* pl. 1) represent females. Their hair falls over their necks in a kind of thick wig, and is represented with wavy horizontal undulations like the figures on the carved bas-relief already mentioned, while their hands are crossed over their breasts. The human figures are the terminals or heads of what are in essence copper nails, and they were pushed into the ground. M. de Sarzec tells us these figures are always found in groups forming concentric circles, and occur notably at the four corners and below the pavement of very ancient buildings, and in the present case occurred below the constructions of Ur Nina to be presently named. These magical nails, he says, pushed into the ground seem as if they had been used as a menace to the subterranean demons. M. de Sarzec mentions having found them *in situ* and looking like bundles of asparagus. The figures are cast, and it would seem the moulds were used only once, since there are no duplicates, and all vary somewhat from each other.

This completes our information about Uru Kagina, and exhausts the objects assignable to his reign. At present he stands alone. Hilprecht, on palæographical grounds, says he was closely united in time with the series of kings beginning with Ur Nina, to whom we now turn; and there does not seem to be any good reason for Maspero's view that he was separated by several centuries from them.

Of the ruler whose name was read Urghanna by Hommel, but who is generally known as Ur Nina (the man of the goddess Nina), which is Oppert's transcription of the name, we have not only inscriptions but also stone carvings. In his inscriptions he styles himself king (*lugal*) of Shirpurla, and tells us his father was called

¹⁷ See Heuzey, plate 1 *bis*, fig. 2, and plate 1 *ter*, figs. 1a and 1b, and the descriptions, pp. 166 and 196, &c.

¹⁸ *Rev. Arch.* N.S. 1868, xviii. 23.

Ninighalgin,¹⁹ and his grandfather Gursar. As neither of them is given a title, it seems to follow that neither of them was a ruling sovereign, and that Ur Nina was the founder of a new line.

The most important remains of Ur Nina's time are some limestone slabs of different sizes, figured by Heuzey and by Maspero. They are pierced with a hole, no doubt meant to peg them against the wall or to the ground. On one of these slabs the subject is divided into two friezes, an upper and a lower one. In each of them the king is represented of double the size of the other figures, whom he in each case faces. In the upper frieze he is standing, bare to the waist, holding his left hand to his breast, while with his right he supports a basket on his head. He is dressed in a skirt composed of three successive frills of a peculiar stuff, identified by Heuzey with that called *khaunakis* by the Greeks and formed of bunches of wool fastened on to some kind of cloth. In each case the figure is barefooted. In the lower frieze, instead of a basket on his head, the king holds a drinking vessel of the shape of the cups, of which we have many alabaster fragments, made of calcite or alabaster, and which seem to have been used in Egypt as well as in Babylonia. In each case the king is accompanied by a small standing figure, similarly dressed and holding a cup in each hand, who is doubtless a chamberlain or cupbearer. In front of the king and facing him is a row of standing figures similarly dressed to himself. In one case five such figures are represented, and in the other four only; the first one in the upper row is larger than the rest. All but one, like him, are clean shaven, both head and face being cleared of hair. Seven of these figures cross their hands upon their breasts in the attitude of reverence.

A second tablet, similar in most respects to the one here described, but unfortunately broken in two, was found in the same place. In this the king was apparently turning in the same direction as the others, and did not face them. These two plaques are further interesting from the inscriptions they bear. The principal inscription on the former reads: 'Nina ur (for Ur Nina), king (*lugal*) of Shir pur la, son of Ni ni ghal gin, son of Gursar. He built the temple of the god Nin Girsu and the lesser lustral basin.' In another place, behind the king's head and above his knees we read: 'From Magan, the mountains, all kinds of wood he has brought,' while in a third place we read, 'The temple of the goddess Nina he has built.' This inscription seems to be a condensed copy of the longer one to be presently named. The second inscription is similar, except that in it we are told Ur Nina built a tower in stages, or *ziggurat*, apparently for the temple of Nin Girsu.

¹⁹ The name has also been read Nigaldini, and by Hommel, Ghalgenni. Boscawen says it means 'The Lord has established the oracle.' Thureau Dangin says the name ought to be read Ni gu dun, since Gu = ni + hal.

Turning to the figures, other than that of the king, the first one in the plaque first named seems clearly a woman, with a woman's breasts and with her hair contained in a cap or chignon. Her robe, instead of being folded round her waist as in the case of the other figures, is fastened at one shoulder, having merely the right arm bare. Like several of the other figures, it is accompanied by two wedge-shaped characters which have been read 'son,' but which seem really to mean a child of either sex. And it would seem that this figure, which has its hands folded across its breast in the usual attitude of reverence, and which is named Lidda, was really the daughter of Ur Nina. Immediately behind her, and holding a cup like a chamberlain, being thus different in pose from the rest of the figures, is apparently Ur Nina's eldest son, who is called A-kurgal. His name is qualified with the term 'son.' The next figure is labelled Lugal . . . (the second character has not yet been read). This is also qualified with the term 'son.' The fourth is styled Da ku ra ni or A kurani, and the fifth Mu ri kur ta, both similarly qualified. In the lower frieze the three figures are respectively named Nunpa, . . . ud bu, and Nina ku tur da, the second name having only been partially read. All three are qualified with the term 'son.' The fourth figure has a name not hitherto read. It is unqualified with the term 'son,' but has some alternative appellation, either marking rank or relationship. The two chamberlains are respectively named Danita or Anita (meaning according to Oppert 'in his hand') and Sa gan tuk.

According to one of these plaques, therefore, Ur Nina had seven sons and probably one daughter. It is curious to find the name of one of the sons compounded with the word *lugal*, meaning king, showing that the term was used as a name or appellative as well as a title. On the second plaque three of the sons are named Lugal . . ., Muri kurta, and Akurgal, each one being qualified with the ideograph for son. The two former are figured in the upper frieze, and preceded by an official or servant, whose name has not been deciphered, and are followed by a servant carrying a bâton to which is attached a cord. On his robe is an inscription which seems to contain the word Magan, and implying that he came from the country so named, and was probably an envoy. A similar figure is sometimes represented on the seal-cylinders following a princely personage. The lower frieze of the second plaque contains four figures. The first one is labelled Danita or Anita, being no doubt the chamberlain so called, mentioned in the first tablet. The second figure seems to represent the same person as one figured in the first tablet (lower frieze, fig. 1). In neither case can the name at present be read. It consists of two characters. After him comes the king's son, Akurgal; and lastly is a scribe named Nam ib, who is entitled Tip sar, a style very frequently found on

the seal-cylinders, and in this case preceded by the character *lu*, *i.e.* 'man.' In the third and smaller plaque the king occupies both friezes, while the other figures are arranged in two rows, two in the upper and three in the lower. The figures all face the same way, and all have their hands crossed on their breasts in the attitude of profound respect or adoration. In both cases the friezes seem to represent acts of primitive worship or of some solemnity, in which, as Maspero says, the king, acting as officiating priest, has laid aside all the insignia of royalty, and is clad as an ordinary priest, with his breast and his feet bare and carrying the heavy laden *kufa*, or reed basket, on his head as if an ordinary slave.

With these plaques, according to M. Heuzey, were found a number of objects all dating from the same reign, namely, some bricks from the corners of buildings erected by Ur Nina, and which bear the following inscription: Ur Nina, king of Shirpurla, son of Nini ghalgin, has made the *Ap Girsu*. This enigmatical construction, it has been suggested by M. Oppert, may be connected with one of the reservoirs or basins called *apzu*, but was most likely a building containing a bath. There were also three stone sockets for gates, one in the shape of a boundary stone and inscribed with his name; a fragment of an onyx cup dedicated by him to the goddess *Bau*; four lions' heads, perhaps the ornaments of a throne (one of these in the Louvre bears the name of Ur Nina, another one at Constantinople is inscribed *Magan*), and two fragments of sculptured tablets with figures of animals. There were also found several copper figures, more or less of the form already described as magical nails, and bearing the name of Ur Nina.²⁰ The figure-heads are, as in the earlier ones, those of females with busts that are bare, having wavy hair flowing down their backs, and very pronounced noses. Round the waist in these statuettes is fastened a flat rim of copper, prolonged into the shape of a bird's tail. This contrivance was meant to sustain the votive tablets, whose central perforation fitted over the bronze figure, and which contained a list of Ur Nina's various buildings. The statuettes themselves sometimes have the name and title of the king inscribed on them, while on the copper rim we have the name of his father and the mention of the enigmatical edifice called *Ap Girsu* in the inscriptions, around which these small figures with the plaques were planted at intervals.

In addition to these works of art there were also found some plaques with inscriptions, unaccompanied by any reliefs or sculpture. The most important of them is inscribed on a broken triangular piece of limestone, and is written in characters enclosed in oblong cases arranged in parallel columns, more or less broken. The inscription is a very difficult one, and has been unravelled only

²⁰ See *Découvertes*, pl. 2 *ter*, 3.

after many efforts. The translation given by Hommel in his history, he frankly treats as provisional. A new translation was given by Amiaud in the 'Records of the Past,' new ser. vol. i. This was again revised by Boscawen in the 'Babylonian Record,' and by Jensen in the 'Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.' The inscription is written in five columns, the first two of which alone are fairly perfect. It is figured in M. de Sarzec's work (plate 2, fig. 1). In it the king claims to have built a temple for the god Nin Girsu. He also built a palace here called an E-gal, *i.e.* 'great house.' He also built a temple for the goddess Nina, and added a ziggurat or tower in stages to it. He further mentions the names of two other temples which he built or restored—one the temple of Ekhud, already named, and another whose name is obliterated. To this he seems to have also added a watch-tower or observatory. Ekhud, it will be remembered, was the name of the Temple of the Seven Spheres at Borsippa. Like Uru Kagina, Ur Nina claims to have built or repaired a shrine or house of Ti ri ash or Til ra, and a temple for Gatumdag (who is elsewhere called the mistress of Shir pur la). He constructed a great laver or lustral basin for it, and built a storehouse or produce barn, and stored up seventy measures of grain in it. He further tells us how he brought wood from Magan, and built a wall for Shir pur la, and also made a small lustral basin, which he had placed in the temple of Nina; and he also dedicated two statues, one apparently to the goddess Nina, and the other to the goddess Gatumdag.

A second tablet on the same plate of M. de Sarzec's work is oblong in shape, and merely contains the name of 'Ur Nina, son of Nini ghalgin,' with an apparent reference to some brick structure.

Another tablet of Ur Nina was published by M. de Sarzec, and has been translated by Oppert to the following effect:

Ur Nina, King of Shir pur la, son of Nini ghalgin, son of Gursar, has built the temple of Nina. He has sculptured the goddess Nina. Two statues of her he has made. The small apzu (or lustral basin) he has made. Forty ur (?) for the goddess Nina he has made. He has built the Temple of the writing desk (*bureau*) and the wall of Shir pur la; the Royal God of the town he has sculptured. He has brought stone from the mountains of Magan.

This tablet was found with two others of a similar purport but more condensed.

This completes the material at present available for illustrating the story of Ur Nina. Although he had several sons, we have no inscriptions or remains dating from the reign of any of them. On the other hand, relics of his grandsons abound; some of especial interest have recently been discovered. It is not improbable, therefore, that on his death the kingdom of Shirpurla passed for a while into the hands of strangers, and it would seem that it was, in

fact, conquered by a ruler of Kish, as we saw in our previous paper that Erech and Nippur were similarly conquered. A recently discovered tablet speaks of a ruler of Kish at this time as Mésilim. He was not only king of Kish, but also had authority at Shirpurla, over which the hegemony of Kish seems to have extended during his reign. A very interesting notice of this king occurs in an inscription lately published by M. Thureau Dangin. It refers *inter alia* to a struggle between him and the patési of Gisban or Upi. In it we read that at the instigation of In lil, the god of the country, the two gods of the towns, Nin Girsu (*i.e.* the god of Shirpurla) and *Kir sig*, apparently the god of Gisban or Upi, agreed to define their respective frontiers :

Mésilim, the king of Kish, at the instance of his own god, Kadi, thereupon duly marked out the limits of the two countries. Ush, the patési of Gisban, moved by ambition, displaced Mésilim's boundary stone [or perhaps it should be read, crossed his frontier] and entered the plain of Shir pur la. Mésilim, at the instigation of the god Nin Girsu, the warrior of the god In lil, attacked the men of Gisban. He uttered an imprecation in the name of the god In lil against them, defeated them, and he finally raised funereal tumuli over their dead in the plain.²¹

However enigmatical this may be, it is assuredly full of interest. It is very curious to see how the gods are made the immediate actors in the drama, and to be told how after the battle great mounds were raised over the dead. This is not the only record we have from Mésilim's reign. There also remains to us a very curious mace-head of stone, representing four lions biting each other's backs, and arranged in a continuous frieze round the stone mace-head. This mace-head is not pierced through, but has a hollow socket, and opposite the hole there is a representation of the lion-headed eagle which has been treated as the special emblem of Shirpurla. The inscription on this mace has been only recently definitely interpreted by M. Heuzey. It reads: 'Mésilim, king (*lugal*) of Kish, has presented the (lion-headed mace?) of the god Ningirsu to the god Ningirsu; *Lug shug gur* being patési of Shirpurla.'²² This seems to show that the king of Kish having conquered Shirpurla, the patési of that place became his feudatory, or perhaps he appointed a patési of his own there. In the next paragraph of this very interesting inscription we find that Shirpurla is under the control of Eannadu, a son of Akurgal and grandson of Ur Nina, and we also have an account of his intercourse with his neighbours, about which a good deal of new information has recently accumulated.

HENRY H. HOWORTH.

²¹ *Comptes Rendus*, 1896, p. 594.

²² *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, iv. 35.

The Parlement of Paris

AMONG historical parallels or contrasts, few can be more striking or instructive than those presented by a comparison of the French and English parliaments. Starting from very similar origins, these bodies began early to diverge and at length attained positions almost diametrically opposed. The one became the chief support of a centralised and absolute monarchy; the other made itself the guardian of national rights and has eventually, to a large extent, superseded the crown. Not to go farther back than the thirteenth century, the occasional assemblies summoned by the sovereign in that creative age had both legal and political duties to perform. The object of these assemblies was discussion on matters of public import; the name originally given to the meeting was gradually transferred to the body of persons which met; and the subjects of their discussions were gradually restricted. The one body confined itself practically to the legal side, the other to the political. Each, however, retained some recollection of its dual nature: the French 'parlement' never altogether forgot its political connexions; the English 'parliament'—a part of it, at least—still discharges some legal functions. But the name is now forgotten in the country of its origin, excepting as a foreign word, whereas the country which borrowed it has now seen its own interpretation, in one form or another, adopted in half the civilised states of the world.

The greater importance of the political assembly in modern times has naturally distracted attention from its judicial congener. Countless writers have explored the history of the British parliament from every point of view, but we have had to wait long for an authoritative treatise on the nature and the powers of the great French law-court. As an offshoot and an instrument of the absolute monarchy, it long shared the odium which overtook all monuments of the *ancien régime*, and such attention as was paid to it was concentrated rather upon its accidental political activity than on its permanent and essential characteristics. It is only in recent times that a school of research has arisen across the Channel, which is eager to do justice to the great institutions of medieval France, and which has shown itself capable of combining Teutonic thoroughness with literary qualities all its own. One of the latest

outputs of this school is a history of the parlement of Paris,¹ by M. Aubert, which, it may fairly be said, has given us for the first time a clear view of that institution during the early centuries of its existence. It is from the pages of this work that the facts to which I shall have occasion to refer are mainly drawn.

These two closely packed volumes can hardly be said to form an entertaining book. They have little charm of style; there are no lively incidents or picturesque descriptions to lighten the route; the author rarely makes general reflexions, and never allows himself or his readers the diversion of contrast or illustration drawn from the institutions of neighbouring countries. But the treatise has the great merit of being clear, precise, scholarly, and, to all appearance, exhaustive. The complicated subject is set forth in admirable order and without any superfluities either of matter or diction.

M. Aubert is already known to students of French constitutional history through his preliminary labours on the subject which he has made his own—the history of the parlement of Paris. Two volumes issued in 1887 and 1890, on the organisation and competence of the parlement, form the basis of the present book. The period covered by those volumes (1314–1422) is more restricted than that of the later work, and within it the author has little to add—except as to the details of procedure—to what he has already told us. But his ‘*Histoire du Parlement*’ completes the subject, so far as its most important period, its growth and establishment, are concerned.

Of the importance of the subject there can be no doubt. No law-court in Europe has had a greater or more honourable history than the parlement of Paris; none, since the time of the Romans, has developed a more complete and consistent body of law; none has followed out the maxims of its original with more effect, or accomplished more remarkable political results. For the French monarchy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is the true heir in spirit of the Roman Empire—not that effete and disunited polity which claimed its name;—and the French monarchy at its height of power, in France and in Europe, is largely the work of the parlement of Paris. This political importance of the parlement was, it is true, indirect. It consisted in supporting and elevating, not in opposing and depressing, the monarchy. Those whose attention was chiefly concentrated on its period of decline, and who sympathised with its futile efforts after political independence in the time of the Fronde and of Louis XV, have been inclined to over-estimate its influence when thrown into the scale of opposition. Regarded from this point of view, ‘its political rôle,’ as M. Aubert says, ‘has

¹ *Histoire du Parlement de Paris de l'origine à François I* (1250–1515), par Félix Aubert. 2 vols. Paris (Picard), 1894.

been much exaggerated, and, well considered, was without serious effect.' But it is difficult to exaggerate its influence on the other side. The admirers of its (so-called) constitutional action have not only been guilty of exaggeration, they have mistaken and distorted the true vocation of the parlement. M. Aubert, in his preface, does not dwell upon this point; but it was hardly necessary to do so, for his whole work is a commentary upon the text. From the outset, indeed, the parlement displayed a high sense of its own importance, and this led it not unfrequently into conflicts with the monarchy, even in early days, on matters of detail or in particular cases—conflicts in which it was almost invariably worsted. A very large part of its labours was also employed in determining matters in which the crown was not directly concerned—in maintaining order and doing justice throughout the kingdom. It was, doubtless, with both these objects in view—its own independence and the maintenance of law—that it came into opposition to the monarchy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But such were not its original aims or functions. To put it shortly, its business was to defend and to enlarge the rights of the king against all comers, and to defend the rights of the king's subjects against every one but the king. In the troubled times which are covered by M. Aubert's review it could hardly have done a greater service to France.

The mistaken panegyrics which have been lavished on the parlement of Paris have contributed not a little to divert attention from its organisation and its true attributes. 'To understand that body, we must make a study of detail, and divest ourselves of preconceived ideas. Its importance will not thereby be diminished; it will stand forth clearly as the great instrument of centralisation and of government under the ancient monarchy.' The author accordingly divides his work into three books, treating respectively of the organisation, the competence and attributes, and the procedure of the parlement.

The origin of the parlement, like that of the great central law-courts of this country, is to be found in the 'Cour du Roi.' The necessity of subdividing its fast-increasing duties led to the establishment of distinct bodies—the great council, the chambre des comptes, the parlement. So the great council, the exchequer, the curia regis (specially so called) arose in England. The parlement, 'to which were entrusted judicial questions, became a separate body in the reign of St. Louis, but one may fairly say that its separation was in contemplation from the end of the twelfth century.' For a long time, as in England, and apparently for a somewhat longer time than in England, the fusion of personnel was combined with a distinction of duties. As in England, too, the judicial section for a long time retained the special title of curia regis. The pro-

cess of subdivision took place somewhat later than in this country. What Henry II had done in the twelfth century, Louis IX and Philip III did in the thirteenth. In an ordinance of 1278 'the main outlines of the parlement are clearly distinguished.' After various experiments, Philip V in 1319 finally established the three great divisions—the grand' chambre, or court of pleas; the chambre des enquêtes; and the chambre des requêtes. During another generation the 'maîtres' were not definitely attached to one or other chamber, and their number varied. By the great ordinance of 1345 the number was theoretically fixed. The sacred quota of one hundred was supposed to be maintained, but in point of fact it was never, during the middle ages, exactly stable. During the English occupation of Paris the numbers were largely reduced.

For a long time the three chambers sufficed; the Hundred Years' War and the Burgundian troubles reduced the authority of the monarchy. But with its recovery business increased, and the chambers had to be multiplied. Charles VII divided the court of inquests into two; other subdivisions followed, until there were as many as seven or eight distinct courts; but the grand' chambre was always one. The grand' chambre, in which the king and the peers of France sat, though only on great occasions, held an undoubted pre-eminence; 'it represented the unity of the parlement.' Like the other chambers, except the Tournelle Criminelle, it contained both lay and ecclesiastical members. Its composition was finally determined by the great ordinance of Montils-les-Tours (1454), but this ordinance does not seem to have been strictly observed. It alone took cognisance in first instance of causes which concerned the king, the royal domain, and the persons or corporations under the protection of the crown; it also received appeals from the sentences of seneschals and 'baillis,' from the courts of inquests and requests, from the judges of the royal or seignorial 'Grands Jours;' and it alone pronounced definitive judgments. It dealt especially with the affairs of the peerage; 'it was to the parlement of Paris alone that the peers of France resorted for the settlement of their personal affairs.' For criminal cases, the grand' chambre was accustomed, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to delegate powers to commissions of its lay members, who discharged their duties in the so-called Tournelle Saint-Louis. Early in the sixteenth century this system of delegation ceased, and a distinct court, the Tournelle Criminelle, came into existence, but it always remained subordinate to the grand' chambre.

The chamber of inquests, like the criminal court, began as a delegation of the grand' chambre, but early in the fourteenth century it became a distinct and permanent court. After

undergoing many minor changes, it was divided by the great ordinance of 1454 into two sections, which subsequently became three. This chamber arose from the necessity of making inquiries into the particulars of cases brought before the parlement, and to this business it was originally restricted. But after becoming a distinct court, it took cognisance of all cases which were to be decided on the basis of an inquiry ordered by the parlement, or on which written evidence had been tendered to the court of first instance. 'It always remained exclusively a court of counsel (*chambre de conseil*); it did not hear the parties before making its inquiry; it did not order the inquiry; and it only gave judgment when the *grand' chambre* had declared the instruction terminated, and handed over to it the decision of the matter.' In theory, it never enjoyed a vacation; during the fourteenth century it acted as a vacation-court on behalf of the rest. Though subordinate to the *grand' chambre*, it seems to have had a full sense of its own dignity, and doubtless of the value of its emoluments, for on several occasions it strenuously resisted—though with little success—the efforts of the crown to control its appointments or to add to its numbers.

The chamber of requests, originally a delegation, was constituted as a distinct court in 1296. Subsequently divided into two sections, one for the *langue d'oc*, the other for the *langue d'oïl*, it was re-united in 1318, and remained one till the time of Henry III. In 1580 a second chamber was created, and this continued to exist till the dissolution of the eighteenth century. Like the other divisions of the parlement, the chamber of requests was often involved in disputes with Louis XI, who appears to have encroached more than any other sovereign on the independence of the legal body. In numbers, it was far the smallest of the chambers, and though forming unquestionably a section of the parlement, 'the tie which united it with the other chambers seems to have been a very loose one.' The examination of petitions, and of decisions upon them, formed its original business; in this respect, as well as in some others, it has analogies with our court of chancery. It dealt specially with cases in which princes of the blood, royal officials, and privileged persons or bodies were concerned.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the parlement of Paris, and one which distinguishes it from almost all other supreme legal bodies, is its control over its own appointments—a control which almost amounted to the right of co-optation. The process by which it obtained this right is one of considerable interest. The members of the parlement were originally nominated by the crown. Philip VI adopted a system under which candidates were 'presented,' first by a commission, afterwards by the chamber concerned, the crown reserving only the right of choosing among the

candidates presented. In the middle of the fourteenth century, the democratic tendencies which prevailed in France, as in contemporary England, led to election by the parlement itself, and this was confirmed by an ordinance of 1389, the crown reserving only the formal right of appointment. The restoration of royal power after the English wars made a change in favour of the king. Charles VII revived the practice of appointment on presentation. 'The chamber concerned chose three persons, of whom the king appointed one,' and he rarely went beyond the list submitted to him. Louis XI, indeed, abused his powers, but the parlement recovered its rights after his death, and though disputes occurred throughout the sixteenth century, the parlement appears to have practically made good its position. The importance of this right in its bearing on the political claims subsequently put forward by the parlement need hardly be pointed out.

Its independence was also secured by the irremovability of its members. Though nominally holding office only from a particular king, and undergoing the form of confirmation at the hands of his successor, the doctrine that the judges were appointed *pro vita aut culpa* gradually made way, and was practically established by the end of the middle ages—two centuries before it was established in this country. Naturally, the two rights of co-optation and irremovability led to some abuses, especially that of nepotism. Father and son frequently acted together as members of the parlement, though not in the same chamber. The Cabochian ordinance (1418) laid down the rule that not more than three members of one family should be councillors at the same time, but the rule was not unfrequently broken. The high places of the French law became almost an appanage of a limited number of families. Hence the *noblesse de la robe*, a *noblesse* which, no doubt, had its high traditions and obligations, but was not without its shady side.

The salaries of the councillors were fixed by Philip the Fair. Lay members received 10 *sous*, clerical members 5 *sous* a day; and these sums did not vary during the next two centuries. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the presidents received high wages—the chief president had 1,000 *livres* a year—while all alike enjoyed valuable exemptions from taxation—*taille*, *gabelle*, &c.—as well as other privileges. During the English wars the scanty salary often remained unpaid. But lawyers can generally take care of themselves, and the parlement was no exception to the rule. They received special payment for special work; an addition was always made for sittings after dinner. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the finances were in unusually low water, the practice was established of receiving presents, called *épices*, from successful litigants. Such presents were not given before the case

was decided, but the abuses to which the practice might lead are obvious. Efforts were made to put a stop to it, but in vain; the insolvency of the crown and the non-payment of salaries were made the justification of a custom which continued to exist after the excuse had passed away. Presents of an even less defensible nature were also frequently made, at least in the latter part of the middle ages. Such *dons corrompables* were, indeed, forbidden by the parlement itself, but 'if proper precautions were taken, it winked at the practice.' The traffic in places, the elections to which were often affected by influence of great persons, who doubtless received valuable consideration for their assistance, points not obscurely to the existence of this evil. 'It is unfortunately certain,' says M. Aubert, 'that the councillors received presents without scruple.' In this, however, the French parlement was not peculiar, and in the matter of the *épices*, at least, its members might have had recourse to a defence afterwards used by no less a man than Bacon.

'In the thirteenth century the king often presided in the parlement,' for it was, indeed, nothing but the judicial section of his court. But gradually this practice was given up. Special sessions were at first held, at which the more important business was done in the king's presence, but these too eventually ceased, except on those rare occasions when the king held a *lit de justice*. These appearances were generally made when important political business was on hand, when a great edict was to be registered, or (latterly) when the resistance of the parlement was to be overawed. Such resistance was also not unfrequently overborne, or evaded, by an 'evocation,' that is by calling up a case from the parlement to the king's own council. This was done not only in individual cases, but sometimes by a general edict covering a whole class of matters. Louis XI frequently used, or abused, this right; his successors were less arbitrary, or less firm.

After the king, the chancellor was the *chef par especial du parlement*, but 'the direct and constant authority belonged to the presidents,' especially to the 'premier president,' the rest being in the position of his lieutenants. The chief president 'presided in the grand' chambre, but his authority extended over the whole parlement, and he was subordinate to the chancellor alone.' He must have been a splendid personage, in his scarlet robes lined with ermine, and his round hat of black velvet, decorated with gold lace, a costume which appears to have been *de rigueur*, not to be laid aside even under the severest domestic affliction. The presidents not only presided in court, but specially supervised the execution of their decrees, and had wide powers, including even the right of imprisonment, over the other members of the parlement.

The procurator-general and the king's advocates—called collectively the *gens du roi*—were appointed with the special duty of

watching over the king's interests after he had ceased to be present in person. The procurator's duty was to uphold the rights of the crown, to maintain the integrity of the royal domain, and to prevent any diminution of the royal revenue. This duty enabled him to intervene in cases before the parlement whenever he saw fit. His advice was taken before the registration of letters granting exemptions or any other privileges, and even before the conclusion of treaties with foreign powers. With the same object he supervised the doings of the seignorial courts, and restricted the ecclesiastical tribunals; he inquired into abuses of patronage, and examined papal bulls. Conjointly with the chancellor he watched the proceedings of the parlement itself, and called it to order if it neglected precedents or broke through regulations. The *avocats du roi*, answering in some degree to our 'king's counsel,' assisted the king's proctor in carrying out these important and onerous duties. Into the copious details furnished by M. Aubert concerning the advocates and proctors in general, and the various officers of the parlement—the notaries, recorders, ushers, &c.—it is not necessary here to follow him; for these details are rather of an antiquarian nature, and have little political importance. For the same reason I shall be pardoned if I merely refer to the elaborate account of procedure before the parlement, which occupies about half of his second volume, since it deals with a subject of legal rather than historical interest.

The latter half of the first volume, which deals with the 'competence and attributes' of the parlement, is perhaps the most important part of the book. The area over which the jurisdiction of the court extended was conterminous with France; its judicial powers were of the widest; while a great mass of administrative business passed through its hands. 'Emanating from the "cour du roi," the parlement retained the unlimited competence of that court. The district under its control comprised not only the royal domain, already [*i.e.* in the thirteenth century] considerable, but also the territories indirectly subject to the crown. The parlement represented and acted for the king; his sovereign judicial authority was delegated to it. The definitive triumph of the right of appeal, of the theory of "prevention" [right of inquiry and action in the case of crimes the authors of which were unknown], of the jurisdiction in regard to privileged persons, and above all of the system of "cas royaux," assured the preponderance of the parlement.' As a court of first instance it took cognisance of all cases 'evoked' to it by the king, and also of pleas of the crown. It may perhaps be doubted whether, as M. Aubert says, 'the theory of the "cas royaux" was borrowed from the legislation of the Roman emperors;' but doubtless, whatever its origin, the principles of Roman law largely influenced its development. The list of 'cas royaux' is a long one,

perhaps even longer than that of the 'pleas of the crown' in this country; it was gradually extended, till 'in the sixteenth century it included all crimes and grave misdemeanours,' as well as a large number of civil causes, such as mortgages, legitimations, university matters, &c.

The jurisdiction of the parlement extended in one form or another over the whole kingdom. In order to facilitate administration the kingdom was divided into 'bailliages' and 'sénéchaussées.' The number of these districts was gradually enlarged until, under Louis XII, there were thirty-four of the former class and seventeen of the latter, besides the *prévôté* of Paris and two 'gouvernements.' This was exclusive of the area covered by the provincial parlements—those of Toulouse, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Dijon, Rouen, and Aix—established between 1420 and 1501. These provincial parlements had restricted areas, embracing altogether not more than one third of the kingdom, but the parlement of Paris was very jealous of their power. It not unfrequently 'affected to forget their existence,' a fact of which Louis XI took care forcibly to remind it.

The bailiwicks and other administrative districts covered the immediate domain of the crown, but the action of the parlement extended also to the domains of the great feudatories. In some cases the nearest 'bailli' could define the exemptions and franchises of the great fiefs; while in all cases the seignorial high courts—often called 'grands jours,' *e.g.* in Auvergne—were subject to an appeal to the parlement. Even the great dukes of Burgundy, of Brittany, and Lorraine, recognised this judicial subordination; the kings of England, as feudatories of France, had good cause to know its political importance. Naturally, the parlement itself was careful to maintain and to enlarge its appellate and other jurisdiction; here the king's rights and its own closely coincided. The king's advantage was not so clear in the warfare which it constantly waged with the other supreme courts—like itself, the emanations of royal power—such as the courts of the constable and the marshal, and most of all with the *chambre des comptes*. In these disputes the crown had often to interfere, and it was only gradually that a compromise was effected. In cases of doubt, the two bodies cut the knot by an interchange of members, thus forming a sort of joint court, a proceeding which may be compared to trials before the exchequer chamber in England, *e.g.* in the famous shipmoney case.

The administrative powers of the parlement were hardly less important than the judicial. By virtue of its supreme appellate jurisdiction, it revised the judgments of the 'baillis' and other royal officials. The general supervision of these functionaries was a natural consequence of this judicial superiority. As guardian of

the king's interest, the parlement looked closely into provincial administration : in the latter part of the fourteenth century it even elected the 'baillis' and seneschals. Charles VII deprived it of this right, but the newly appointed official took the oath before the parlement, which also conducted the formalities connected with his appointment, and defined or altered the limits of his jurisdiction. The town of Paris was in many respects controlled by the parlement. The markets, quays, and main streets were under its supervision ; it had the general direction of the police ; it regulated the performance of stage-plays by the students, and kept prostitutes within bounds. It looked after the provisioning of the metropolis ; it supervised the sale of corn, wood, salt, &c. ; it enforced upon the bakers regulations similar to those of the English 'assize of bread ;' it even regulated prices. It shared with the *chambre des comptes* the general control of the *bonnes villes*. It watched over public instruction, and gradually substituted its own jurisdiction for that of the ecclesiastical courts in cases concerning the universities, at least by way of appeal—a process facilitated by the fact that members of the universities were under the special protection of the crown. It also acted as a tribunal of commerce, prohibited combinations for the purpose of raising prices, and occasionally acted as a court of international law, settling disputes between French and foreign merchants.

In the struggle between the crown and the church respecting clerical immunities and jurisdiction—a struggle not less keen, at one time, in France than in England—the crown naturally relied upon the support of the parlement, and though many members of that body were ecclesiastics, their support, as lawyers, was given to the king. 'It is during the reign of Louis VI that we find the first instance of an appeal from an ecclesiastical court to the *curia regis* (1132).' During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the conflict was continuous ; the parlement carried on the work of limitation which the *curia regis* had begun. In criminal cases the French kings were more successful than their English contemporaries ; no St. Thomas was murdered in France. The French parlement succeeded in establishing its jurisdiction over the clergy in 'cas royaux,' at least to a very large extent. A sort of compromise was made, it is true, but it was a compromise very like that vainly attempted in the Constitutions of Clarendon—a compromise practically establishing secular control. The criminous clerk, if he could prove his orders—and the proof seems to have been less formal than in England—was handed over to the ecclesiastical judge, but the latter 'could not give judgment without the presence of royal judges, and the procurator-general reserved the right of subsequent prosecution.' In disputes between the representatives

of the crown, *e.g.* the provost of Paris, and the bishop, the parlement intervened directly.

In regard to real property claimed by ecclesiastics, the parlement attained success at a later date. While in England this branch of the dispute ended in favour of the king's courts as early as the end of the twelfth century, in France the parlement does not appear to have established its jurisdiction till 1377. In that year an edict prohibited the cognisance of real and possessory actions by ecclesiastical courts, even if such actions were brought against clerics, as also of cases touching feudal rights and rents on immovable property; and this regulation was subsequently maintained.

So complete, however, did the control of the parlement become, that it fined and even imprisoned bishops who ventured to oppose it. 'Matrimonial and testamentary cases were the last and greatest subject of dispute,' but here again the secular courts were more successful in France than in England. From the fourteenth century onwards, such cases—which Edward I deliberately left to the church—were gradually drawn into the jurisdiction of the parlement. The parlement also settled disputes between bishops and their chapters, or between clerical dignitaries and the inferior clergy; and it regulated the right of sanctuary. In a word, 'by the end of the fifteenth century, the struggle between the king's courts and the ecclesiastical tribunals had been decided in favour of the crown.'

A similar spirit was shown in regard to the relations between the crown and the papacy :

Jealous of their authority, and desirous of restraining ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the kings of France possessed, in the councillors of the parlement, auxiliaries who were learned both in the Roman and the canon law, and passionate defenders of Gallican liberties. The theory of these liberties formulated by the parlement resembled, in its vagueness and elasticity, the theory of the 'cas royaux,' and could be used to win for the crown equally important advantages. Under pretext of defending these liberties, the parlement did not hesitate to blame the conduct of the popes, and to encourage the monarchy to resist them.

The parlement was reluctant to register the letters of papal legates, even when commanded by the sovereign; it scrupulously examined papal bulls; it protested against papal taxation. During the long period of the exile at Avignon, and still more during the great schism, it made use of the difficulties in which the papacy was involved, to confirm and widen the liberties of the Gallican church. 'The famous pragmatic sanction of Charles VII was welcomed by the parlement, and its revocation by Louis XI was vigorously resisted.' It refused to register the revoking edict, and never acknowledged its validity. On their side the popes were naturally anxious to conciliate this powerful and stubborn body,

and while zealously defending or enlarging the national independence, the parlement, both individually and as a corporation, made its own profit out of the situation. It was even able to bring its influence to bear on the affairs of the church at large; the proceedings of the councils of Basel and Constance were regularly communicated to it, and its deliberations on the questions under debate were not without effect.

The importance of the attitude which the parlement thus maintained, towards the papacy and towards the church in France, can hardly be over-estimated. The predominance of the secular power within the nation, and the independence of the national church as against Rome, were fairly established in France at a period when this was far from being the case in England. It is not too much to say that the divergent fortunes of the reformation in these two countries were largely the result of this difference. England—or at least the English crown—had to conquer by a violent convulsion that independence which the sovereigns of France had already, to a sufficient extent, obtained by a gradual evolution.

Much of what has been already said goes to show the vast, if indirect, political influence exercised by the parlement of Paris. To its more immediate and direct influence M. Aubert finds it unnecessary to devote more than one short chapter.

The political rôle of this powerful court was about this time [the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries] greatly extended, but we must be careful not to exaggerate it. While its political influence was the consequence of successive usurpations, and while it is clear that the parlement, as a purely judicial and administrative institution, had no claim to meddle in politics, we must recognise that it was inevitably drawn on to this by the tacit acquiescence of the sovereign, and by the force of events. To the presidents and councillors of the parlement the kings confided important diplomatic missions; they were summoned to discuss political questions along with the great council or the states-general; they were appointed to arbitrate in political disputes; projects of law and treaties with foreign powers were submitted to them, and they were authorised to discuss such matters before registration. Thus called on to register all the acts of the government, the parlement ended by regarding as indispensable what was nothing but a formality, a measure of precaution.

A high, if incorrect, notion of political importance was the natural outcome of the introduction, for autocratic or other purposes, of a legal body into politics. If Louis XI did not scruple to make use of the parlement to abrogate the treaty of Conflans, that body naturally declined to be left in the background when its assistance was less indispensable. Its duty, as the guardian of royal rights and property, obliged it to interfere when grants of land or privileges were in prospect. It possessed and constantly exercised the right of remonstrance against what it held to be injurious alienations of royal domain. The protests might

be overridden, but the right to make them remained, and was even confirmed by ordinance in 1493. Registration might be regarded as a formality, but it was none the less a practically indispensable one; for what was the value of a grant or a pledge if the sovereign who might subsequently wish to recall it could shelter himself behind a technical omission?

Hence a real and direct political influence, which, given a favourable opportunity, might make itself inconveniently felt. The parlement owed its elevation to the crown; the crown owed much of its power to the parlement. It was only natural that when the monarchy was in difficulties, as in the religious wars, and still more during the Fronde, the parlement assumed an attitude which threatened its creator. Legal technicalities were similarly utilised in this country. It must not be forgotten that in the English parliament, under the first two Stewarts, purely technical arguments and legal precedents were made to subserve political purposes, and applied to the solution of grave political problems. Between the lawyers of Paris and the lawyers of the long parliament there was not so wide a difference as at first sight might appear. But the unrepresentative character of the French parlement, its purely legal composition, and above all the traditions handed down by centuries of devotion to the crown, were fatal to its political claims. The objects of the parlement and those of the nobility, which for a moment was its ally, were radically divergent, and the monarchy speedily recovered its superiority over a combination which possessed no elements of permanence.

It is not in these ill-considered and unsuccessful attempts at self-assertion that the greatness of the French parlement is to be found. It is in the assistance which it gave to the monarchy in evolving order out of disorder, unity out of disruption, law out of anarchy. 'In the parlement the monarchy found its most powerful weapon of conquest. It was by its means that the crown extended its authority over the whole of France, and laid the bases of a centralisation which eventually was to be pushed to excess. It was the great instrument by which pacification and national unity were accomplished.' We have every reason to be grateful to M. Aubert for drawing a clear and striking picture of this great body, and for placing its various features, with abundant detail, in the dry light of sober and laborious research. As a study of the combined development of law and government, it presents at every turn illustrations and comparisons highly interesting to the student of constitutional history, especially that of this country. If the book loses somewhat by the author's exclusive adherence to the subject before him, the reader will find, perhaps, all the more pleasure in discovering these points of contact for himself.

G. W. PROTHERO.

*The Cossacks
in the Early Seventeenth Century*

THE Ukraine, or Border, was almost as fruitful a soil for adventure and disorder in the seventeenth century as the home of our own Armstrongs and Scotts. The very word 'Kazak' can hardly be better expressed than in the Scotch phrase 'landlouper,' an Ishmael whose hand is against every man, and every man's against him. The Cossack's opponents were mainly Russians, but he included in the term of contempt *Lyakhi* (generally accompanied by the epithet 'devilish') not only those who had remained true to the old faith, and those who had been forced by the Polish sovereignty into the adoption of Romanism, but also those who as protestants had an equal hatred for the papacy and the Greek church alike. They also frequently qualified this name of abuse with the word *Pany*, which we may parallel with 'landgrabbers.' There lay the sting. The Kazak was a landless man, while his opponent had much to lose.

From the plains of the Donets to the Carpathian Mountains the orderly portion of the community on the one hand were sowing the seed and reaping the harvest, while the disorderly portion were watching them with looks of mingled envy and hatred, and cursing them as the spoilers of the poor and defenceless. The demagogues of the Ukraine had forgotten the time when the Tartars of the Crimea had literally depopulated Kiev, and their devastating raids had spread terror to the westernmost confines of Russia, and the still more recent period when the 'border' of Lithuania and Poland had been Volhynia, and the outposts of Europe against the Asiatic had been Bar and Kamieniec. It was Lithuania and Poland that had turned the wastes of the Dnieper, the terror of the traveller, into a comparatively settled and orderly region, where their subjects, almost exclusively Russian, were able to live and to increase even during the most furious outbreaks of the so-called national spirit of the Cossacks. On the other hand the Poles had not shown one great qualification for rule, in that they had not succeeded in winning the hearts of their subjects, and no doubt this was due to two glaring defects in the composition of their empire, diversity of race and diversity of religion. This was the weak point in the

Polish armour, and the Cossacks struck at it again and again, though from no higher motive than the thirst for plunder. Yet to them the unity of Russia is undoubtedly due. How little they really cared for religion may be judged from the fact that their clergy, notably the metropolitan Job Boretski, implored them in vain when a favourable opportunity arose to help in establishing a Christian see among the Circassians.

A regular force was maintained in the country, to which it was considered a privilege to belong, and the number of these 'enrolled' (*rêestrovyye*) men-at-arms was supposed to be 6,000; but as a matter of fact so eager were the Cossacks to give a show of legality to their appearance in arms at all seasons that they far exceeded the prescribed limit. Following the example of the gentry (*szlachta*) of Poland proper, whose name for themselves was *swawola* ('liberty'), they demanded and obtained similar privileges, and used them for even worse purposes. But what most of all caused their numbers to swell were the Tartar raids, which, devastating the country and leaving the survivors homeless, forced the latter into the ranks of the 'broken men' who had no means of livelihood but their swords. Among them were to be found numerous representatives of good families, even the best, such as the Zborowskis. When meditating an outbreak their favourite plan was to spread reports that the Tartars were coming, and take advantage of the panic thus produced to lay hands on all they could. This state of things reigned not only in the Ukraine proper, but throughout Podolia, Red Russia, Volhynia, and White Russia.

Khmelnicki is generally looked upon as the deliverer of his country from the Polish yoke, but there were several other leaders whose toils made his work possible, and whose warlike capacity and daring excelled his. 'The father of the Cossacks' (Kazatski Batko) was superior to them only in the greater amount of blood he shed. It was their failures that taught him his lesson, their smaller but harder-earned successes that made his final success possible. It was they, too, who first entertained the idea of calling in the Tartars to aid them against the common foe. Kosinski especially anticipated him in this respect, and also in that of readiness in the last resort to submit to the Muscovite rather than the Pole. Where he had the advantage of his predecessors was in being utterly indifferent to principles, or the means by which he gained his ends. Probably his success would have been impossible but for the obstinate refusal of the Poles themselves to see their danger. Foremost amongst those who warned them of it was Stanislaw Koniecpolski, who on his return from captivity in Constantinople became the last and most resolute hero of the attempt to stem the rising tide of dissolution.

The Dniester was then the southern boundary of Poland, and

on the far side of it lay what was called Ruminia, the rulers of which maintained mercenary armies in no way behind the Cossack sea-rovers or even the Tartars in rapacity and cruelty. At this time the inhabitants of Moldavia were called 'Volochs' or 'Wallachs,' a name probably identical with the German Welsch, 'unintelligible,' while those of the modern Wallachia were called 'Multani.'

It was the happy lot of Koniecpolski to steer the ship of state through the storms that now threatened her. It was not the Cossacks alone that he had to contend with. The Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus, whose successor, Charles X, was destined to ride in triumph into Warsaw, threatened him on the one hand, while on the other Moscow was preparing to avenge the support given by Poland to the false Demetrius. And still another enemy was fast arising in the shape of the so-called Budjak horde, an agglomeration of Tartar and Ruminian outlaws.

In spite of the slender means at his command and the meagre way in which his forces were equipped, Koniecpolski showed himself at least a match for Gustavus Adolphus. Moscow, as it proved, was not strong enough to do more than threaten, and in 1623 a peace was concluded with Turkey, which averted all danger from that quarter. But Turkey's dangerous and disobedient vassal, Mirza Kantemir, had still to be reckoned with. However, the instances of Koniecpolski prevailed on the sultan and the khan of the Crimea to do their best to keep him in order, and the Polish flying columns did the rest.

But it was the Cossacks themselves that called forth to the utmost the warlike qualities of this great leader. In themselves the Cossacks were not very redoubtable to a foe who was on his guard, but the support they constantly received in secret from Russia and Turkey alike made them so. As for the church, it naturally preferred that they should be on the side of orthodoxy against heresy, and so incited them to inflict as much damage as possible upon the Poles. Not content with this, the Cossacks began to assert their independence by concluding treaties without the cognisance of the Polish government; they were not bound by any very strict allegiance to the crown. By their tenure they were at liberty to transfer their services elsewhere at their pleasure, and so troublesome had they made themselves that the crown had more than once been on the point of requesting them to go. They were quite determined not to go empty-handed, and their intention was to take with them the peasants who inhabited the urban districts, where they were allowed free quarters on condition of their feudal service as frontier guards.

On the other hand the Cossacks, troublesome as they were, could not be dealt with at haphazard. The church especially was very

much on their side, in spite of the frequent complaints it had to make of them, and ready to resent any curtailment of their rights. Nor were the citizens and small landowners of the Ukraine behind the church in wishing them well, for they had many interests in common; the half piratical, half commercial cruises made by the Cossacks in the Black Sea, much as those of our own smugglers, brought profits in which their sedentary neighbours shared. In as far as they were rebels against the Polish crown the settled population was against them, but as soon as they ceased to act against Poland that population was all in their favour. It was easy for the central authority to issue orders that these pirates should be arrested and severely punished, but the people who were charged to execute these orders lived among the culprits, and under conditions which made them look with a lenient eye on misdeeds the produce of which went to fill their purses. Many officials, both high and low, favoured them.

The immediate obstacle to the efforts of Koniecpolski lay in the Budjak Tartars. Without their support the Cossacks would be comparatively easy to deal with, while both Turk and Tartar made the Cossack depredations a pretext for reprisals on Polish territory. The rebels counted among their ranks only such representatives of the Russian clergy, gentry, burghers, and peasantry as might be called the prodigal sons of those classes. The royal hetman, on the other hand, had all the landowners, including the orthodox monasteries, all the staid burghers, and such of the peasantry as preferred recognised to self-constituted masters, as well as the 'tame' Cossacks, who had recently done yeoman service against Kantemir. When the king's envoy appeared at Zapórog to demand the reduction of the armed force to its legal dimensions, the Cossacks should have sent out a manifesto appealing to all 'the dwellers on the Little Russian border' to rally 'in defence of their faith, their honour, their goods, and their lives,' such as that with which Khmelnicki was credited by the Archæological Commission.¹ Time enough they had to raise the country, but the event proved that the mass of the population was not well disposed towards them. But they were now at the zenith of their fame, and, like the Turks, believed that the whole world trembled before them.

They tried to secure a retreat for themselves, in case of failure, in the Moscow territory by assurances of fidelity, and urged the Crimean Tartars to join them, but were wise enough not even to ask for aid from Kiev. Even from a financial point of view, forming as they did a rebellious state within a state, and mainly depending for their supplies on booty, they could not count on any support

¹ This was a clever literary forgery, issued in 1853, but not discovered for ten years.

from the Ukraine. The inhabitants of that region were willing enough to profit by their depredations, and to make them advances (*adminicula*) for the purposes of their maritime raids, but in such a struggle as was now pending it would have been too much to expect them to side openly with the enemies of peaceful trade. The very appearance of a royal hetman in the Ukraine, armed as he was at such times with the power of a dictator, was sufficient to awe its inhabitants into submission, and to put a stop to all thoughts of lending a hand to their Cossack brethren.

But 1625 was not a lucky year for the Cossacks in other ways. The storms and the Turkish galleys sent their pinnaces to the bottom. The Capitan pasha, Ridjeb, whom they had defeated at Kaffa the year before, had forty-three galleys, and some galleons, and after long cruising about the mouths of the Dnieper brought them to action at a place called Kagaraman, though he had only twenty-one of his galleys with him, the rest having dropped off in the search. The Cossacks eagerly accepted battle, having twenty boats to each galley of their enemies, and the weather being calm, but for which they would have had no chance. Only nine of the galleys had their proper complement of janissaries on board. Both sides fought fiercely, but more especially the Cossacks. Recognising the admiral's galley by the three lanterns on the poop, they swarmed round her bow and sides, thus avoiding the fire from the stern. Many fell, but 200 bold spirits succeeded in clambering on board, and a bloody fight took place, the deck being strewn from bow to mast with corpses. To add to the difficulties of the crew, the slaves, mainly Cossack captives, refused to row, and were only by their irons prevented from springing overboard. The other galleys were convinced that she was being sunk, when by a last desperate effort the janissaries gained the upper hand. The deck was cleared of the assailants, and a double broadside, well aimed, sank many of their boats. The galley of the admiral's lieutenant was in similar danger, and shook off her assailants in the same way. But many others were in the hands of the enemy, and the Turks were beginning to fall on their faces in despair and call upon Allah, when a breeze springing up filled their sails, thus enabling them to assist their consorts. With revived energy they fell on the Cossacks, and soon many boats were abandoned or shattered, while their drowning crews strewed the water. Out of 300 Cossack boats not more than thirty escaped, and these had to be beached so as not to fall into the hands of the pursuers, while 170 remained in the hands of the victors, together with 780 prisoners.

Nothing daunted by this heavy blow, the Cossacks turned to meet their enemies on land. The Tartars of the Crimea attempted a diversion, but were bought off by Koniecpolski. He continued to advance, overcoming obstacles resolutely, in spite of the quartan

ague which racked him throughout the campaign, and from Bielaia Tserkov sent a fresh offer to the Zapórog Cossacks, telling them that he wanted their services for the Swedish war, and that he was reluctant for this reason to use force. He, however, still continued to advance. A league from the town of Kanevo he was met by a deputation, entreating him not to attack them for a while, as they were unable to determine what side to take, owing to the absence of their hetman, Khmailo. The prayer was granted, but a body of some 3,000 men who had caused trouble in the town and been expelled was pursued by ten squadrons under the command of Odriwolski and brought to bay. They formed a strong laager, into which a son of Prince Czetwertinski leaped his horse, but being unsupported was taken prisoner, and proved a very useful hostage. After this the insurgents crossed the Moshna unmolested, and harassed Odriwolski severely in his pursuit.

Meantime the main army had crossed the Ross. The Cossacks spread the most horrible reports of the atrocities it was committing; and these were believed in many quarters, even at Moscow, where they were spread by the confidential agent of the metropolitan of Kiev, Father Philip, who must have known well enough how little the Cossacks were to be relied on for veracity. The strange thing is that these alleged atrocities have continued to be believed in down to our time by many men of intelligence, notably Gógol. But no material aid was given to the insurgents, while the royal army received reinforcements in the shape of various notables charged with the suppression of the revolt and their followings. On 4 Oct. Odriwolski, who led the advance guard, reported to the hetman that a large Cossack force was assembled in a camp near Krylov, on the outskirts of the 'desert plains,' *i.e.* the uninhabitable part of the Steppes. The hetman halted and awaited still further reinforcements. Here a Cossack envoy had an audience of him, announcing that the hetman of the Zapórog was already on the move with an *armata*, which included not only artillery but field deputies with full power to make treaties. Two days later a fresh deputation came to entreat him to wait till the Zapórog hetman and deputies arrived, and to restrain his soldiers from pillage and outrage in the unprotected towns in the meantime. He agreed, but shifted his camp to a stronger position on the arm of the Dnieper. The hetman seemed in no hurry to arrive, and he himself continued to temporise. On the 14th he again shifted his camp to within a league of the Cossacks, but that very day the long-expected Khmailo arrived and *pourparlers* commenced. The Pole knew that the insurgents had asked for Tartar aid, and had expected that Khmailo would bring it, but it was his policy to ignore their conduct.

At the conference the royal commissioners reminded the

insurgents of their various crimes and treasons, and demanded that they should surrender the ringleaders, more particularly the envoys sent to ask aid from Moscow, should burn their war boats in the presence of nominees of the commissioners, and pledge themselves to undertake no further raids, should reduce their standing force to 4,000, and acknowledge the nominee of the crown as their hetman. In return they were promised that the subsidy previously agreed on should be paid, and continued, on condition of their properly guarding the Niza and keeping the Tartars out of the Zapórog, and holding the 'enrolled' forces not required for this purpose at the disposal of the royal hetman.

The Cossacks asked time to consider these terms, and on the 17th sent to inform the commissioners that they were not disposed to concede a single point. Their envoys were detained in camp till the following day by Koniecpolski, who meanwhile prepared for battle. On dismissing them the following morning he said, 'Our subres shall be on your necks, since you will not obey, and the fault be on your own heads.' The chronicler declares that 'the envoys wept on hearing these words.'

No sooner were they gone than the whole army was in motion. Zamoiski with his own regiment led the right wing, and the renegade Cossack Bielecki the centre, at the head of the troops of the princes Zbarajski. They were followed by 800 foreign infantry, under captains Butler and Vinteroy. Then came the artillery, followed by Zamoiski's German infantry, led by Pfitting, some squadrons of Hungarian cavalry, and the pick of the feudal horsemen. At an interval came the contingents of the magnates of Kiev, Volhynia, Black Russia, and Podolia. The general, with his own regiment and artillery, held himself in reserve.

They crossed a marshy belt of country in this order, and then the Polish leader donned his coat of mail and casque to join the coming fight. The weather remained bright and clear. Seeing that the ground was all open for the movement of troops, he ordered various single regiments to advance to the attack. The Cossacks resisted stubbornly, and threatened the flank and rear of the assailants. In spite of the best efforts of the feudal levies, supported by the foreign mercenaries, they were driven back by the heavy fire, and the Cossack sallies wearied out the Polish troops. All day the fight rolled to and fro. Koniecpolski himself tried in vain to find a weak point at which to break in. The battle, however, had given time for his transport trains to come up unmolested. The next day he spent in preparing fascines and casting ball ammunition. In the meantime the weather changed. A fierce gale carried blinding showers of sleet over the plains, and impeded the soldiers in making approaches to the rebel camp, while it was known that the Cossacks had tried to break out

in the direction of the Dnieper under cover of the storm. This was, however, probably only a feint. Their real object was to make their way to a place called the Bear's Den, where amidst dense jungle and treacherous swamps a small plot of firm ground gave just space enough to erect an earthwork into which the fugitives might crowd and bid defiance to pursuit. This fen was sometimes called the Woodcock's Haunt, probably from some old Pecheneg of the time of Sviatoslav, who found it a safe retreat even from the most determined pursuer. It was only some two leagues distant, but the way lay over ground as dangerous to the pursued as the pursuers. However, Khmailo, trusting to his knowledge of the country and the extreme difficulties it would present to a pursuing force, determined to make the attempt, and under cover of night started for the refuge, bag and baggage, without his flight being discovered.

But the Cossacks little knew what an able leader they had to deal with, or what his followers were capable of when their reputation was at stake. The flight of Khmailo was discovered by the Germans whom Koniecpolski had sent forward to reconnoitre the camp before dawn. He had a number of *groshovye*, or paid Cossacks, with him, and also the Podolian regiment, which had had long practice in pursuing the Tartars, and which was really composed of Cossacks, only that they had been brought up in a civilised way. He had with him able leaders for such work in Khmeletski and Bieleletski, both professional raiders; and he himself had recently shown in the pursuit of Kantemir of how much he was capable.

The rebels had just got their impedimenta across a marsh that lay about a league from their camp when Stanislaw Polocki came up with them with 1,500 men-at-arms. The rear-guard, composed of infantry, offered a stubborn resistance, but being no longer under cover they fell in heaps, though they stood their ground till the Polish general came up with the artillery. Then they scattered, making good use of their knowledge of the surrounding cover. Meanwhile Khmailo had got across another fen, half a league further on, leaving 2,000 cavalry to cover his retreat at this point. They, in their turn, held their ground till the artillery came up. From this point the pursuers could see at half a league's distance the Bear's Lair, which was so *nomine et re*, as an eye-witness remarks.

On approaching the Polish leader found the way blocked by a semicircle of wagons, with some 2,000 more horsemen behind them. The defence of this marshy Thermopylæ enabled Khmailo to complete the last passage in safety. He soon put the old earthworks, which rose out of the very waters of the fen, in a posture of defence. Seeing no other alternative, Koniecpolski determined to

attack them, late as it was, and a struggle ensued even more stubborn than that at the former camp. After various attacks and counter-attacks the Poles, driving in a sally with their whole force, entered the entrenchments with the fugitives. The Cossacks gave way before their onslaught, and their assailants, pressing the attack, found themselves floundering in the quagmires on the far side. The Cossacks now became in turn the assailants. The tall bearded figure of the Polish leader was conspicuous even in the turmoil of battle, and became the mark for every Cossack petronel. It was with difficulty that he was extricated from the *mêlée*. Yet in the main his object was attained. The Polish artillery had swept the camp from three sides, and it was littered with dead and untenable. The Cossacks still kept up a withering fire from rifle pits, but they knew that a fresh assault must result in extermination, and they asked for quarter. It was at once granted. Night fell, a night of misery to both sides, though more particularly to the royal army, less accustomed to hardship. The wounded had already suffered terribly from the cold, and the night brought snow to add to their sufferings.

The Cossacks, however, still evaded complete submission. They pretended they were afraid to face the wrath of the Polish leader, and the latter, suspecting a trick, gave orders to prepare fascines for the dreaded assault, which, however, he was in no mood to carry out, as he wanted assistance from the rebels in his Swedish campaign. He therefore sent Bielecki and Khmeletski, whom he knew to be popular among them, into their camp, to warn them that he must proceed to extremities unless they completed their submission. The threat and the preparations sufficed. A scale of pay was then arranged for the rebels—700 gold pieces a year for their leader, 100 for the quartermaster and the provost-marshal, and 50 to each of the colonels. The other terms were the same as before, and the Cossack envoys agreed to them all with the exception of two, viz. giving up the ringleaders of the piratical raids and reducing their standing force to 4,000 men. They further prayed that their subsidy might be increased by 50,000 gold pieces, as so many of them were homeless; that they might be allowed to elect their own chief; and that the republic would allow them free quarters in some of the principal towns during the winter, for they had most of them no roofs over their heads, and especially for the deputies and their attendants. Lastly, they prayed that the women, children, and cattle which were detained in the camp might be restored to them.

The women, however, were in no hurry to be given up. As to the surrender of the pirate leaders, the commissioners felt bound to give way, as there were instances of as bad or worse license among the gentry of their own country. All the more resolutely

did they insist on the reduction in the standing force. At first they stood out for 4,000, then they agreed to 5,000, and finally refused to accede to any excess over 6,000. The remaining representations were disregarded.

In considering the conduct of Koniecpolski we must remember on the one hand that he and the magnates who followed him could not fail to have a certain admiration for the Cossacks as brave soldiers, and so look somewhat leniently on their irregularities. They themselves were the ardent champions of the rights of the gentry, and thus could sympathise with those who boldly maintained similar rights. On the other hand the knowledge of an understanding between the Crimean Tartars and the rebels, which had gone to such a length that Shágin Ghirey had promised to allow them to plunder as much as they liked in Turkey, in consideration of being left to do as he pleased in Poland, gave the hetman no alternative but to put such a bargain beyond the reach of possibility. On 28 Oct. he set his army in motion for the return march. There were still some 20,000 men in the Cossack camp, but Khmailo had been replaced in the eldership by Michailo Doroshenko, at the instance of the Polish leader. Such was the end of the revolt of Khmailo.

By the beginning of 1626 the task intrusted to Doroshenko of inquiring into the titles by which land was held in the Ukraine was completed. The treasury had in its hands the title deeds of the estates which the Cossacks held by right of martial prowess, with a list of the tenantry and an account of the feudal tenures by which the various estates, with the privileges attaching to them, were held.

As we have seen, 6,000 Cossacks were enrolled on the roster as soldiers. The rest had no legal existence, but were to be counted with for all that. The Polish body politic was not strong enough to rid itself of its parasites, of which the Cossacks were the most tenacious. The circumstances which had admitted of their rise and spread, till they became a source of danger, were still unchanged. One thing which prevented the taking of such measures against them as should render them innocuous was the Swedish war, which had furnished the opportunity for the punitive expedition against them. Large numbers of the disbanded Cossacks streamed across the country to the seat of war, but, though they had been liberally provided with all necessaries, railed everywhere at the 'landgrabbers,' and scattered discontent against them broadcast along their path. They declared the gentry, wherever they came, did not leave the poor Cossack even pasture for his horse. That such a statement has been preserved for us by the oral handing down of a ballad is sufficient proof of the effect it must have produced at the time. Even in White Russia, which had suffered so much from

Nalivaiko and his men, these reports were greedily listened to, not least by the clergy, who had most cause of complaint against the predatories. The Swede was not slow to take advantage of the discontent, and sent an embassy to Zapórog to stir up the Cossack zeal for the Greek church against the catholics. His representations, however, were rendered futile by the abrupt close of the war.

The war came to an end, but not the difficulties of the dauntless Koniecpolski. There was still no money in his chest, and having saved the country from its foes without he had now to save it from the wrath of its own indignant soldiers. His great services were repaid by his fellow nobles with slander, and history has hitherto passed him by slightly. The gentry were loud in outcries for payment for their sacrifices, while Ferdinand II, who, especially in 1620 and 1625, had rendered invaluable services to Sigismund by lending him mercenaries, was now equally urgent for his reward. The German and Polish soldiery proposed to seize one of the most flourishing provinces as a pledge for their arrears of pay, and their requisitions were as much dreaded by the peaceful inhabitants as the horrors of regular warfare. But Koniecpolski averted the danger. At his suggestion the most influential of the German leaders were at once transferred to the national force, the 'Kwarciane Wojsko,' as it was called, from being paid out of a fourth of the revenues from the domains, and two bodies of 600 Germans apiece were ordered for frontier service, to be at the disposal of the royal and Lithuanian hetmans. The gentry who had served in the war were promised an 'assurance' (*i.e.* a solemn oath that they should have the next right to such public offices as might fall vacant), provided they returned at once to their allegiance.

Having thus taken the heart out of the mutiny, the question of arrears of pay was quietly deferred till the next diet, the crown hetman having, however, to offer his own estates as security. This was one of the cases where the gentry, more especially those of the Russian provinces, forgot their own interests and were true to their country. The eastern provinces were only too apt to forget what they owed to Poland, and to be ready to join hands with any one who was disposed to attack that country, and they had their reward in the treachery with which the Cossacks repaid their assistance. However, for the time being the latter were in great request as auxiliaries. In Livonia fighting had been going on with the Swedes even while the revolt of Khmailo was in progress, and as soon as it was over the magnates had hastened to secure the services of a large number of Cossacks who were thus set free. Not only so, but when, in 1629, the truce came to an end, the Cossacks of the Black Sea made their appearance in the Baltic, and attacked the Swedes with great success.

While the attention of Poland was turned in this direction the

Ukraine, disregarding the lesson of the Bear's Lair, acted as an independent principality, and gathered men who were longing, like true Cossacks, to earn their living by the sword for an inroad into Turkish Wallachia. A successful raid was made on the town of Tegito, which added much to the temporarily obscured reputation of the Cossacks and furnished a theme for the ballad-mongers.

Doroshenko and his 'enrolled' forces were not behindhand. Under pretence of checking the pirates he moved on the Niza and destroyed the new Turkish castle of Islam-Kermen. Just about this time Mahomet Ghirey had been turned out by Kantemir, and Janibek Ghirey put in his place; and the deposed khan called the Cossacks to his assistance. Doroshenko with 4,000 of his 'regulars' retook from Kantemir the guns he had captured from Zukowski, but fell himself in the action, and his men, under the leadership of a newly chosen hetman, Gritsko the Black, released the two captive Ghireys and returned to Zapórog with Shagin, while his elder brother went in search of help to the Great Nogais.

From the cataracts (Zapórog means 'beyond the cataracts') the Cossacks sent a letter of justification to the king. They promised to conquer the Crimea for him if he would grant them admission to the royal army. For his part Shagin offered homage to the king on behalf of himself and his brother. The letter is still extant in which the royal officials advised the king to let them have their way, and the advice was followed. All the time the government was assuring the Porte that they had no proof of any communication between Cossacks and Tartars.

Hopes were now high in Zapórog, but the party of the new khan, being informed of their intentions, made a devastating inroad into Red Russia. Khmeletski, however, whom Koniecpolski had appointed his lieutenant on the frontier, was worthy of his trust. He was not only always on the alert, but knew how to draw both Poles and Cossacks to his standard, and he had inflicted a bloody defeat on the Tartars at Bielaia Tserkov in 1626. He was to distinguish himself still more in 1629. His plan was to fall upon them in detail, and the event proved that this was easily done. At Dobrovoly Kantemir's youngest son sustained such a crushing defeat that he with difficulty escaped into the woods with two followers. Liubomirski fell on the second, Mamhet, near the mouth of the Dniester, and scattered his following not less completely, he himself being taken prisoner and killed in a dispute as to who was his rightful captor. Khmeletski then caught the main body near Burshtyno, on the Lina, and rescued a number of prisoners, Polish and Russian, amounting to 10,000, besides women. It is said that one of the Cossack scouts fell into the Tartar's hands before the battle, and protested so vehemently that the Polish force was not advancing against them that they were thrown quite off their guard.

Khmeletski showed himself as great a master of the arts of peace as those of war, and the Ukraine was never so prosperous or tranquil as under his rule. He was humane, chivalrous, and scrupulous, and the terror of evil-doers. But in spite of his best efforts his soldiers committed many irregularities, thus furnishing the Cossacks, who had still arms in their hands, with some ground for discontent. An attack was made on a portion of the army of occupation near Kiev, and the peasants joined in it. As usual the Cossacks spread reports grossly exaggerating the arbitrary acts committed by the soldiers, and asserted that some Russians among the latter had warned the metropolitan that they were sent thither expressly to exterminate him and his flock. The attack, serious or not in its immediate results, was the signal for a revolt which was wide-spread indeed. Gritsko the Black, the new 'elder,' was, however, determined to put down the rising, as his duty demanded; but the rebels denounced him as a secret *Uniat*, or favourer of the catholics, and took advantage of the unpopularity thus caused to break into his house and inflict terrible tortures on him.

The news of the rising soon reached Koniecpolski, and he took immediate measures for its suppression. Kanewski, the starosta of Zwenigrad, and Lash Tuchanski were selected to command the punitive expedition. This Lash, who was constable of the Ukraine, was a remarkable man. Nursed in the rough school of the border, he was one of the most trustworthy of Koniecpolski's lieutenants. He had collected a following of beggared gentry, refugees from Wallachia, and Tartar adventurers, and, it must be added, Cossack cut-throats. He was disliked but respected by his neighbours, whom he treated in very high-handed fashion, though his extravagance had loaded him with debt and left him poor. Though he was fighting against the Cossacks, he would have been more in his place in their midst, but by some strange irony of fate he remained a loyal subject.

The rebels took the field to meet him with a train of artillery. They started from Zapórog under the leadership of one Taras, of whom nothing is known but that from his surname, Teodorówich, he must have been a Polish gentleman. Unlike previous revolts, this was recruited mainly from the urban population, and religious grievances were made the pretext for it. Boretski, the metropolitan, helped it on both by his counsels and his sympathy. The arrival of Lash and some other commanders at Kiev cleared the right bank of the Dnieper of the 'non-enrolled' Cossacks. As for the 'enrolled' men, 2,000 remained true to the royal hetman, but the rest crossed the Dnieper to join Taras Teodorowich. The latter entrenched himself at Pereyaslav and vainly endeavoured to prevent the passage of the royal and feudal forces. Koniecpolski,

following close on Butler and Zolbowski with his own and other magnates' followers, crossed near Kiev and blockaded Pereyaslav. Three weeks the blockade lasted, the Cossacks making sorties and keeping the besiegers on the alert by trying to cut off detachments. At the end of that time, finding that they were outnumbered four to one, and that no help was coming to them, the rebels came to terms. One condition of these was that the 'non-enrolled' should disperse to their homes. Those of the 'enrolled' who had joined the rising were readmitted on taking the oath of allegiance afresh. Arendarenko was proclaimed elder in the room of Taras, as 'a man who had shown his fidelity, valour, and experience in the wars of the state.' He bound himself to exclude from Zapórog all Cossacks not in the royal service, to enrol no volunteers or such as had been excluded from the regular roster, and to punish any one who should be found doing so. His men swore to burn all their boats and to have no dealings with those who were not in the service of the crown.

Of course after such a surrender open resistance was out of the question, but underhand opposition was inevitable as long as the Cossack nature remained what it was. The courtyards and home farms of the gentry, the frontier towns of the kingdom of Moscow, the 'free quarters' on the Don were all full of non-enrolled Cossacks, while they swarmed on the 700 streamlets which were the tributaries of the Dnieper. Even in the huts of the Crimean and Budjak Tartars they were to be found, as Tartars were often to be found at Zapórog in the guise of Cossacks, forming the connecting link between Europe and Asia. If Turkey had been destined to triumph over Slavism, we may be sure that the descendants of the Cossacks of that day would have been more Turkish in their cruelties than the Turks themselves. If, on the other hand, the catholic world had conquered the orthodox, we may be sure that these same Cossacks would have been known to history as the staunchest champions of catholicism and the Polish nation.

In the spring of the year 1631 Boretski died, and thus an end was put for the time to the rising hopes of the South Russian church. There was no longer any cohesion among the Cossacks; all that they could do was to wait for better days and to keep alive in their ballads and legends the memories of past glories. For the moment all talk of religious liberty, all hope of obtaining aid from Moscow was abandoned.

Sigismund III was now dead, and had been succeeded by his son Wladislaw IV, a pupil of the Jesuits. His bringing up had had the effect of thoroughly disgusting him both with priests and with courtiers, and making him an ardent sympathiser with freedom. He was a Cossack in heart, in habits, and in his love of war. He was fonder of the Zaporozci even than the terrible but sympathetic

Konieczpolski. The fourteen years' truce was up in 1632, and in true Cossack spirit he began to arm against Moscow, a threat which was met by the despatch of a Muscovite force to seize Smolensk. Radziwill, whom Sigismund had made an enemy of, and his friends the Zapórog Cossacks, were only too eager to tender their services to the new ruler. It was determined to enrol 15,000 Cossacks for the purposes of the war. They responded readily, forgetting their late tacit alliance with Moscow, and surpassing their neighbours in warlike zeal. Besides those in the direct service of the king many joined his standard under the banners of the various magnates, conspicuous among whom was Żukowski's nephew Danilovich, the son of a Russian voivod. The disciples of the orthodox church were taking arms against their brethren in the cause of catholic Poland.

The Russian leader, Shein, unable to face Wladislaw in the field, was forced to raise the siege of Smolensk, and the Cossack flying columns cut his communications with Moscow. Making their headquarters at Viasma, the latter scoured the country, effectually preventing Shein from receiving supplies. He was forced to keep within his camp, his movements being hampered by a large siege train, and unable even to send a message for help. A force was sent to his relief by the tsar, but was defeated. His provisions were exhausted, nor could he get any wood to resist the approaching rigours of winter. Famine and cold soon caused all sorts of diseases to break out in his camp. The men died like flies within the entrenchments, while their feeble sallies were easily driven in, not without loss, by an enemy emboldened by success. According to Polish authorities more than a half of his men perished, and at last he could muster only some 9,000. To save the remainder he agreed to terms, which were to surrender fugitives, to set free his prisoners, and to yield his arms, colours, and his scanty remnant of stores to the conquerors. On 10 Feb. he made his humble submission, laying thirty standards at the feet of Wladislaw, who received them on horseback, a degradation which even his great services could not atone for in the eyes of his countrymen.

In March of the same year Wladislaw moved on Bielaia, but met with an unexpectedly stubborn resistance. The fortress was taken, but it cost so much blood that his chancellor said the 'White' Town had better be rechristened 'Red.' The feudal army lost heavily during the siege from cold and privation, but the Cossacks, like salamanders, kept themselves warm by the heat of the buildings they set on fire. Their ravages struck terror into the Muscovites and enabled the Polish army to penetrate unopposed into the very heart of Russia. Had Wladislaw been less of a Cossack and more of a disciplinarian, it would have gone ill with Russia. But the two nations, apart from that, were not fated to be allowed to fight

it out. The Poles were checked in mid-career by the news that the Turks, at the instigation of the protestant powers, were threatening to seize their most fertile provinces. So Wladislaw hurriedly concluded, on the strength of his cheaply earned success, a 'perpetual' peace with Russia at Polyanovo. Smolensk and several other towns, with a slice of territory some 400 square leagues in extent, were ceded to him. Thus Russia abandoned her hardly earned conquests, and those who were mainly instrumental in wringing them from her were the very rebels against the Polish crown who had but lately looked humbly to her for support.

While Wladislaw was thus engaged the more desperate of the Cossacks, who had refused to be included in the convention of Pereyaslaw, were making themselves the scourge of the Black Sea. The Turks made reprisals by letting loose on Poland the man who had been an object of dread to their own frontiers. This was the famous rebel Abaza Pasha. Forces were collected from Rumelia, Bulgaria, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and placed under his command for the purpose. As usual the movement was heralded by a Tartar raid. The notorious 'Bloody Sword' swooped down on unprepared Podolia, and after devastating the country for six leagues beyond the border retreated across the Dniester with such rapidity that he had already regained a place of safety before the news of his raid reached Koniecpolski. The latter had not taken part in the Russian campaign, of which he disapproved, thinking that Moscow was the most trustworthy ally of Poland against the dangers constantly threatening from the Black Sea. As usual he was on his guard, knowing how fallacious was the peace concluded with the Turk. 'Kanishper,' as the Turks called him, hastily collected 2,000 men and crossed the Dniester for a counter-stroke. Laden with booty, the horde moved but slowly, and had got no further than Sasov Rog, in the Bessarabian forests, when it was surprised by the Pole. Everything was at once in confusion, and the mirzas alone made any real resistance, and that only until the fall of Kantemir's son-in-law. The booty was all recovered, but the country from which it had been taken was a mass of smoking ruins.

This raid enabled Koniecpolski to measure the extent of the danger that threatened him. His urgent appeal for assistance met with little response, but with such forces as he could muster he took up a strong position near Kamieniec, within sight of the ground where twelve years before the invasion of Osman II had been arrested. His opponents included almost the whole warlike population of the Balkan peninsula. Abaza was accompanied not only by Kantemir, eager to avenge his late defeat, but by the hospodars of both Wallachia and Moldavia. In all their followers were computed at 50,000 men. When the armies

came in sight, various skirmishes took place, followed by a serious attack, which was repulsed with loss. The confederates were disheartened. Abaza was afraid of a panic among his troops, who lacked cohesion, and the fidelity of the Wallachians was doubtful. He retreated to Mohiliewo, destroying some villages on his road, and thence withdrew beyond the Dniester. Koniecpolski followed, but at a respectful distance. The chronicler admits that he had been within a hair's-breadth of destruction. His tireless energy and exceptional strength had alone saved him.

Amurad IV now prepared to take the field in person at the head of his troops. Forces were concentrated at Adrianople, and an envoy, Murtoza Aga, was sent to Warsaw to threaten the Poles with destruction unless they consented to exterminate the Cossacks as an independent tribe, to pay tribute to the Porte, and accept the Mohammedan faith. But news being at the same time received of the king's victory over Shein the proposals were received with mocking laughter. The whole country was called to arms, and the king repaired to Lwów (Lemberg), where the troops that had taken part in the Moscow campaign were assembled. At the same time there was in both countries a strong party that wished for peace. For once the privileges which the Polish magnates had secured for themselves were used to good purpose. Abaza, too, was no longer in favour at Constantinople. A successful intrigue was set on foot against him, and he was secretly strangled. A gorgeous public funeral and costly monument deluded the uninitiated into the idea that his death was natural and deeply regretted in the divan.

Both sides agreed to concessions on the occasion of the renewal of the peace for the tenth time. Poland was to coerce the Cossacks, and Turkey the Tartars. As a matter of fact all that was avoided was a declaration of war between the two powers. The lawless inhabitants of the frontiers continued their depredations, as before, quite unconcerned as to the injunctions of the central authority on either side.

Koniecpolski had long had a plan in his head, somewhat similar to that by which the pacification of the Scotch highlands was secured in the next century. He proposed to build a fortress on the Dnieper, which should not only prevent the lawlessly inclined from reaching Zapórog, but cut off the supplies of timber which were floated down the river for boat-building. A certain Captain Mariet offered to carry the plan into execution, on condition of being appointed commandant and allowed to maintain a German garrison there. The place was called Kodak, but was almost a *terra incognita* to the central authority. We may gather that his 'fortress' was not only a military but a commercial establishment. At any rate the Cossacks were furious against him, and openly threatened

vengeance unless he changed his conduct. He totally disregarded these threats. The fortress was duly built, and its German garrison set about its duties with true western thoroughness. Communication was cut off between the Ukraine and Zapórog, and an old Cossack offender, Dnieprò Slavuta, imprisoned. Now Zapórog was quite dependent on the outside world for supplies of men. As the Cossack song put it, 'All the rivers in the world flow into the Black Sea.' The timber could reach them by a roundabout route, but provisions, especially drink, were hard to obtain except from the upper Dnieper. The chain had been cunningly forged, but at all hazards they must shake themselves free.

The leader of the Black Sea pirates at this time was Samuel Sulima, a man well known in the Mediterranean and especially at Venice, which took a keen interest in Zapórog, and even at Rome. The Cossacks were ready to follow him anywhere. He was determined to put a stop to Mariet's 'tyranny,' and collecting 6,000 'independent' Cossacks he stormed the place, drove out the garrison, and shot the commandant. Public opinion declared that he ought to have tortured and hanged him.

Just at this time the war with Sweden broke out afresh. Radziwill was at once joined by 1,500 men from the Niza, and by his exertions boats were equipped for their use on the Niemen. The Cossacks were thus transformed from refractory subjects into indispensable auxiliaries, and reckoned on a free pardon for their rebellious acts. But by the representations of the English and French ambassadors the truce was renewed for twenty-six years, and so there was no further need for their services. The forces collected for the war were now turned against them. The news of their advance reached the Ukraine just as the country was ringing with the latest exploit against Mariet, very much idealised, of course. The appearance of the royal hetman on the scene caused an abrupt transformation. All those who had anything to lose, or were but half-hearted, hastened to wash their hands of what had just been vaunted as a glorious feat of arms. Sulima and his comrades found themselves abandoned, and before long seized and conducted to Warsaw by their own fellows.

The culprits pretended complete ignorance of the authority on which Mariet had acted, and urged that they had only defended themselves against an illegal interference with their rights. Their defence did not improve their position. The members of the diet were furious against them for the damage caused both by direct Cossack depredations and by the reprisals to which their piracy had led. In spite of the representations of their admirers and the intercession of the king they were all condemned to death. The catholics were able to offer Sulima no better consolation than to receive him into the bosom of their church. As he was being led to execution he made

only one request, that the medal given him by Paul V might be buried with him. It is doubtful whether it was granted. The Lithuanian chancellor records that he was decapitated and then quartered, the quarters being hung up at the four corners of the city, 'a mournful and revolting sight.' He records also that many looked on him as a martyr. This chancellor was a devout catholic. The chancellor of the kingdom, Tomasz Zamoiski, went further in his sympathy, and asked a pardon for one of the other sufferers, Paul But, notorious in Cossack story as Pavliok, and his prayer was granted.

There was for the time a lull over the country. The hopeless failure of the projected revolt had struck terror, and a momentary reaction in favour of order was the result. No external enemy threatened Poland. Sweden was occupied elsewhere, Moscow humbled, though secretly meditating revenge. In 1634 'perpetual' peace with Turkey was once more ratified. There seemed no reason why the freedom from disturbance which this fruitful land alone required for its prosperity should not be lasting.

It was said of Wladislaw, even before he came to the throne, that he was a man devoid of religion. This was so far true that he was a staunch upholder of religious toleration. By this means he conciliated Moscow, and it seemed as if Poland would gain more by the arts of peace than by the sword inherited from Boleslaw the Brave. Clemency unhappily is not always appreciated by its recipients, and it was to its exercise on Pavliok that Poland was to owe the shattering of the fair promise which her outlying province was now showing.

H. HAVELOCK.

Nelson and the Neapolitan Republicans

THE story of Nelson's dealings with the last remnant of the Neapolitan republic has been told frequently; but there is this excuse for touching on certain points once more, that the principal Italian evidence has been completely passed over in England. No notice has ever been taken of Ruffo's documents and reminiscences, published by his secretary and literary executor, Sacchinelli, 'Memorie sulla vita del Cardinale Ruffo.' No notice has been taken of the royal letters to Ruffo, or of Hamilton's to Acton, published by Dumas, 'I Borboni di Napoli,' vol. iv.¹ And except for some inadequate quotations by Captain Mahan, no notice has been taken of Hamilton's correspondence in the Record Office ('Sicilian Papers,' vol. 45).

The main outlines of the story are, of course, well known. Nelson, sailing from Palermo on 21 June 1799, after an interview with the Sicilian king, and arriving in Naples on 24 June, suspended and later on annulled a treaty which Cardinal Ruffo, the king's vicar-general, had concluded with the republicans in the two forts, Nuovo and Dell' Uovo. (1) Had Nelson received legal powers over Ruffo? (2) Had this treaty been effectively executed, or did things remain *in statu quo*? (3) Were the republicans given due warning that the treaty was suspended, or deliberately allowed to quit their forts under the impression that it was still in force? (4) And what were the circumstances under which Nelson hanged Caracciolo, the republican admiral? Such are the four chief questions which present themselves, and, in the light of the new evidence, call for re-examination.

I

Those who maintain that Nelson had full legal powers have relied mainly on a letter of Acton's, 1 Aug. 1799, in which he refers to Nelson's having had authority to arrest Ruffo, the vicar-general:

Your lordship's and Sir W. Hamilton's observations on these events, on your arrival in Naples Bay, rose his majesty's suspicions. . . . It was in your lordship's power to arrest the cardinal, and send him to

¹ I have to acknowledge the kind assistance which has been given me in verifying Dumas, and in other matters, by Signor Capasso, keeper of the Neapolitan Archives, and by Signor Maresca, Marchese di Cameranno.

Palermo. . . . The cardinal yielded to your wise and steady declaration.²

This letter of Acton's, however, when it is examined a little closer, proves that Nelson did not leave Palermo with authority to arrest Ruffo, but received it only on 30 June. For, in the first place, Acton states that it was letters written 'on arrival in Naples Bay' that first raised the king's suspicion against Ruffo; and this statement must be taken in conjunction with the fact that the voyage from Naples to Palermo generally took three days.³ In the second place the extant correspondence between Naples and Palermo, especially Nelson's and Hamilton's letters of the 29th, leaves no room for the arrival of such authorisation previous to 30 June. Moreover, Acton notices that the cardinal escaped arrest by yielding; and he was certainly still resisting on 29 June.⁴

This inference from Acton's letter is amply confirmed by Hamilton's despatch to Grenville of 14 July.⁵ There Hamilton explains what a quandary Nelson found himself in from 24 to 30 June, having all the will in the world to supersede the cardinal, but lacking authority to do so :

The cardinal, finding soon that the whole confidence of the people was withdrawn from him, and reposed entirely on Lord Nelson and his majesty's fleet, endeavoured to throw the whole weight of affairs on his lordship, and by that means cause inevitable confusion; but we contrived to keep everything going on decently by supporting the vicar-general until we had answers from their Sicilian majesties at Palermo, to whom we had painted exactly the state of affairs, and the confusion at Naples, preventing at the same time his eminence from doing any essential mischief, and recommending to their majesties in the strongest manner to show themselves in the Bay of Naples as soon as possible, by which means and by that alone all would be calmed, and the cardinal's dangerous power die of a natural death. By the return of the vessel that carried our letters to Palermo, Lord Nelson received a letter from the king, in which he thanked his lordship for having saved his honour, approved all that had been done, and sent letters with full powers to appoint a new government, and even to arrest the cardinal if Lord Nelson should think it necessary to come to that extremity.⁶

² *Nelson Despatches*, vol. vii. addenda, p. 186.

³ As this point becomes of considerable importance, it may be noticed that though the distance, about 210 miles, might, with an exceptional wind, be covered in 24 hours, there is no evidence of such speed having been obtained 14-30 June. Twelve voyages can be calculated, and the record is as follows: Six times 3 or 2½ days, four times 2½ or 2, twice 3½ or 4. Nelson's voyage, 21-24 June, represents the average.

⁴ Refusing to publish Nelson's proclamations (Hamilton's *Despatch to Grenville*, 14 July), and issuing counter proclamations of his own (Dumas, iv. 92).

⁵ *Sicilian Papers*, vol. 45, R.O.

⁶ On the same day, immediately after writing this official despatch, Hamilton wrote a private letter to his nephew Grenville, in which he says, 'We (Nelson, I, and Emma) had full powers' (see *Morrison Collection*, p. 405). As this loose and inaccurate summarisation has been appealed to by Nelson apologists, it may be

After this clear evidence of Acton's and Hamilton's it will scarcely be wondered at that the first intimation which Ruffo received from Palermo, enjoining submission to Nelson, was a letter of the king's dated 27 June, and despatched simultaneously with the secret orders for his arrest :

I have heard with inexpressible satisfaction of the arrival of my frigate from Naples, and from the same that the worthy and faithful Lord Nelson has safely arrived there with his squadron. I have read the declaration which he sent to you in the form of observation, than which I cannot conceive anything more wise, reasonable, adapted to the purpose, and truly evangelical. I do not doubt that you will have immediately conformed thereto, and have instantly acted in accordance. Otherwise that would be which cannot be, after the many proofs of fidelity and attachment which you have given me in the past. The Lord preserve you, as with all my heart I desire.⁷

Thus it is plain from the evidence of Acton's letter, Hamilton's, and the king's, that Nelson's legal powers arrived only on 30 June, and that his interference with Ruffo's authority, previously to that date, was flagrantly illegal. Ruffo's commission as vicar-general was absolute, and nothing less than a formal cancelling of his powers (such as actually took place on 27 June), and a conferring of those powers on Nelson, could have justified the latter in the course that he took on his arrival at Naples.

There would be some partial justification if, as was alleged afterwards, Nelson found that Ruffo was granting an amnesty in contravention of 'the king's distinct orders.' But this plea, too, falls to the ground when we find that, although the king and queen were burning to see justice executed, and had so expressed themselves to Ruffo,⁸ yet their desire to recover Naples was still stronger. We have evidence that, if he judged it absolutely necessary, Ruffo had their authorisation to offer departure 'even to the leaders.'⁹

noticed that Hamilton goes on to observe that he is too tired to travel again over the same ground covered by his despatch ; and he refers Greville to the despatch for fuller particulars. In fine, the letter is to be interpreted by the despatch, not the despatch by the letter.

The ground on which Captain Mahan has questioned the trustworthiness of the despatch will be examined presently, and I shall endeavour to show that though Hamilton makes gross mistakes as to dates, such as a careless person, writing three weeks after the events and without a diary, might be expected to make, yet that his trustworthiness as to matters of fact has been questioned without just cause.

⁷ George Rose's *Diaries*, i. 230. It is scarcely necessary to point out that this letter and the extracts from Dumas, Sacchinelli, &c., that follow, are not original, but translations from the Italian.

⁸ Such informal expression of wishes, however, could in no case affect formally conferred powers.

⁹ Cf. 'instructions' for the proposed expedition to Naples, 10 June (Rose's *Diaries*, i. 235-6). Strictly speaking, these instructions apply to the hereditary prince, who was to command this expedition, and not to Ruffo ; but what might be done by the prince might very much more be done by Ruffo unreinforced. It is to be also noted in this connexion that the queen, writing to Lady Hamilton on the 18th (Brit. Mus. *Egerton*

It remains then to ascertain what Nelson's commission, received on 21 June, actually was; and the exact aspect which Neapolitan affairs presented to the Palermo court at the particular moment when he departed. The evidence shows that the king had heard of Ruffo's negotiations and offers of an amnesty on the 17th, and had heard of them with considerable annoyance, but had also heard of the negotiations proving abortive, and of the recommencement of hostilities:

It is impossible that you can have promised an amnesty to Caracciolo, &c. It would do the greatest harm to let those rabid vipers live, especially Caracciolo, who knows our coasts so well.¹⁰

Still, there was no loss of confidence in Ruffo. Nelson is only sent to strengthen the cardinal's hands:

Upon the cardinal's letter of the 17th arrived to-day and those of Procida of the 18th, we find that . . . the republicans . . . broke the truce. The republicans are making continual sorties. The cardinal seems in a disagreeable position. His majesty, on this circumstance especially, accepts the kind offer of Lord Nelson to present himself before Naples and procure the intimation for surrendering.¹¹

The same situation is depicted in Hamilton's letter to Nelson of 20 June, except that here personal dislike to Ruffo reveals itself:

By latest accounts the royalists and the Jacobins are fighting it out. Without Foote the cardinal would have done little.¹²

On the 21st the queen writes to Ruffo cordially, explaining the precise feelings of the court and the directions given to Nelson, without any hint of interference with the cardinal's jurisdiction:

Nelson will summon them to surrender, and if they refuse he will force them, obstinacy being now superfluous and injurious. . . . One can treat with S. Elmo, which is in the hands of the French; but the other two castles, if they do not surrender immediately and without condition to the summons of Admiral Nelson, will be taken by storm and treated as they deserve. . . . The news of Caracciolo's flight grieves me excessively.¹³

That no news of the resumption of negotiations had reached Palermo is also shown by a letter of the same date as the queen's, which Nelson addressed to Duckworth:

MSS. 1616), speaks without blame of Ruffo having offered an amnesty after the capture of Naples on 14 June; that the intimation to Ruffo on the 21st, that no terms were to be offered but unconditional surrender (*Dumas*, iv. 76), is made as for the first time; and that her reproof of Ruffo, dated the 25th (*Maresca's Il Cavaliere Micheroux*, p. 222), blames him not for disobedience, but for acting without sufficient necessity.

¹⁰ The king to Ruffo, 20 June, *Dumas*, iv. 75.

¹¹ Acton to Hamilton, 20 June, *Despatches*, iii. 391.

¹² British Museum Add. *MSS.* 34912.

¹³ *Dumas*, iv. 76.

All is undone again, though they [the rebels] had in some measure agreed to terms. Therefore his majesty has requested my immediate presence in the Bay of Naples.¹⁴

Further there is the evidence of Hamilton's despatch to Grenville of 14 July. This is less valuable, being written later, when the situation had completely changed. In summarising, he erroneously imputes to the Sicilian court on the 21st suspicions of Ruffo, which, although entertained by himself and Nelson for some time past,¹⁵ were only entertained at the court six days later (as Acton's letters prove), and for which, jealous captiousness apart, there was previously no adequate reason. Also he imputes to the court an eagerness for the expedition to Naples which was felt rather by Nelson.¹⁶ In other respects Hamilton confirms what has been said before :

Their Sicilian majesties having received alarming accounts from Naples that the Calabreze army, after their entry into Naples, was plundering the houses of that city and setting them on fire under the pretence of their belonging to Jacobins, and that Cardinal Ruffo, elated with his unexpected successes, was taking upon himself power, far beyond the positive instructions of his sovereign, and was actually treating with his Sicilian majesty's subjects in arms, and in open rebellion against him, earnestly entreated Lord Nelson to go immediately with his entire squadron to Naples, and prevent if possible the cardinal from taking any steps, or coming to any terms with the rebels, that might be dishonourable to their majesties, and hurtful to their future government, and to assist in the reduction of the French garrisons, and in bringing the Jacobin rebels to justice.

In this connexion one ought also to notice that in the 'Observations' which Nelson drew up at sea, on first hearing of the armistice,¹⁷ we find him fishing about for some theoretical basis for the action he proposed to take ; and arguing that if the French fleet arrived it might relieve the garrison in spite of the armistice, so he on the other hand might compel them to surrender : he could hardly have failed to mention his viceregal powers had he possessed any.

¹⁴ *Despatches*, iii. 384.

¹⁵ Hamilton writes to Nelson on 17 June : 'Your lordship sees that what we suspected of the cardinal has proved true, and I dare say when the capitulation of Naples comes to this court, their majesties' dignity will be mortified. You see the business was done the 14th, and had we arrived the 15th, we could only have modified the cardinal's terms. *His eminence was resolved to conquer Naples himself.* No matter, so long as the business is done' (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 34912). Nelson's correspondence with Troubridge in March (see *Despatches*) shows that he detested the cardinal personally ; and this jealous desire to deprive Ruffo of the honour of delivering the *coup de grâce* to the republic is a factor to be kept in mind.

¹⁶ 'My resolution is fixed. For God's sake suffer not any one to oppose it. I shall not be gone eight days. No harm can come to Sicily. I must go. It will finish the war. It will give a sprig of laurel to your affectionate friend.'—Nelson to Hamilton, 20 June. *Despatches*, vol. vii. addenda 185,

¹⁷ *Despatches*, iii. 384-6.

Again, he would surely have mentioned them a day or two later when he had his famous interview and collision with Ruffo.¹⁸

In fine, the entire evidence not only does not support the idea that Nelson had any viceregal powers, even informally conveyed or verbally, previous to 30 June, but, by showing exactly what his commission was,¹⁹ practically precludes them. Hamilton's own justification of the opposition to Ruffo on the occasion of the interview undoubtedly represents the exact and entire position: 'Their majesties' opinion and intentions we both knew were contrary.'²⁰ Nelson himself fell back on the wild absolutist doctrine that 'as to rebels and traitors, no power on earth (neither vicar-general nor treaty) has a right to stand between them and their gracious king.'²¹ The whole fact of the matter is that the situation anticipated and provided for on 21 June at Palermo was radically different from that which Nelson found on his arrival. Simply, he knew what the king's wishes were; and he regarded them as paramount to every other consideration whatsoever.²²

¹⁸ We possess four separate accounts of this interview. Nelson's is found in his letter to Keith (*Despatches*, iii. 390-3); Hamilton's, in his despatch to Grenville of 14 July; Lady Hamilton's, in J. Harrison's *Life of Nelson*, which was compiled under her eye at Merton; and Ruffo's, in Sacchinelli.

¹⁹ As is very clearly done by the queen's letter, above quoted, written at the moment of Nelson's departure.

²⁰ Hamilton to Grenville, 14 July.

²¹ *Despatches*, iii. 384.

²² Paramount even to the consideration that the treaty had been countersigned by Foote, commander of the British squadron at Naples. The main points as to the validity of Foote's act are as follows:—

1. That though in Foote's commission, and in Troubridge's, to which he succeeded, no power to treat had been explicitly conferred (see Foote's *Vindication*, p. 107, &c.; *Despatches*, iii. 308, 310), yet that on the other hand it had not been explicitly withheld, as e.g. was afterwards done in Hoste's case (*Despatches*, iii. 388).

2. That the fact of being left in command of an English squadron, unable to communicate with his superiors within much less than five or six days, necessarily implied some power to act in certain emergencies, and within certain limits, as England's representative.

3. That on 29 April we find Nelson distinctly stating that absolute power of pardon had been granted to Troubridge, which power would devolve on Foote: 'A very handsome order of the king is come out, stating the few exceptions to pardon; and even those, or any one whom Troubridge says pardon, it is done by the instrument' (*Despatches*, iii. 341).

4. That when the news of Foote's terms to Revigliano and Castellamare, precisely similar to those afterwards granted to Dell' Uovo and Nuovo, was received in Sicily, not a word was said as to his having exceeded his powers (see Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 34912; *Despatches*, iii. 392).

5. That it is a pure cavil to say, as Nicolas does, that if Foote had felt that he had definitely pledged English honour he would have protested vigorously at the time; for Nelson sent him to Palermo on June 28, before the decided infraction of the treaty, and sent him out of the bay again immediately on his return. Foote had fully explained to him all the circumstances of his signature.

6. That having been unreservedly charged to co-operate with Ruffo for the recovery of Naples, Foote had really no alternative but to comply when Ruffo requested him to give the republicans this guarantee for which they stipulated. If the French fleet had arrived, as was half expected, and had found the republicans, owing to Foote's

II

Leaving now the question of Nelson's legal powers, there comes the second and still more important question, Was the treaty which he suspended, and afterwards annulled, ever properly executed? Whatever excuses may be made for, in extreme cases, annulling a signed treaty, it is agreed on all sides that at any rate the *status quo* must be absolutely restored; and the following extracts will show that in the present case such execution had taken place as rendered any real restoration of the *status quo*—even if Nelson had attempted such a thing, which he did not—absolutely impossible.

Hamilton, in his despatch to Grenville of 14 July, states:

When we anchored, the capitulation had in some measure taken place. . . . The others [*i.e.* those rebels who did not wish to emigrate] had already been permitted with their property to return to their homes, and hostages [*i.e.* the four notables covered by article viii.] had been sent into S. Elmo.

Ricciardi and Davanzati, prisoners on the polaccas, memorialised Nelson during July as follows:

After the arrival of the British fleet, the capitulation was begun to be put into execution. The garrisons of the forts on their part set at liberty the state prisoners and the English prisoners of war (in accordance with article ix.), and gave up to the troops of his British majesty the gate of the royal palace which leads to Castel Nuovo. . . . By these transactions the articles of the capitulation which were signed have been ratified by Russia and England, the troops of which powers have received the prisoners, and taken possession of the gates of the castle.²³

Further testimony of Ricciardi's will be found in 'Memoria sugli avvenimenti di Napoli,' printed in the 'Archivio storico per le Province Napoletane,' anno xiii., 1888, pp. 72-3:

The capitulation was signed. . . . The promised hostages were forthwith handed over [into S. Elmo], and successively on the part of the patriots, the state prisoners and the English prisoners were set at liberty. While the two garrisons remained in their respective forts, awaiting the vessels, Nelson arrived.

abstention, still in possession of the forts, it cannot be questioned that Foote would have been censured severely.

7. That, in any case, before the treaty could be properly abrogated, reference to Keith, commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, was necessary, as Nelson himself implicitly acknowledged in his written declaration to Ruffo (*Vindication*, p. 15). But while he wrote off to the Sicilian king on 24 June, his earliest letter to Keith, dated 27 June, was not despatched till the 30th or later, as the postscript proves (*Despatches*, iii. 390-3). What Keith's answer would have been, and how far Nelson was guided by English injunctions in the extreme course he took, may be judged from the following: 'For God's sake do not let those good people [king and queen] carry their heads too high. Let them return on any terms that are tolerable.' Keith to Nelson, 29 June, *Vindication*, p. 87. And again: 'Advise those Neapolitans not to be too sanguinary. Cowards are always cruel.' Keith to Nelson, 12 July, *Despatches*, iii. 419,

²³ *Sketches of Manners in the French Republic*, by H. M. Williams, ii. 325.

Foote states,²⁴ and his whole statement, written in 1810, is pre-
faced by an appeal in corroboration to all the surviving captains
who had served with him at Naples (p. 29) :

The truth is that some parts of the agreement had been performed,
and actual advantage was afterwards taken of those parts of the capitu-
lation that had been executed to seize the unhappy men, who were thus
deceived by the sacred pledge of a capitulation into a surrender of every-
thing that can affect a human being in the most critical moments of his
existence.

Again, in writing to Nelson on 26 June,²⁵ Foote informs him that
he had made use of Nuovo as a temporary detention house for
prisoners whom he had taken from other forts on the bay :

The officers and men belonging to the late republican garrisons of
Revigliano and Castellamare, who wish to go to Toulon, are in the Castel
Nuovo.²⁶

Micheroux writes to Usciakoff on 24 June :

We are masters of all the forts except S. Elmo, which we shall soon
attack. This moment the fleet under Admiral Nelson comes into port.²⁷

Wade writes to Hamilton on the evening of the 24th or morning
of the 25th that the forts are now practically defenceless :

In order to avoid the danger that might happen to the city by Lord
Nelson's firing on the Castel dell' Uovo and the Castel Nuovo, still in
possession of the Jacobins, upon my arrival here I applied to Cardinal
Ruffo offering my services in hopes he would condescend to grant me a
few troops in order to take possession of those castles : but he not only
declined it, but absolutely refused that any of his majesty's subjects
should be employed in breaking a treaty authorised with his signature.²⁸

Ruffo writes to Nelson on the evening of 25 June, that he will
restore the *status quo* if Nelson persists in his not yet explicitly
abandoned plan of breaking the treaty :

That suspending the execution of the treaty, the cardinal was re-
placing the enemy in the position which they stood previous to the
treaty, and finally would withdraw his troops from the posts last occu-
pied, and would entrench himself with all his army, leaving the English
to conquer the said enemy by themselves.²⁹

Again, in his final appeal to Nelson on 29 June not to sully his
glory, Ruffo reminds Nelson of the precarious position in which he
is placing ' the hostages [in S. Elmo].'³⁰

²⁴ *Vindication*, p. 48.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 142.

²⁶ Corrected from the original, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 34912.

²⁷ *Ibid.* It is proper to add that some one has written in the margin, 'Oh,
Micheroux, how can you tell such d—d lies!' But that Micheroux is practically
correct, at any rate with regard to a strategical surrender of Nuovo, is proved by the
corroborative testimony. Is there not probability that some correspondent surrender
had taken place at Dell' Uovo ?

²⁸ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 34912.

²⁹ Sacchinelli, p. 254.

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 264.

Troubridge writes to Nelson on 3 July that he has been interrogating a man from S. Elmo as to the treatment of the hostages; and this man is 'a hostage's servant . . . servant of [Marshal] Micheroux.'³¹

Nor must we pass over the evidence of the historian Botta, who was a contemporary and a careful investigator, and had plenty of opportunities to ascertain the exact facts :

On one side the hostages were conducted into S. Elmo, and on the other side the royalists entered the two castles. . . . At this point Nelson arrived.³²

With regard to all these testimonies as to a real execution of the treaty which Nelson violated, it must be observed not only that the witnesses above quoted were qualified, none better, to be certain of the facts of which they spoke, but also that, though writing quite independently, their testimonies are corroborative of one another. The affair of the hostages, as to which there is general agreement,³³ may be glossed over as not very important; but the surrender of the Porta Reale, as to which the two memorialists are corroborated by the wider statements of Foote, Micheroux, Wade, Ruffo, and Botta, was a strategic surrender of capital importance. And the third point—the departure of those not intending to emigrate—is more important still; for, taking this statement of Hamilton's in conjunction with his further indication³⁴ that only 700 and odd were made prisoners on 26 June, and with Ricciardi's again and again repeated statement that there were 1,500 in the castles previously,³⁵

³¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 34912. This Marshal Micheroux was cousin of the Cavaliere Micheroux elsewhere mentioned, and was one of the four hostages named in article viii. The fact of his presence in S. Elmo is also shown by Troubridge's intercepting a letter from one cousin to the other (Troubridge to Nelson, 1 July). Further evidence as to the four hostages being in S. Elmo is to be found in the cavaliere's letters (Maresca's *Il Cavaliere Micheroux*, p. 238).

³² *La Storia d'Italia*, iii. 402.

³³ The slight discrepancy as to time, whether before Nelson's arrival or after, may be explained easily. The object of the memorialists was not so much to show that the treaty had been executed, as that it had been executed with English as well as Russian sanction. It would seem that on this point they made a mistake; but it is possible that some of the hostages, other than the four, went off later than the others. And similarly with regard to the surrender of the Porta Reale: several strategical points must have been surrendered before Nelson's arrival; so Foote's evidence and Micheroux's, Wade's, Ruffo's, and Botta's proves; but this particular point of vantage may have been surrendered later, or the English marines may have subsequently reinforced the Russians, who were first in possession. It may be noticed in this connexion that Nelson gave Pali, the chief of the lazzaroni, 100 marines on the evening of the 24th (*Morrison Collection*, p. 411).

³⁴ Despatch to Grenville, 5 Aug., R.O.

³⁵ *Memoria*, pp. 73, 83; H. M. Williams, *Sketches*, i. 179–80, 208, 220. Ricciardi makes a mistake indeed in supposing that 1,500 were embarked on 26 June; but then, though he was in a position to know the exact number of the original garrisons, he was not in a position to know the exact number of those who walked off home, or were fellow-prisoners with himself on the polaccas. Incidentally he really confirms Hamilton's estimate, 700, for he states that after Nelson had extracted the chief rebels,

it seems to follow that on 26 June the garrisons were at less than half strength.

As this matter of the departure of the non-emigrants is crucial, the *status quo* being altered thereby radically and irretrievably, it may be well to furnish what further information is forthcoming. We find, then, from the *verbale* drawn up by Minichini, Micheroux's delegate, that when Dell' Uovo was taken possession of there were still thirty-four non-emigrants there who elected not to embark; ³⁶ but this can be explained by the extreme difficulty of egress from Dell' Uovo, the single way of escape being guarded by the Calabresi, whose massacre of republican prisoners Ruffo had all along found himself powerless to prevent.³⁷ In the accounts of the surrender of Nuovo we do not hear of the non-emigrant class at all, though in the natural course of things there were probably a few who remained to the last; and the only reference to any which I can discover is a slight notice of Ricciardi's,³⁸ that presently non-embarking republicans were 'shut up in the dungeons of their respective forts.' On the whole, then, it may be concluded that more than half the garrisons had quitted when Nelson took possession, and this is really a considerable under-statement; for besides those who, as Hamilton states, quitted under treaty conditions, there were also great numbers who left the castles in consequence of the negotiations being opened, and with Ruffo's express sanction and guarantee. It must be remembered that the amnesty basis had been conceded on the 17th,³⁹ so that when negotiations were resumed on the 19th, the preliminaries were already settled:

From the moment they began to treat about a capitulation, a great many began to make their escape ⁴⁰ from the two castles, and the number will increase more and more under the favour of the night. We have placed some officers round Castel Nuovo to receive these voluntary prisoners, and to assure them that they shall be forgiven; and this seems ex-officials of the republic, reckoned by another rebel at 84 (Colletta, *History of Naples*, i. 364), from the polaccas and taken them on board of English ships, the remainder was about 500 (*Memoria*, p. 83; H. M. Williams, *Sketches*, i. 208, 215). The only question is whether in speaking of the 1,500 intending emigrants Ricciardi is referring without distinction to the total number of persons in the castles at the moment the treaty was signed; or whether his words are to be taken quite literally, and we are to suppose that there were 800 who put down their names in the official list of intending emigrants (see Foote's *Vindication*, p. 193), and afterwards, perhaps at sight of the English sails, changed their minds. In the latter case, we must add to the 800 those who elected not to emigrate from the beginning. It is perhaps worth adding that 1,400 seems to have been the normal figure for Nuovo, and 200 for Dell' Uovo (*Despatches*, iii. 317); also that besides the actual garrisons in the forts when the treaty was signed, there was a considerable number of civilian refugees.

³⁶ Sacchinelli, p. 257.

³⁷ *Vindication*, p. 181.

³⁸ *Memoria*, p. 74.

³⁹ Ruffo to Foote, 17 June. *Vindication*, p. 179.

⁴⁰ *Fuggire*. The context shows the reason for this way of speaking to be that Nuovo was placed in extreme peril by attacks of the unmanageable Calabresi. The word has been wrongly translated, as though it were equivalent to *desertare*.

to succeed very well. And should those who have not yet fled find the same safe asylum on the sea, I believe that the French (in S. Elmo), in case of their being disposed to recommence hostilities, would find the two castles empty.⁴¹

Against all this evidence, so far as it has been hitherto noticed, as to the ample execution of the treaty which Nelson violated, only two objections have been brought forward. With regard to the one, brought forward by Nicolas, that execution as to the matter of the hostages and the Porta Reale was of no force, having taken place after Nelson's arrival and his suspension of the treaty, it has already been shown that the memorialists probably made a mistake as to date, and clear proof will be brought forward presently that Nelson did not really suspend the treaty till the night of the 26th. Nicolas should have noticed how unaware of any such suspension the wording of the memorialists shows them to have been. With regard to the second objection, brought forward by Captain Mahan, that Hamilton is not trustworthy, since, in addition to the points of execution already mentioned (as to which, by the bye, his evidence is corroborated), he reckons the actual embarkation, there is, I think, room for reconsideration. Here are Hamilton's words :

When we anchored . . . fourteen polaccas had taken on board the most conspicuous and criminal of the rebels that had chosen to go to Toulon. . . . There was no time to be lost, for the vessels were on the point of sailing.⁴²

Now, clearly the impression which these words at first sight convey is utterly wrong, for there is no manner of doubt that, while Nelson arrived on 24 June, the real embarkation did not take place till the evening of June 26. But as Hamilton at once proceeds to state that Nelson extracted the guiltiest of the rebels immediately (*i.e.* compresses, as it were, in an hour events which extended over four days, for the extraction of the chief rebels from the polaccas only took place on 28 June), it seems more reasonable to suppose that some partial embarkation took place before Nelson's arrival, than that Hamilton invented facts out of absolutely nothing. This view is corroborated when we find Pepe, one of the garrison of Nuovo, affirming that the embarkation began on 23 June, probably on board of the three polaccas first signalled :⁴³

Towards evening the patriots began to evacuate the castles. . . . The anticipations of a favourable breeze alone prevented them from immediately weighing anchor. On the following day Nelson's fleet made its appearance.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Ruffo to Foote, 19 June. *Vindication*, p. 184.

⁴² Hamilton to Grenville, 14 July.

⁴³ *Vindication*, p. 193.

⁴⁴ General Pepe's *Memoirs*, i. 105, published 1847. Pepe also states that during

Similarly, Colletta says that 'they departed . . . and only waited for the wind.'⁴⁵ And similarly Botta :

The republicans embarked. . . . They waited for a good breeze. At this point Nelson arrived. He declared the republicans prisoners, both those who had already embarked, and not yet started, and also those who had not yet repaired to the ships.⁴⁶

Thus Hamilton's testimony as to the commencement of the embarkation, confirmed as it independently is by Pepe's, Colletta's, and Botta's, does not necessarily weaken his testimony as to the other points of execution, but probably adds one point more to them. Further, the very exaggeration shows how far Nelson's adviser was from regarding any execution of the treaty as a bar to breaking it.

Lastly, there remains the testimony of Baillie and Achmet, the Russian and Turkish commanders, who along with Foote had countersigned the treaty in the name of their respective sovereigns. Their testimony indeed is indirect, merely of the nature of comment, but it cannot be passed over as immaterial, considering that they had all the facts of the case, as it presented itself on 25 June, before them. They protested to Nelson that any violation of the fully concluded treaty 'would be an abominable outrage against public faith.'⁴⁷

III

Leaving now the question of the execution of the treaty, we come to the third and most important point of all—the circumstances under which the remnant of the garrisons embarked on the afternoon of 26 June. Did they come out unconditionally, as Nelson afterwards stated,⁴⁸ 'to be hanged or otherwise as their sovereign thought proper' ? or were they, as Foote stated,⁴⁹ 'taken out under pretence of putting the capitulation I had signed into execution' ?

It is true that when he arrived on the 24th, Nelson immediately signalled to Foote to take down the flag of truce, and declared his

the interval 19–24 June, Ruffo called on the garrisons of Pescara and Civitella to surrender on the same terms as those that were being granted to Nuovo and Dell' Uovo; and that they surrendered under this quasi-guarantee (*Memoirs*, i. 105, 108). If Pepe be correct, we practically have here one more example of ir retrievable execution; for though the treaty with Nuovo and Dell' Uovo was still incomplete, its amnesty basis was already settled. Pepe's evidence is confirmed by Botta (*Storia d'Italia*, iii. 402, 413).

⁴⁵ *History of Naples*, i. 364, published 1834. Colletta is inaccurate on many points, but there is no reason for discrediting him as to a matter which came under his personal observation. He does not seem to have been in garrison, but certainly was in Naples at this moment.

⁴⁶ *Storia d'Italia*, iii. 402, published 1826.

⁴⁷ Sacchinelli, p. 251.

⁴⁸ *Despatches*, iv. 232.

⁴⁹ *Vindication*, p. 39.

intention of breaking the armistice (so he styled the treaty) by an attack upon the castles; but Ruffo inflexibly refused to co-operate, and his refusal forced Nelson to abandon this design. It is also true that on the morning of the 25th Nelson prepared a declaration for Ruffo to send to the garrisons: 'Lord Nelson will not permit them to quit or embark. They must surrender to his majesty's royal mercy;' but Ruffo refused to act as an agent, and there is almost conclusive proof that the declaration was never served.⁵⁰ In the afternoon, however, of the 25th,⁵¹ Nelson had a

⁵⁰ Nelson subsequently asserted that after Ruffo's refusal he sent the declaration direct to the castles in his own name (*Despatches*, iv. 232); but at this time, owing to Fox's public indictment, he was in the position of defendant, and his assertion must be accepted with reserve. The reasons against the declaration having been sent directly to the castles are:

(a) That Ruffo's refusal to co-operate rendered it quite impossible to prevent republicans quitting by land. Only 100 English marines had been landed, and such prohibition would have been a complete *brutum fulmen*.

(b) That Ruffo's letter to the governor of Nuovo, written late on the evening of the 25th, and the latter's reply, presently quoted, convey the very distinct impression that the governor only now for the first time learnt, at any rate officially, that there was a hitch about the treaty.

(c) That Albanese's letter, presently quoted, of 29 June, protesting against the delay in sailing, is incompatible with the idea that any such declaration as the above had been received by the republicans previous to their embarkation.

(d) That Nelson, writing to Keith, only states that the republicans quitted under the 'opinion' delivered to Ruffo: 'Lord Nelson found a treaty entered into, &c.'

It may further be observed that though the original copy of the declaration, at the Record Office, commences with 'Declaration sent, &c.' ('Summons' has been erased), yet that this descriptive headline is obviously a post-addition, and may be adequately explained by the fact of the declaration having been sent to Ruffo. It is also to be noted that the declaration does not seem to have been, like the companion declaration to S. Elmo, entered in the *Order Book* (see *Despatches*, ii. 386). Thus, in fine, Nelson's assertion appears inaccurate, and this impression is strengthened when we consider the context in which it occurs: 'The whole affairs of the kingdom were at the time alluded to absolutely placed in my hands. . . . I sent in my note, on which the rebels came out. . . . There has been nothing promised by a British officer that his Sicilian majesty has not complied with.' Cf. 'not executed, therefore not a capitulation' (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 34991, p. 314). At first Nelson contented himself by denouncing the treaty as 'infamous;' then, when accused by Fox and in H. M. Williams's *Sketches*, he made these bold general assertions; then he maintained silence.

⁵¹ A digression as to the accuracy of this date is necessary, for a great deal depends upon it; and historians vary strangely, some putting the interview on the 24th, and some on the 26th. It may be observed then:

(a) That though all the accounts of this interview and of the negotiations precedent are continuous, suggesting at first sight that the interview took place on the day of arrival, yet that this inference cannot be correct, for we are told that the cardinal came on board only 'after much communication' (*Despatches*, iii. 392); and Hamilton's first letter to him is dated 5 P.M. (see Sacchinelli's appendix). It may be added that Nelson's letter to Duckworth, written on the morning of the 25th, shows that he and the cardinal have not yet met (*Despatches*, iii. 387); and that the copy of the declaration which, previous to the interview, Nelson had requested Ruffo to send to the garrisons is dated June 25.

(b) That the log of the 'Foudroyant,' which has been appealed to as proving that the interview took place on the 26th, proves on the contrary that it took place on the afternoon of the 25th. The nautical day, it may be observed, commenced until the beginning of this century with P.M. of the day previous, being reckoned from noon to

long stormy interview with Ruffo, and gave him the following opinion in writing :

Lord Nelson found a treaty entered into which he is of opinion ought not to be carried into execution without the approbation of his Sicilian majesty.⁵²

With regard to which opinion, it is to be particularly observed that in the four accounts of the interview that we possess there is no whisper of getting the garrisons out of the castles and detaining them on shipboard. Why should there be? For suspension of the execution of the treaty implied a preservation of the present position.

Such was the situation on the evening of the 25th, but on the morning of the 26th Nelson executed a complete *volte-face*. The fact of the matter seems to be that Hamilton had succeeded in impressing on him the extreme danger of an open rupture with the cardinal, such as now seemed imminent, especially after the arrival of the cardinal's *ultimatum* (see above, p. 268), in which he threatened to restore the *status quo*. Hamilton had probably pointed out, too, that what could not well be done by force might be 'decently' done by a feint.⁵³ At all events, whoever deserves the credit of originating it, that plan had been adopted; and accordingly, on the morning of 26 June, 'after much reflection,'⁵⁴ Nelson authorised Hamilton to commence new operations with the following note to Ruffo :

noon. Thus, at noon on the 26th the master would make up his log for that date, starting from the noon of the 25th. The entry for the 26th is as follows: 'P.M. Saluted the grand cardinal of Naples with 13 guns. A.M. Four men punished for drunkenness.' This nautical reckoning also explains why the written opinion above given, which Nicolas cites from a copy from the *Order Book*, should be dated the 26th, while he himself dates the interview on the 25th (*Despatches*, iii. 497). In the absence, however, of the *Order Book* (the authorities at the Admiralty believe it to have been destroyed), the authenticity of the date '26th' is rendered doubtful by the fact that Nelson sent Keith a copy of the opinion without any date at all (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 34912). It is scarcely necessary to add that the correspondence of the 26th, presently quoted, precludes Ruffo's visit on that day, and that the logical place for it is the afternoon of the 25th, Nelson in the morning having refused to deal with any one except the cardinal (Sacchinelli, pp. 251-2).

⁵² *Despatches*, iii. 390-3.

⁵³ Cf. *supra*, p. 262. 'We contrived to keep everything going on decently by supporting the vicar general.' Again (to Greville, 14 July, *Morrison Collection*, p. 405): 'Nothing but my phlegm could have prevented an open rupture on the first meeting between Cardinal Ruffo and Lord Nelson.' Again (to Acton, 27 June. *Dumas*, iv. 87-9): 'It has been necessary for me to interfere between the cardinal and Lord Nelson: if not, all would have gone wrong from the first; and the cardinal has written to thank me.' It is Hamilton's singular shamelessness that makes me think that he was the originator of the ruse. We presently find him describing it unblushingly (see p. 278). We have already heard him boasting that the treaty which Nelson violated had been most effectively executed, and even exaggerating the amount of execution (see p. 271). Notice, too, his comment when Nelson had extracted the chief rebels from the polaccas: 'It is a good thing that we have the chief culprits on board at the moment of attack on S. Elmo, for thus we can chop off a head for every shot that the French fire on Naples' (to Acton, 29 June. *Dumas*, iv. 101).

⁵⁴ *Dumas*, iv. 87-9.

Lord Nelson begs me to assure your eminence that he is resolved to do nothing which can break the armistice⁵⁵ which your eminence has accorded to the châteaux of Naples.⁵⁶

Evidently Ruffo replied taking exception to this assurance of Hamilton's as inadequate, for Nelson presently writes himself :

I am just honoured with your eminence's letter, and as Sir W. Hamilton wrote this morning that I will not on any consideration break the armistice entered into by you, I hope your eminence will be satisfied that I am supporting your ideas. I send once more Captains Troubridge and Ball.⁵⁷

These two captains, who had previously been accredited by Hamilton as 'thoroughly informed of the sentiments of Lord Nelson,' came to Ruffo and completed the impression which the letters above quoted would naturally convey. They verbally assured him that Nelson 'would not interfere with the execution of the capitulation.'⁵⁸ The following paper, founded on their verbal assurances, was then drawn up⁵⁹ for them to sign :

Captains Troubridge and Ball have authority on the part of Lord Nelson to declare that his lordship will not oppose the embarkation of the rebels and of the people who compose the garrisons of the castles.⁶⁰

Troubridge and Ball demurred to signing on the ground that such formal signature would be an extension of their powers, having probably been forbidden to sign anything whatever. (Or was it with an inkling of what was to happen that they shrank from committing themselves more than they could help?) But though Troubridge and Ball left the paper unsigned, the exact accuracy of Ruffo's report of their verbal assurance, 'Lord Nelson will not oppose, etc.' (for it is on Ruffo's testimony, recorded by his literary executor, Sacchinelli, that the above facts rest), is specifically confirmed by a letter of Hamilton's, to be quoted presently.

After these letters of Nelson's and Hamilton's, and the supplementary explanations of the two captains, Ruffo could not reasonably raise further objections. That declaration of Nelson's 'will

⁵⁵ So Nelson had persisted in styling the treaty (cf. *Despatches*, iii. 390-3).

⁵⁶ Sacchinelli, p. 255.

⁵⁷ This letter is printed in *Despatches*, iii. 384-5, but it is misdated and misplaced, so that its whole significance is lost. Ruffo's letter, to which it is a reply, has been destroyed (see p. 282, note 101).

⁵⁸ Sacchinelli, p. 256.

⁵⁹ Sacchinelli, lighting on the paper after Ruffo's death, supposed the writing to be Troubridge's. Examination, however, at the British Museum has shown me that the handwriting is identical, not with Troubridge's, but with that of a letter in English from Ruffo to Nelson, labelled 'copy.' It would seem then that the above paper was drawn up either by Ruffo's then secretary, or by an English-paid interpreter who accompanied the two captains.

⁶⁰ See facsimile in Sacchinelli's appendix.

not permit them to embark,' even if it had been directly sent, was now distinctly rescinded. That written opinion, 'ought not to be carried into execution,' was rescinded too, for the two captains promised not only that Nelson 'would not oppose' the execution, but also that he would land five hundred marines to assist.⁶¹ Ruffo was completely deceived; and after deputing Micheroux to inform the garrisons that they must embark immediately,⁶² he wrote off to Hamilton thanking him for having used his moderating influence,⁶³ and saying what a relief to his mind it was that affairs were being so happily concluded.⁶⁴

Accordingly Micheroux and the two captains visited the castles, and delivered Ruffo's message. What grounds had the republicans for suspicion? It is true that, the night before, Ruffo had written to General Massa, the governor of Nuovo, informing him that Nelson 'has shown himself unwilling to recognise the treaty,' and offering the garrisons a safe-conduct over land;⁶⁵ but this intimation was all too vague, and whatever disquietude it left must have been dissipated by the assurances of the two captains. How unaware the republicans were of Nelson's real intentions is conclusively shown by the fact of their rejecting Ruffo's generous proposal, and complete misunderstanding of its true motive:

We have given your letter the interpretation which it deserves. Standing firm to our duties, we shall religiously observe the articles of the treaty that has been concluded, persuaded that an equal obligation ought to bind all the contracting parties who have solemnly intervened. For the rest, we are not to be surprised or intimidated, and shall resume the hostile attitude if you attempt to constrain us by force.⁶⁶

What the king's mercy meant, the republicans knew right well; and as sane men it cannot be doubted that, on the afternoon of the 26th, they would have preferred availing themselves of Ruffo's offer, never withdrawn, to coming out unconditionally, 'to be hanged or otherwise as their sovereign thought proper.'

Once the polaccas were provided, the republicans were obliged to embark then and there, for by any delay they would have infringed the treaty themselves, and consequently have rendered themselves liable to immediate attack. Any suspicion that may

⁶¹ Dumas, iv. 87-9.

⁶² The captains visited Ruffo in the afternoon, as Nelson's letter shows. The garrisons embarked at four or five p.m.

⁶³ Dumas, iv. 87-9.

⁶⁴ Hamilton's reply of 27 June deserves quotation: 'I can assure your eminence that Lord Nelson congratulates himself on the decision which he has taken not to interrupt your eminence's operations, but to assist you with all his power to terminate the affair which your eminence has so well conducted up to the present. We are too happy to have contributed to your eminence's tranquillity.' (Sacchinelli, p. 259.)

⁶⁵ Sacchinelli, pp. 252-3. To make the retreat safer, Ruffo had further issued a proclamation forbidding interference with republicans in the streets under pain of death.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

have been roused during the actual évacuation by non-fulfilment by the English of the 'honours of war' stipulation must have been counterbalanced by its fulfilment by the Russians. At Nuovo we have the evidence of Ricciardi and Davanzati :

The troops of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias attended the march of the garrison with the honours of war out of the forts, on the side of the Arsenal of Marine, where they grounded their arms and embarked.⁶⁷

At Dell' Uovo, we have the evidence of Minichini's *verbale*,⁶⁸ that the conditions of the treaty were still more formally observed ; for, owing perhaps to the English marines arriving late, it was here the Neapolitan authorities who took possession. A pledge was given, when L'Aurora, the commandant, handed the keys over, that the thirty-four non-emigrants should be sent home within six hours.⁶⁹ Whatever else it may be, the *verbale* is evidence that the Neapolitan authorities and the garrison were under the impression that the treaty was being executed.

It was not until the fourteen polaccas were anchored under English guns, instead of being allowed to sail, that the republicans realised that they were prisoners.⁷⁰ On the 29th they unconsciously complain of the delay in sailing, 'although the wind is propitious.'⁷¹ And if any lingering doubt remain that this result was brought about, not by a series of accidents, but by deliberate design, it is taken away by Hamilton's reference in his letter to Acton of 28 June :

⁶⁷ H. M. Williams, *Sketches*, ii. 325. Colletta confirms this statement (*Hist. of Naples*, i. 364) ; but on the other hand Pepe (*Memoirs*, i. 66) and his colleague Albanese (Sacchinelli, pp. 262-4) appear to deny it. Such divergency, however, in this and other matters, does not really invalidate the republicans' testimony in the slightest ; for each man could only bear witness to the little bit of the scene which he saw. Those in one castle would not know what passed in the other ; and the circumstances of embarkation on 23 June were very likely not identical with those of 26 June, &c. &c. That Ricciardi and Davanzati are correct in this particular matter of 'the honours of war' is almost proved by the before quoted protest of the Russian and Turkish commanders, which concludes with a declaration that they, Baillie and Achmet, are for their part 'determined to execute the treaty religiously.' (Sacchinelli, pp. 251-2.)

⁶⁸ Sacchinelli, p. 257.

⁶⁹ 'At 11 o'clock.' Doubtless the stipulated-for delay was due to the desire of the republicans for the protection of night. See above, p. 270.

⁷⁰ If any one, playing with words, argues that in Nelson's letter about not breaking the armistice, the word 'armistice' is to be taken in its strict sense, and not in the sense in which Nelson had been employing it, then even so there was now a distinct breach of faith, when Nelson laid hold of the polaccas and detained them. The armistice was technically broken just as much by this forcible detention as it would have been by an assault on the castles. The only difference was that the republicans were now disarmed and helpless. It is true that even in the castles they would have stood little chance if attacked, but they were desperate men with no trust in royal mercies, and according to Pepe had sworn to follow the example set by the republicans of Vigliena, and blow themselves and their assailants up together.

⁷¹ See Albanese's letters, Sacchinelli, pp. 262-4.

Lord Nelson kept the promise he had given to the cardinal. He did not oppose the embarkation of the garrisons, but the garrisons once embarked, it became patent what he had done with them.⁷²

Thus, following the Italian documents, we are irresistibly brought back to Foote's view⁷³ that the garrisons were enticed out of the castles 'under pretence of putting the capitulation I had signed into execution.' And from the first it was really in the nature of things almost inevitable that this view should be confirmed, for it comes to us not on one man's authority, but, as said before, with the implied authority of every surviving captain, Troubridge among others, who had served at Naples.⁷⁴ It was not till that generation had completely passed away that Foote's accuracy was challenged.

IV

Leaving now the question as to the embarkation of the garrisons, we come to the fourth point: How far was Nelson justified in the matter of Caracciolo? On the one hand it has been stated that he acted 'from a strict sense of duty,' and 'it is difficult to see what else he could have done;' while on the other hand his action has been represented as the culmination of illegality, unfairness, and cruelty. The chief points are as follows:

1. If what has been already said as to Nelson's lack of warrant previous to 30 June be correct, then the dragging of Caracciolo from Ruffo's jurisdiction during the night of 28 June was consummately illegal.⁷⁵ Ruffo had disregarded Nelson's requests to hand Caracciolo

⁷² 'Si vede che ne aveva fatto.' Dumas, iv. 94-6.

⁷³ *Vindication*, p. 39.

⁷⁴ I was told by one of Foote's daughters that the proof-sheets of the *Vindication* were submitted to every Naples captain within reach; and that the only objection was, 'We know all this, so what is the good of publishing? Wouldn't it be better to let the Naples affair bury itself?'

⁷⁵ As the question of the arrival of Nelson's powers is now narrowing itself down to a question of hours, some further remarks are necessary as to the exact dates of the Naples-Palermo correspondence (Brit. Mus. *Eg. MSS.* 1616) published by Pettigrew and Gagnière. There is, it may be added, this further excuse for going into minutiae, that the dates, when properly fixed, explain the exact sequence of Nelson's proceedings. The queen's frenzied letter of the 25th, urging Lady Hamilton to 'recommend to Lord Nelson' the utmost severity, and referring to a letter of the king's to Nelson (now missing) as about to be enclosed in the same packet, mentions as the last news the receipt of intelligence from the cardinal dated the 21st, that a treaty favourable to the rebels was half concluded. The arrival of this letter can be exactly fixed on the morning of the 28th, from Hamilton's letters of this date to Ruffo and Acton, mentioning receipt of the king's letter (Rose's *Diaries*, i. 238; Dumas, iv. 94-6). It may be added that the king's letter would seem from these references to have been a comparatively mild one, and merely disapproving of Ruffo's action, the real wishes and feelings of the court being expressed by the queen to her deputy; and also that Hamilton's mode of reference, 'Deducing (*rilevando*) that his majesty has quite disapproved . . . Lord N. felt himself sufficiently authorised to make himself master of the polaccas,' is fatal to the idea that it was in this letter that Nelson's powers were enclosed. It is further noteworthy that in mentioning certain modifications of Ruffo's power which are under

over,⁷⁶ and had issued a proclamation forbidding any arrests without his personal authority.⁷⁷ According to d'Ayala⁷⁸ his niece had offered the prince letters of safe-conduct. Under these circumstances Nelson's emissary effected the arrest by night, or in the grey hours, took his prisoner a circuitous route in order to escape the cardinal's notice, and embarked him secretly at the Granatello.⁷⁹

2. Nelson decided that Caracciolo was not covered by the treaty of capitulation, and exempted this point from the cognisance of the court-martial, on the ground that he had left Nuovo previously.⁸⁰ It would seem, however, that Caracciolo was still covered by article vii. :

The same conditions shall take place with respect to the prisoners which the troops of his majesty and his allies may have made before the blockade of the forts.

To make this article mean that the royalists, while releasing contemplation, the queen speaks in such a way as to preclude the idea that Ruffo's deposition and arrest were as yet thought of. The copy of the treaty that follows, with the queen's annotations, is undated; but as Hamilton, in his private note to Grenville of 14 July, R.O., mentions that it was enclosed in a letter (now missing) docketed '5,' the queen's letter of the 25th being docketed '4,' and as Thurn despatched a copy of the projected treaty (signature took place the following day) on the 22nd (Maresca, pp. 197, 222), which the queen's letter of the 25th shows that she had not yet become acquainted with, it may be fairly concluded that the annotated treaty was sent off to Lady Hamilton on the 26th. The date of its arrival is fixed by Hamilton's letter to Acton of the 29th, in which he acknowledges Acton's of the 26th (Dumas, iv. 100). It is thus clear that at the moment of Caracciolo's arrest the king's judgment on the treaty as finally concluded had not yet been received. Nelson was still waiting for the answer to his communications sent off on the 24th, and still without legal powers.

⁷⁶ Rose's *Diaries*, i. 238.

⁷⁷ Nelson to Acton, 29 June. Dumas, iv. 92.

⁷⁸ *Italiani benemeriti*, p. 139. Cf. *Intorno alla storia di P. Colletta, annotamenti di P.C. Ulloa*, p. 151. Ulloa confirms d'Ayala as to the fact that assistance was given, though disagreeing as to the manner. D'Ayala and Ulloa are late authorities, but they carefully gathered up the Neapolitan tradition, not yet extinct. The present Principe di Macchia is a direct nephew of Caracciolo.

⁷⁹ Sacchinelli, p. 267. Maresca suggests, on the strength of a report mentioned in the *Diario napoletano*, that Caracciolo was first detained for some days as the cardinal's prisoner (p. 218); but Sacchinelli's clear evidence, confirmed by d'Ayala and Ulloa, shows that he was brought from his hiding-place to the 'Foudroyant' direct.

⁸⁰ Hamilton to Grenville, July 14. Caracciolo fled on the 17th according to the old story, which date is confirmed by the above quoted letters of the king and queen of the 20th and 21st. Probably there was at first some hitch about including him in the amnesty (see Maresca, p. 219), and he withdrew in order to relieve his comrades of embarrassment. But it is certainly unreasonable to deduce from his subsequent course that he regarded himself, and was regarded by Ruffo, as not covered by the treaty when completed. The danger of being murdered sufficiently accounts for his hiding; and he had additional reason for doing so after Nelson's suspension of the treaty, when Ruffo sent him word to fly (Ulloa, p. 151). Further, there is considerable doubt with regard to that letter suing for pardon, which Clarke and McArthur say that he wrote to Ruffo on the 23rd, for in this letter Caracciolo, whose age was about 47, is represented as referring to his forty years' faithful service; and so it is at any rate clear that Clarke and McArthur never had the letter in their hands.

all the prisoners they already had, were at liberty to arrest as many more as they liked, is to reduce the article to nonsense. What was clearly intended by the framers of the treaty was an amnesty both for the republicans inside the forts and for those without.

3. Caracciolo was put on trial within an hour of his delivery, when, in Hamilton's words, he was 'half dead' from exhaustion, and obviously in no state to answer interrogatories. Hamilton, describing his condition during trial, repeats, 'He is half dead already.'⁸¹

4. The particular line of defence adopted, that in obeying a *de facto* government which enforced military service he had obeyed unwillingly and on pain of death,⁸² was one which required documents and witnesses, but he was denied the opportunity of producing either. It may be added that evidence of his having served unwillingly at first and attempting to resign is still extant.⁸³

5. The judges who tried him were the officers on whom he was accused of firing, so that impartiality was out of the question; and Thurn, the president of the court, according to the common and never contradicted report of the time,⁸⁴ was his personal enemy. Even as it was, Caracciolo was condemned only by a majority.⁸⁵ And the excuse which apologists have put forward, that Caracciolo made no protest against the constitution of the court, falls to the ground in the light of the protest recorded by G. Parsons,⁸⁶ the appeal for a second trial, recorded by Clarke and McArthur,⁸⁷ and Hamilton's statement, 'He wished to be tried by English officers.'⁸⁸

6. The condemnation had been predetermined, as we have seen from the king's letter and the queen's of 20 and 21 June (see p. 264); and Hamilton, writing to Acton on 27 June, two days before the arrest, foreshadows the details of the execution: 'He will probably be hung from the fore-mast of the "Minerva," where his body will remain till sunset.'⁸⁹

7. It may be regarded as a mere technical irregularity that Caracciolo was tried on Nelson's own ship⁹⁰ (*i.e.* under English juris-

⁸¹ Hamilton to Acton, 29 June. Dumas, iv. 101.

⁸² See Thurn's report to Ruffo, Sacchinelli, pp. 265-6.

⁸³ See letters of Troubridge and Nelson, Pettigrew, i. 251; *Despatches*, iii. 341.

⁸⁴ Coco speaks of 'l'antica gelosia di Thurn' (*Saggio Storico*, ed. 1865, p. 427. Cf. *Vindication*, p. 101).

⁸⁵ Thurn to Ruffo, Sacchinelli, pp. 265-6.

⁸⁶ *Nelsonian Reminiscences*, p. 2, &c. Parsons writes floridly, and certainly puts sensational expressions into the prince's mouth, which, in their precise form, it is most unlikely that he ever uttered. But, although he evidently worked up his material, there is no reason to doubt Parsons's substantial accuracy. His report of the trial does not differ from Thurn's more than cases reported in a law journal and a newspaper.

⁸⁷ Clarke and McArthur appear to be trustworthy at this point, having derived their information from Parkinson, to whose care Caracciolo was committed.

⁸⁸ Dumas, iv. 101.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* iv. 87-9.

⁹⁰ Pepe and others have stated that Nelson exercised a pressure on the court martial, inducing its members to change an original sentence of exile into one of death; but this statement is uncorroborated. Convening the court on board the 'Foudroyant' was a precaution which was perhaps unnecessary.

diction), and that the orders for trial and execution were issued by Nelson, not in his capacity of Sicilian commandant, but as English admiral; but it must be regarded as something more than an irregularity that firing on a ship, which, though Sicilian, was at the time acting as auxiliary to the English squadron, and under the orders of the English commandant, Captain Foote, formed the main point of the charge on which Caracciolo was condemned.⁹¹ And when everything possible has been said on the question as to how far England had refused to recognise the republicans as belligerents, the fact remains hateful that Nelson hanged the admiral of a force that was fighting against England.

8. The hurry of Caracciolo's execution has been excused by some supposed parallel in the case of mutineers. But the cases are not at all analogous. Mutiny is often like a spark in a powder magazine, that must be stamped out instantly; but Caracciolo was no mutineer, and from crushed Naples there was no longer any danger whatever to be apprehended. How little this mutiny excuse was dreamt of at the time, how unprecedented the hurried execution really seemed to all onlookers, may be judged by the following extract from Hamilton's letter to Acton of 29 June:⁹² 'Thurn observed that it was customary to grant the condemned twenty-four hours to provide for their souls, but the orders were maintained, although I supported this opinion of Thurn's.'

9. It has been urged that, whatever irregularities were committed, Caracciolo's desertion of his master's cause when it appeared hopeless⁹³ disentitles him to sympathy. But a good deal is to be said in favour of his view that the king's shameful flight from Naples released subjects from their allegiance.⁹⁴ At any rate, one must make allowance for the effect which the king's cowardice would naturally produce on such a brave man as Caracciolo, who was also indifferent as to politics. And one must remember too (again following the line of defence sketched in 'Nelsonian Reminiscences'), that the alternative to doing as he did was, by making his escape to Procida, to make a supreme act of sacrifice, and beggar his whole family for the sake of this poltroon whom he despised, for the republic had decreed to confiscate the property of all *émigrés*. That he took office under the republic with real reluctance there is no reason to doubt; only, as Thurn pointed out with fatal precision, his reluctance was not deep-rooted enough to induce him to make his escape to Procida, or act unfaithfully to his new masters.⁹⁵ And when ultimately he took an active part in the defence of the city, it was when Naples was threatened with the unutterable horrors of a sack by the convicts and banditti, whom Ruffo had recruited in Calabria, and whose atrocities, extending even to cannibalism,

⁹¹ Sacchinelli, pp. 265-6.

⁹² Dumas, iv. 111.

⁹³ *Despatches*, iii. 341.

⁹⁴ *Nelsonian Reminiscences*, p. 2, &c.

⁹⁵ Sacchinelli, pp. 265-6.

threw those of their Turkish colleagues completely into the shade.⁹⁶

10. It was a general impression at the time that the *dénouement* was in some measure due to Lady Hamilton; ⁹⁷ and the accuracy of this impression is somewhat confirmed by the queen's letter of 2 July,⁹⁸ in which she expresses herself as 'penetrated with gratitude.' 'I know how your excellent heart must have suffered, and this increases my obligation.'

With regard to the pictorially interesting point of Lady Hamilton's appearance at the execution, Clarke and McArthur state,⁹⁹ 'Of her being present there cannot be the least doubt;' and these words were written in 1809, while Lady Hamilton and most of the Naples officers were still alive. On the other hand, apologists have adduced a story of Lord Northwick's, related many years later, that he was dining with Lady Hamilton in the cabin when the signal-gun was fired. Which witness is to be believed? Not Lord Northwick, I submit, for he states that it was on the 'Agamemnon' that this dinner took place; that the king and queen were present too; and proceeds with a story of how he once met Nelson in Paris!¹⁰⁰ The real origin of Lord Northwick's dinner-party is probably to be found in the foolish fabrication, purporting to be a manuscript of Harryman's, which was offered for sale by Evans, the 'Old Curiosity' dealer, and printed in 'The Nelson Coat,' 1846.

Thus in the end, with regard to Caracciolo no less than other matters, the evidence which apologists have neglected brings us back to a belief in the perfect accuracy of Foote's 'Vindication.' What apologists have done all through is to avail themselves of the gaps which a century's lapse has left in the old incriminatory evidence,¹⁰¹ and, pre-convinced that such evidence against the hero must be false, they have neglected to look in those directions where the gaps were likeliest to be supplied.

F. P. BADHAM.

⁹⁶ Maresca, p. 240. Colletta says, 'I saw it.'

⁹⁷ *Vindication*, p. 67; *Nelsonian Reminiscences*, p. 2, &c.

⁹⁸ Brit. Mus. *Eg. MSS.* 1616.

⁹⁹ *Life of Nelson*, ii. 188.

¹⁰⁰ Frith's *Reminiscences*, i. 145-6.

¹⁰¹ These gaps, however, are not entirely due to wear and tear, as may be seen by examining the already mentioned collection of the queen's letters to Lady Hamilton (Brit. Mus. *Eg. MSS.* 1616). A daily correspondence was kept up, and Lady Hamilton, we are told (see Hamilton's private letter to Grenville, 14 July, R.O.), treasured the queen's letters most scrupulously. Now in this collection, at the most critical point, six letters are missing, viz. those of 26 June to 1 July; and it is not merely an inference that such letters once existed. We have the direct evidence of the docket-numbering, and of Hamilton's private letter above mentioned, where some of them are explicitly referred to—referred to, moreover, as of peculiar interest. It is at least a curious coincidence that the king's letters to Nelson of 25 and 27 June are missing too; also Acton's (we specifically hear of three) and Ruffo's (we hear specifically of three) to Nelson and Hamilton.

Notes and Documents

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THEOPHANES IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

The date of the death of Leo the Isaurian, and the length of the reign of Artavasdus.

HAVING occasion to study the correspondence of the archbishop Boniface while preparing the final volume of my book 'Italy and her Invaders,' I have lighted upon two subscriptions of papal letters which appear to me to confirm the theory advanced by my friend Professor Bury as to some of the dates recorded by Theophanes. The question turns upon a certain discrepancy between two methods of computing the year in which a given event occurred, and requires us to decide which of the two (apparently) conflicting dates we will adopt and which we will reject.

As is well known, Theophanes (who lived in the latter half of the eighth and the early part of the ninth century) styled his history a *Chronographia*, and presents throughout a strictly annalistic arrangement, prefixing to each year its proper number (according to his computation) from the creation of the world and from the birth of Christ, and interweaving information as to the regnal years of the emperors and the episcopal years of the great patriarchal thrones of the east. In the eighth century the rule for reducing the chronology of Theophanes into the received chronology of Dionysius Exiguus is to subtract 5,492 years from his 'year of the world,' or add eight to his year *post natum Christum*. Thus (to take a date about which there is no dispute) the downfall of Justinian II is placed by Theophanes *anno mundi* 6203, *anno Christi* 703. Subtracting 5,492 from the former date, or adding eight to the latter, we get by either process 711 for the year of the deposition of the last emperor of the Heraclian dynasty.¹

Sometimes, however, Theophanes mentions also 'the year of the indiction' in which a particular event occurred. The indiction, as all students of imperial chronology know, was a cycle of fifteen years. It was instituted for purposes of taxation, and at the end of each cycle a revision of the assessments of the tax-payers was

¹ As, however, the years of Theophanes run from 25 Sept., we must remember that three months and six days of his *annus mundi* belong to the year preceding that given by the above method. Thus in strictness the *annus mundi* 6203 of Theophanes should be called A.D. 710-11,

supposed to be made, and the sum then fixed as the quota of taxation due from a particular piece of property continued to be paid for the fifteen years following. Like our own fiscal year, this 'year of the indiction' did not correspond with that of the calendar year, but ran from 1 Sept. in our year to 31 Aug. in the next. Thus every calendar year belongs for eight months of its course to the year of the indiction, and for four months to its successor. This system of indiction was reputed to begin in the year 312. We are never told how many indictions had already elapsed before any given event, but only that it happened in such and such a year of the indiction.² In order, therefore, to turn an indiction year into a year of the Christian era, it is necessary first to add some multiple of fifteen (what multiple our knowledge of history must inform us) to 312. On 1 Sept. of the year so obtained the indiction cycle began, and for the beginning of any other year of the same cycle we must, of course, add its own number *minus* one.³ That will be the date if the event happened between 1 Sept. and 31 Dec., but if it happened in any of the first eight months of the year we must, of course, add one to the previous result. Thus if Theophanes tells us that a particular event occurred on 18 June in the ninth indiction, and we have reason to believe that it was somewhere between 730 and 750, we add (say) 28×15 or 420 years to 312, and obtain 1 Sept. 732 for the starting point of the cycle. The ninth year of that indiction would, therefore, run from 1 Sept. 740 to 31 Aug. 741; and, as the event occurred on 18 June, we see that (if we have hit upon the right cycle) it must have been 18 June 741.

Now then comes our difficulty. There is such an event—namely, the death of the great iconoclastic emperor Leo III—which is assigned by Theophanes to 18 June in the ninth indiction, therefore in 741; but the year of the world which stands at the head of this entry is 6232, and the year of Christ is 732, *i.e.* A.D. 740. In this dilemma almost all previous historians have stuck to the indiction and thrown over the *annus mundi* and *annus Christi*, and accordingly one sees in all text-books of history 741 assigned as the date of the death of Leo the Isaurian. Professor Bury, however, in his 'History of the Later Roman Empire,' has shown powerful reasons for reversing the process, rejecting the indiction and keeping the A.M. and A.C. dates. Strongest of all is the argument derived from the eclipse of the sun mentioned by Theophanes as having occurred at 4 P.M. on Friday, 15 Aug. 6252 *anno mundi*. This corresponds with our A.D. 760, and in that year

² It should be stated that by a puzzling looseness of expression the term 'indiction,' which should apply to the whole period of fifteen years, is almost always used of one year in it. Thus 'the 12th indiction' means 'the 12th year of the indiction.'

³ I have taken a few sentences here from my *Letters of Cassiodorus*, p. 125.

such an eclipse did take place on that day, and very nearly at the same hour.⁴ This seems to show convincingly that Theophanes has got his creation years right at this point, though if we count by his indiction years the entry would be thrown onward into 761, when no such eclipse occurred.

We come back, then, to the question of the true date of the death of Leo III, and in order to show the bearing of the subscriptions of the papal letters on the subject I will very briefly abstract the events of four years in the 'Chronographia' of Theophanes.

A.M. 6232, A.C. 732 (=A.D. 740). In this year, which was the 24th of that most wicked tyrant Leo [Theophanes was a devout image-worshipper and can hardly find words to express his detestation of the iconoclast emperors], 'there was a terrible earthquake on 26 Oct. in the 9th indiction [740]. The emperor laid on additional taxes, in order to pay for the repair of the walls, ruined by the earthquake. This Leo on the 18th June in the same 9th indiction [741] died, both body and soul, and his son Constantine succeeded to his tyrannical power. Bloody and cruel wild beast, tyrant, not lawful emperor, accustomed from his infancy to the invocation of demons, versed from his childhood in all those studies which destroy the soul,' &c. &c. The well-affected party, hating him at the very beginning of his reign for his innate truculence, arranged for the transfer of the empire to Artavasdus *Curopolata*, who had married his sister Anna.

A.M. 6233, A.C. 733 (=A.D. 741). On 27 June in the 10th indiction (=A.D. 742) Constantine goes into the Opsician theme (Bithynia, &c.) on a campaign against the Saracens. Constantine writes a letter to Artavasdus desiring him to send his sons, pretending that he wishes to see his sister's children. Artavasdus suspects that they are desired as hostages and the demand drives him into revolt. He accordingly marches against Constantine, who flies to Amerium, in the Anatolian theme (Phrygia), then under the government of Longinus. He wins over the troops there by lavish promises. Many severe engagements between the soldiers on both sides. Artavasdus is proclaimed emperor in Constantinople, restores the sacred images, flogs and imprisons the friends of Constantine. Constantine, attended by the armies of two themes, the Anatolian and the Thracasian, arrives at Chrysopolis (Scutari), but takes nothing by his motion and returns into winter quarters at Amerium.

A.M. 6234, A.C. 734 (=A.D. 742). In the May of this year Artavasdus goes to the Opsician theme, ravaging Asia on his way and reducing it under his subjection. At Sardis he is met by Constantine, who worsts him in an engagement and pursues him as far as Cyzicus. At Cyzicus Artavasdus goes on board a swift cutter and escapes to Constantinople. In the month of August of the same 11th indiction⁵ [743 *sic*] Nicetas, the son of Artavasdus, who is generalissimo of his forces, meets Constantine in battle at Modrine,⁶ is defeated by him, and takes to flight.

⁴ It was at 3 P.M. instead of 4 P.M.

⁵ Three codices (Vaticanus Palatinus 395, Coislinianus 133, and Monacensis Graec. 391) here, according to De Boor, omit the numeral '11th.'

⁶ On the borders of Phrygia and Bithynia (?).

Lamentations over the horrors of this civil war; men of the Armenian theme on the one side, of the Anatolian and Thracasian themes on the other, slaying one another in this quarrel which the devil had stirred up to destroy Christianity.

A.M. 6235, A.C. 735 (=A.D. 743). In the month of September in the 12th indiction (=A.D. 743) Constantine goes towards Chalcedon, crosses the Dardanelles at Abydos with the help of Sisinnius, general of the Thracasian troops, and blockades Constantinople from the land side. The citizens begin to be sore pressed by famine, and an attempt to introduce provisions into the city is defeated by the Cibyrrhoeot fleet, stationed at Abydos. Artavasdus opens the gates and makes a sortie, but is repulsed with much loss. He is successful, however, with some fire ships which he sends against the Cibyrrhoeot fleet. Severe famine in the city, so that a *modius* of barley is sold for twelve *nomismata* [230*l.* 8*s.* the quarter⁷]. The chief citizens escape secretly and in disguise from the city. Nicetas, generalissimo of the forces of Artavasdus, collects the soldiers scattered at Modrine and comes to Chrysopolis. He retreats, is pursued by Constantine as far as Nicomedeia, defeated, taken prisoner, and exhibited in chains to his father on the wall. At last, on 2 Nov., a sudden attack at evening is made on the landward wall and the city is taken. Artavasdus escapes to the Opsician theme, and afterwards takes refuge in the fortress of Puzane (?), where he is captured. He and his two sons are blinded and exhibited to the people, chained, at a great chariot race in the hippodrome. Slaughter, blinding, mutilation, plunder of those noblemen and citizens who had sided with Artavasdus.

Such is the record given by Theophanes of the four years which include the death of Leo III, the accession of his son, the rebellion of Artavasdus, the suppression of that rebellion, and the restoration of Constantine. They were four years full of events, and it is quite impossible, if any reliance at all is to be placed on the 'Chronographia' of Theophanes, to crowd them into three. Yet this is what has been done, I believe, by nearly all the historians who have condescended to notice the question at all Finlay,⁸ Schlosser,⁹ Baronius,¹⁰ the editor of Gibbon,¹¹ the author of the article 'Artavasdus' in Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography' all give 741 for the date of the accession of Constantine Copronymus and 743 for the date of his suppression of the rebellion of Artavasdus. This, I venture to suggest, is an impossible mode of settling the question. You must either, with Professor Bury, fix the death of Leo III in 740, in which case you can keep 743 for Constantine's recovery of the throne, or if you fix 741 for

⁷ In the siege of Rome by Totila the famine price of wheat rose only to seven aurei (=nomismata) for the medimnus (=6 modii). This famine was, therefore, fourteen times as severe as that.

⁸ *History of Greece* (ed. 1877), vol. ii. pp. 45-49.

⁹ *Geschichte der bilderstürmenden Kaiser*, pp. 201-12.

¹⁰ *Annales Ecclesiastici*, s.a. 741 and 743.

¹¹ Smith's Gibbon, vi. 83. Gibbon himself has only a very slight undated notice of the rebellion of Artavasdus (*ibid.* p. 143).

the former event you must, in defiance of the indiction date as well as of the era dates furnished by Theophanes, push on the latter event to 744.

This conclusion is powerfully supported by the subscriptions of two letters from Pope Zacharias to the archbishop Boniface. In one of these letters¹² the pope congratulates the apostle of Germany on the support rendered to him by Pippin and Carloman, and confirms the consecration by Boniface of three metropolitan bishops to whom he grants the *pallium*. The subscription of the epistle is as follows :

Data X Kalendas Julias imperante domno piissimo augusto Artavasdo a Deo coronato magno imperatore anno III post consulatum eius anno III sed et Nicephoro¹³ magno imperatore anno III indictione duodecima.

In another letter Zacharias expresses his astonishment that Boniface, after asking for the *pallium* for three metropolitans (Rouen, Reims, and Sens), should now ask for it for one of them only, the archbishop of Rouen. He expresses his indignant surprise that Boniface should have hinted that he sold these dignities for money, but in conclusion he entrusts to Boniface the care of the churches of Gaul as well as of Bavaria. This letter¹⁴ is subscribed—

Data Nonas Novembris imperante domno piissimo augusto Artavasdo a Deo coronato magno imperatore anno tertio post consulatum eius anno tertio sed et Nicephoro magno imperatore eius filio anno tertio indictione tertia decima.

The date of the first letter, 'tenth from the kalends of July, twelfth indiction,' according to the ordinary computation should correspond with 22 June 744. The date of the second letter, 'nones of November, thirteenth indiction,' should correspond with 5 Nov. 744. But according to the received chronology Artavasdus and his son were utterly overthrown on 2 Nov. 743, and were soon after blinded, imprisoned, exposed in chains to the derision of the populace of Byzantium. However slowly news may have travelled from the new to the old Rome, it is inconceivable that twelve months after their fall an astute person like Zacharias should still be dating his letters by the years of those 'God-crowned august and most pious emperors' who had been for a whole year groping, eyeless, through the prison vaults of Byzantium. Here again, therefore, we are met by the same inevitable alternative. Either postpone the capture of Constantinople, in defiance of all the dates in Theophanes, to 744, or admit with

¹² Numbered 57, and printed on pp. 313-14 of *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, vol. i. in *Mon. Germ. Historica*.

¹³ Nicephorus was a son of Artavasdus associated with his father in the empire.

¹⁴ No. 53 in *Mon. Germ. Historica* (*ubi supra*, pp. 315-16).

Professor Bury that something has happened to the indictions in middle of the eighth century, which causes them to register one year earlier than they ought to register according to the usual rule.

I remark also that the dating of these letters 'in the third year of Artavasdus' fully confirms us in the conclusion which we draw from the text of Theophanes that the rebellion of the Armenian *curopalata* was a long and serious business, not crushed out in seventeen months, as the received chronology requires us to believe. I do not know that we have sufficient data to enable us to determine the exact chronology of the rebellion, but I suggest that it may probably have shaped itself something like this:—

740. 18 June.—Death of Leo III. Accession of Constantine V (autumn of this year). The image-worshipping party begin to conspire for the elevation of Artavasdus.

741. 27 June.—Constantine starts for war with the Saracens in Asia Minor.

741. July.—Artavasdus proclaimed emperor.

742. May.—Artavasdus defeated at Sardis by Constantine. Flees to Constantinople.

742. August.—Nicetas, son of Artavasdus, defeated at Modrine.

743. September.—Constantine crosses the Dardanelles and lays siege to Constantinople.

743. 2 November.—Capture of Constantinople. Fall of Artavasdus.

The two letters of Zacharias will then on Professor Bury's theory fall on 22 June and 5 Nov. in this year, 743, the latter being dated by the year of Artavasdus, though that usurper had in fact fallen three days previously. It must be admitted, however, that even so there is a difficulty as to the dating of the earlier letter on 22 June in the third year of Artavasdus, since the third would not, according to the above table, begin till (at earliest) July 743. The difficulty arises from the words of Theophanes which describe the setting forth of Constantine to war τῷ Ἰουλίῳ μηνὶ εἰκοστῇ ἐβδόμητῆς ἐπέκεινα δεκάτης ἰνδικτιῶνος. I think we must suppose either (1) that this going forth to war was really in the previous year (740), or (2) that Theophanes was mistaken as to the month, or (3), which is perhaps the most probable, that Zacharias had been ill informed as to the exact date of Artavasdus's usurpation, and dated his accession too early.¹⁵

¹⁵ Since writing this note I have read a much more elaborate article on the same subject by M. H. Hubert in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (vi. 491-505), to which my attention was called by Mr. Poole. He has gone far more thoroughly into the subject than I have done, but it is to me most satisfactory to find that he arrives substantially at the same conclusions as those indicated above, and that he thoroughly accepts Professor Bury's theory that the *annus mundi* of Theophanes is a safer guide than the indiction.

A word or two in conclusion as to the possible cause of this confusion in the indictions (for I think no one who examines carefully these pages of Theophanes will deny that there is confusion). Professor Bury suggests, it seems to me with great probability, that this confusion, which begins with the year 727, or more strictly 726, was the result of the financial reforms or readjustments made in that year, which were, as we know, profoundly unpopular, and caused revolts in several provinces of the empire. May not, he suggests, the emperor have forced two indiction years, two taxing years, into one, and so have got the taxes twice over? In that case the year 726 would include three instead of two indiction years, beginning with the tenth and ending with the twelfth indiction, and the following indiction years would all correspond with an *annus Domini* one year earlier than we should have expected. The suggestion is a brilliant one; and we, who have seen that extremely clever chancellor of the exchequer, the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, collect from a patient British public five-quarters of income tax in one calendar year, cannot deny its possibility. But it is only a suggestion as to the cause of the discrepancy. The discrepancy itself, and the results which flow from it, remain unaffected by the fate of any conjecture as to its cause. In any case it seems to me that this three years' usurped rule of Artavasdus, the Armenian image-restorer, deserves more attentive study than it has received from some previous historians, especially from Gibbon, who, as I have before observed, barely condescends to notice it at all.

For clearness sake it may be well to exhibit the years referred to in tabular form, rendering the indiction year by that which usually corresponds to it, not by that with which, according to Professor Bury's theory, it corresponded from 727 to 773.

Year of the World (Theophanes)	Year after Christ (Theophanes)	Indiction	A.D.
6230	730	VI	Sept. 737-Aug. 738
6231	731	VII	Sept. 738-Aug. 739
6232	732	VIII	Sept. 739-Aug. 740
6233	733	IX	Sept. 740-Aug. 741
6234	734	X	Sept. 741-Aug. 742
6235	735	XI	Sept. 742-Aug. 743
6236	736	XII	Sept. 743-Aug. 744
6237	737	XIII	Sept. 744-Aug. 745

The Year of the World and Year after Christ of Theophanes begin on 25 September. The year of the Indiction begins 1 September.

THOS. HODGKIN.

POPE SYLVESTER II AND STEPHEN I OF HUNGARY.

ALTHOUGH the bull said to have been issued by Sylvester II to the first king of Hungary is admitted by competent authorities to be a forgery, presumably of the seventeenth century,¹ it may not be without interest to give a short account of the present state of the controversy among Hungarian scholars relative to the question.

The orthodox story is that the son of the last duke of Hungary, the latter having embraced Christianity, applied to the pope about the year 1000 for a crown, which request was readily granted. The crown was subsequently united with another sent by the emperor of the East to Géza I (after 1074), and the two diadems thus conjoined form the present 'holy crown' or 'St. Stephen's crown,' used at the coronation of the kings of Hungary. Accompanying his gift Sylvester II is said to have issued a bull investing Stephen and his successors with the full powers of a papal legate; and in token of this office the Hungarian kings have ever since borne the title of 'Apostolic King' and enjoyed the privilege of having an apostolic double cross carried before them on solemn occasions. The double cross appears as the principal charge on the sinister half of the Hungarian escutcheon.

In 1880 a committee was appointed by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to examine the coronation insignia, and the results of its inquiries were published by Dr. Arnold Ipolyi, bishop of Neusohl, one of its members.² The official position this prelate held in the Roman church has probably biassed him in favour of the old view, but the facts contained in his book can lead only to the conclusion that, even if the story related in the legend of the life of the king is true, and Sylvester II did really send a crown to Stephen, not a vestige of it can be seen in the present 'holy crown.' This consists of a crown of Byzantine workmanship,³ which was originally open (*i.e.* a 'stephanos'), but was subsequently transformed into a closed crown (*i.e.* a 'stemma') by having two cross-bands surmounted by a cross soldered to the open hoop. The bands are embellished with the images of the Saviour and *eight* apostles in enamel of apparently western design, if not workmanship. It is difficult to believe that the crown sent by Sylvester was broken up and that only a small portion of the material was embodied in the

¹ Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum*, i. (ed. 2, 1885) 497; Wattenbach in *Monum. Germ. Hist.*, Script. xi. (1854) 233, n. 35.

² *A magyar szent korona és a koronázási jelvények leírása és története*. Budapest, 1886. The Hungarian coronation insignia have been described also by Canon Bock, Ivánfi, Dr. Hampel, Charles Pulszky, and others.

³ The Byzantine crown is embellished with the images (in enamel) of various Greek saints in addition to those of the donor Michael Doukas, his son Constantine Porphyrogenetos (the younger), and the king of Hungary, whose image bears the following inscription in Greek characters: ΓΕΩΒΙΤΖ Δ'C ΠΙCΤΟC ΚΡΑΛΗC ΤΟΥΡΚΙΑC (of Turkey, *i.e.* Hungary)

existing crown, as the hoop which formed the base of the original diadem, and probably also the images of four of the apostles, are missing.⁴ Hence it is probable that the bands in question originally did not form part of a crown at all, but were merely utilised in transforming the open crown into a closed one, and that probably the images of the other four apostles were on the extremities of the existing bands, but were cut off.

Some Hungarian writers are beginning to doubt whether Sylvester ever did send a crown to Stephen. For when Gregory VII claimed Hungary as a fief in 1074 he made no allusion to any such gift. The only Hungarian crown mentioned in his correspondence is the one which together with a spear was forwarded to Rome by the emperor Henry III, after his victory at Ménfő in 1044, where he had the good fortune to capture the Hungarian king Aba with his crown and spear. Nor did Gregory refer to any bull or any other document.⁵

As regards the title of 'apostolic king' another Hungarian bishop, Monsignor Fraknói, has lately published a volume on the wider subject of the history of the Hungarian king's powers as patron of the state-church, a treatise based to a large extent on hitherto unpublished material.⁶ The author shows that the title in question was assumed only a few centuries ago, and that at the outset it was a mere title, conferring no privilege whatever on the bearer. The first attempt to obtain an official grant or acknowledgment from Rome was made by Louis II when Pope Leo X granted to Henry VIII of England the title of 'defender of the faith.' Another attempt—again ineffectual—was made by Ferdinand III in 1627. Some years later, in 1649, we find the Hungarian prelates

⁴ Dr. Ipolyi gives an illustration of the crown as he thinks it may have looked when received from Sylvester. Another such imaginary sketch figures in Dr. Bock's latest contribution to the literature of the subject (*De corona S. Stephani*, Aachen, 1896), in which he still maintains that the cross hoops forming the upper portion of the crown were made in Rome at the end of the tenth century. On the other hand N. P. Kondakov, basing his opinion on the style of the workmanship only, assigns them to the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century (*Byzantinische Zellen-E-mails*, Frankfurt, 1892, p. 239). Julius Pauler, the author of the latest standard book of history of Hungary during the reign of the Árpád dynasty, surmises that it was the crown sent by Sylvester that was captured by the German emperor at Ménfő and returned by him to Rome. Not a vestige of it is known at present. According to Ciampini the spear was still in existence in his time (*De sacris aedificiis*, Romae, 1693, p. 79).

⁵ In 1074 the pope writes to King Solomon of Hungary as follows: 'Sicut a maioribus patriae tuae cognoscere potes, regnum Ungariae sanctae Romanae ecclesiae proprium est, a rege Stephano olim beato Petro cum omni iure et potestate sua oblatum et devote traditum.' In the next sentence he states that 'Henricus [III] piaie memoriae imperator, ad honorem sancti Petri regnum illud expugnatum victo rege [Ovone] et facta victoria ad corpus beati Petri lanceam, coronamque transmisit; et pro gloria triumphus sui illuc regni direxit insignia, quo principatum dignitatis eius attinere cognovit.' See Jaffé's *Monumenta Gregoriana* p. 128 (Berlin, 1865).

⁶ *A magyar királyi kegyúri jog szent Istvántól Mária Teréziáig*, by W. Fraknói. Budapest, 1895.

engaged in a controversy with the pope, defending their king's right to nominate candidates to vacant sees or to translate bishops as he pleased by virtue of his power as apostolic king. In reply, the pope denies the existence of any such power or the validity of any such title, and refers the Magyar prelates to the 'Annals' of Baronius and to the 'Life of Saint Stephen, the king,' by Hartvicius, both of which authorities make the investiture with the title of 'apostolic' and with legatine powers a purely personal distinction conferred on Stephen, and not transmitted to his successors.⁷ Again no reference was made by either party to any bull of Sylvester II, though the text of that famous document had already, in 1644, been published—and at Rome—by the Jesuit Melchior Inchofer in his '*Annales Ecclesiastici Regni Hungariae.*'⁸ The right to the title of 'apostolic king' was, in fact, not acknowledged by the pope till 1758, when, as almost the first act after his accession, Clement XIII granted it to Maria Theresa and her successors on the throne of Hungary, together with the privilege of having the apostolic double cross borne before her and them by a bishop. In his letter the pope refers to the practice and privilege as one the origin of which is unknown to him. The double cross among the coronation insignia is quite modern.

On the other hand, the apostolic double cross as an heraldic charge first appeared on a seal of Béla IV in 1243. From that date onward for about seventy years it formed the sole charge in the royal arms until the first Angevin king, Charles Robert, discontinued its use, and resumed that of the more ancient shield barry of eight, with which he impaled his own coat of lilies. The regular use of the arms of Hungary as they are arranged at present dates only from the reign of 'king' Maria Theresa.

Bishop Fraknoi does not mention the fact that not even Stephen I himself made use of the title of 'apostolic king.' It is true that in a document attributed to him he is made to style himself '*Dei miseratione et apostolicae Sedis gratia Hungarorum Rex,*' but the charter in question is a clumsy forgery. Apart from its glaring anachronisms the document displays ignorance not only of the formulae used in Stephen's chancery, but also of the history of the religious house in whose favour it was fabricated. There are about half a score of undoubtedly genuine charters by Stephen extant, and in all of these he is simply styled '*Stephanus, Dei Gratia*

⁷ The author of the life was a Bishop Hartvicius, who dedicated his book to Coloman, king of Hungary (1095–1116). For the latest phase of the controversy about the authorship see the *Acta Sanctorum*, November, t. ii., p. 479, which gives a bibliography of the literature down to 1894. Since then further contributions on the subject have appeared by Julius Pauer and Dr. Karácsanyi in vol. xxviii. of the *Századok*, by R. F. Kaindl in vol. lxxxi. of the *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, 1895, and by Kentrzynski in vol. xxxiv. of the *Rozprawy* of the Cracow Academy, 1897.

⁸ I have not been able to see the original edition. The book was reprinted in 1695–97 at Pressburg.

Ungariae Rex,' or by the grace of God 'Pannoniorum Rex' or 'Hungarorum Rex,' &c.⁹

As for the 'Bull of Sylvester II,' nobody seems to have heard of it until Inchofer published its text in 1644. The editor admits that he had not seen the original himself, but, as far as we can understand him, had only a copy supplied to him by Raphael Levakovics, a Franciscan friar of Croatian origin, living at Rome, and taken from a transcript made in 1550 by the Hungarian bishop Verancsics (Nicolaus Verantius) from the original, which was then in the muniment room of the chapter of Trau in Dalmatia, but was subsequently, it is said, transferred to Venice with the rest of the more important documents belonging to the chapter. There is no record of any one else having seen the original, and moreover, if Verancsics did see it, it must have been at some other date, as he spent the whole of the year 1550 in Hungary, only occasionally visiting Vienna. He had a friend at Trau, Andronicus Tranquillus, but the extant correspondence with him is silent about the discovery of such an important document as the 'bull' of Sylvester. Other suspicious features are that in the preamble the Hungarians are described by the pope as a people unknown to him ('ignota nobis gens'), and Stephen's envoy is styled 'bishop of Kalocsa' (episcopus Colocensis)—as though Gerbert had never heard anything before about the Magyars and their inroads into Germany and various other parts of western Europe, and as though there could have been a bishop of Kalocsa without any knowledge of him in Rome. Finally Dr. Karácsonyi has shown¹⁰ that in its structure the bull totally differs from the formulae strictly observed in the chancery of Sylvester II, and that the forger copied some of the passages from letters of Gregory VII and others from the legend of king Stephen, the latter not from any of the older texts, but from one published with certain emendations of style by Lawrence Surius in 1576. Dr. Karácsonyi prints the text of the 'bull' in three different types to distinguish the various elements. The lines (sometimes only isolated words) which supply the links by which the passages taken from Gregory's letters and the 'Life' by Hartvicus were connected by the forger, are printed in ordinary type and form a very small portion of the whole document.

Dr. Karácsonyi did not go into the question who was the forger, but Fraknoi supplies a clue to the authorship. He prints an extract from a letter written by Levakovics from Vienna to Cardinal Aldobrandini, in which the writer says that he has 'given' (*i.e.* sent) to the Hungarians the text of a letter of Pope

⁹ All his charters but one are in Latin. In the only Greek charter extant he styles himself 'ἰγὼ Στέφανος χριστιανός . . . χράλ πασῆς Οὐγγρίας.'

¹⁰ *Szent-István király oklevelei és a Szilveszter-bulla*, Budapest, 1891.

Sylvester, which will convince them that their opinion about the extent of the power and rights of their king in spiritual matters is erroneous. He promises to take care to have the letter in question published in some way or other. It was his original intention to aver that the letter had been discovered in Rome, but on second thoughts he dared not do so without the cardinal's consent.¹¹ Aldobrandini's reply has not yet been discovered. The conclusion at which Fraknói arrives is that Levakovic was not himself the forger, because if a man is too scrupulous to spread a false report about the place of discovery without the sanction of his superiors, it is not likely that he will actually forge a document. It may, however, be urged that the friar was not above telling a deliberate falsehood, and was only afraid of the consequences of fixing upon Rome as the place of discovery without the previous knowledge and consent of his superiors. Fraknói's other contention that Rome had no hand in the perpetration of the forgery, is no doubt correct. The document, if genuine, would have materially assisted the case of the king of Hungary, who was just at that period, in 1644, engaged in a controversy with Rome regarding his claim of legatine privileges. When Gregory VII intended to lay hands on Hungary as a fief, he based his claim upon the fact—then well known, according to him, at the Hungarian court—that Stephen I had offered his kingdom to St. Peter. The forged bull also mentions this donation, and a few lines lower down makes the pope return the gift to Stephen and his legitimate successors, stipulating, however, that every lawfully elected king of Hungary should, at his accession, either personally or by envoys renew the declaration of obedience and reverence as subject of the Holy Roman Church. In continuation Sylvester is made to concede to Stephen and his heirs and legitimate successors the very power and privileges which were refused in the seventeenth century. Had Rome been anxious at that particular time to produce false evidence in support of the cause against the king of Hungary, the tenor of such document would have been totally different from that of the false bull of Sylvester.

With regard to the question as to what were the rights conferred upon Stephen by Pope Sylvester in ecclesiastical matters, the king in his charters constantly refers to some papal authority,¹² but no contemporary record exists defining the character and limits of

¹¹ 'Gran persuasione hanno gli Ungheri che nessun diritto abbia il papa al regno loro, essendo convertiti dai suoi re. Per generare a loro opinione migliore ho dato certe lettere del papa Silvestro e procurerò che vengano al publico in qualche maniera. Pensava di promulgarle come trovate a Roma; ma senza la permissione e saputo di vossignoria illustrissima non mi fidai, come Monsignor Ingoli, al quale indirizzo la copia, tutto raguaglierà.' The date of the letter is not given.

¹² Some of the expressions used in his charters are 'auctoritate Romanæ Ecclesiæ;' or 'cum consensu Sanctissimi Apostolici et in presentia eius nunci;' or 'consensu et confirmatione Auctoritatis Apostolicæ.'

such authority. There is, however, ample evidence forthcoming to prove that Stephen had powers conferred on him equal to those of a papal legate *a latere*. Apart from the passage contained in his life¹³ we have, for instance, the testimony of Pope Urban II,¹⁴ of King Béla IV of Hungary,¹⁵ the latter not contested by Gregory IX, and above others that of Pope Paul II, who, in 1465, refers to some canons wherein it had been placed on record that Stephen had acted as the representative of the Roman See, and had held the office of a papal legate.¹⁶ In Dr. Karácsanyi's opinion, such powers were not conferred on Stephen until about the year 1031.

LEWIS L. KROFF.

OXFORDSHIRE TRACES OF THE NORTHERN INSURGENTS OF 1065.

No one who looks through the Domesday valuations in Oxfordshire can fail to notice that, while in general they are about the same T.R.E. and T.R.W., in many good-sized manors the *valet* is much above the *valuit*. The low early values cannot be due to Norman ravages, for they all presumably go back to T.R.E., and in many cases we have full triple valuations, nor did William in his march to London go west of a line drawn from Wallingford to Buckingham. The distribution of these manors is worth noting, and I will add after each the valuations in pounds, beginning with the earliest. They lie (a) down the Cherwell; Drayton (5-8), Adderbury (12-20), Deddington (40-40-60), Somerton (9-12), Tew (20-20-40), Sandford St. Martin (10-20), Aston (10-14), Barton (12-20), Heyford (8-10-12), Middleton (18-18-30), Tackley (8-8-17), Weston (8-12), Shipton (2-4), Islip (7-8-10), Beckley (5-8); with a few further west, Chipping Norton (16-22), Chadlington (8-14), Tainton (10-10-15), Norton Brise (9-13), Stanton Harcourt (30-30-50); (b) from Oxford down the Thames; Baldon (4-4-7), Brook Hampton (6-10), Ascott (5-8), Newington (11-15), Crowmarsh (10-10-20), Newnham (12-17), Mongewell (10-14), Goring (10-10-15), Whitchurch (15-20), Mapledurham (8-8-12), Rother-

¹³ The pope is made to say: 'Ego sum apostolicus, ille [Stephanus] vero merito Christi apostolus . . . quapropter dispositioni eiusdem . . . ecclesias Dei simul cum populo utroque jure ordinandas relinquimus.' Endlicher, *Monumenta*, 172.

¹¹ The pope writes in 1096 as follows: 'Quicquid honoris, quicquid dignitatis predecessor tuus Stephanus ab apostolica nostra ecclesia promeruisse dignoscitur.' Fejér, *Codex Diplom. Hung.* ii. 15.

¹⁵ Béla IV having been asked by the pope to occupy schismatic Bosnia, he begs, in 1238, for legatine powers in Bosnia, similar to those once enjoyed by Stephen (in Hungary), and to be allowed to have a cross borne before him and his army when proceeding through Hungary to the conquest of the new province. Theiner, *Vet. Monumenta Hung. illustr.* i. 171.

¹⁶ 'Legimus . . . [Stephanum] vices apostolicæ sedis . . . et officium legacionis accepisse, quod etiam in canonibus memorie proditum invenitur.' *Monum. Vaticana Hung.* ser. I. vol. vi. no. 54.

field (7-10), Checkendon (18-26-26); (c) along the road from Wallingford to Bledlow; Ewelme (2-4), Britwell (2½-5), Watlington (6-6-10), Pirton (16-25-30), Shirborn (4-4-6), Lewknor (10-20-20), Aston (15-15-20), Stoke (7-10), Chinnor (6-10), Sidenham (10-16), but valuations of this kind do not extend further into Bucks. All these manors together, containing 585 team-lands, *valuerunt* 443½*l.*, *valent* 706*l.* or 24*s.* per team-land. Mr. Maitland's average for the county is 24*s.* 6*d.*, so that the higher valuations of 1086 cannot be due to exceptional improvement in the river valleys. The first group must, I think, mark the path of the northern insurgents to meet Harold at Oxford in 1065, while (b) and (c) appear to be traces of a raid still nearer to London, or possibly of Harold's own followers, if there is anything in William of Malmesbury's story that he had an army with him.

The damaged belt, apart from outlying cases to the west, is not wide, and is not, like much of Northamptonshire, entirely wasted, the percentage of damage being nearly the same as that done by the Normans on their march to London. It looks as if the mass of the northerners waited in Northamptonshire, while the leaders were followed to Oxford by their more immediate and perhaps better controlled followers. The figures confirm Mr. Parker's suggestion that Oxford probably suffered a good deal at the hands of the insurgents, but point to some other, or at least some additional, cause for the decay of the 478 houses, forming two-thirds of the city, which are recorded in Domesday as '*vastae et destructae.*'¹ At Northampton, occupied by these same insurgents, and at Exeter,² besieged and taken, though it is said not plundered, by William, the decrease in the houses was at most twelve per cent. Lath and plaster was easy to rebuild. The towns must have depended mainly on the country round them, and in Oxfordshire, as in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, Wilts, and Bucks, the damages of 1065-70 had been repaired by 1086, probably much earlier.³ We know too that other towns had recovered. On their way to London the Normans took and half destroyed Pevensey, which had 52 houses T.R.E., but only 27 'when received,' burnt Dover, no doubt occupied Chichester, the centre of a ravaged district, and passed through Guildford and Wallingford; yet Domesday shows plainly that there was no permanent decay at Pevensey or Chichester or Wallingford, and implies,

¹ *Early History of Oxford*, chap. x., where authorities are collected, and p. 233.

² '*Vastatae* [*i.e.* still in 1086] 48 domus postquam rex venit in Angliam;' there may well have been many more wasted in 1067.

³ Jones, *D.B. for Wilts*, p. lxxvi. Evidence for the other counties and for William's march to London was given in the January number. Pirton, mentioned above, was valued at 16*l.* T.R.E., but at 25*l.* 'when received,' which was presumably in 1072, on the death of Stigand, the former tenant, who was allowed to keep much of his property, but it may have remained for several years in the king's hands. Lewknor, however (10-20-20), belonged to Abingdon T.R.E. *Abingd. Chron.* i. 459.

I think, that there was none at Dover and Guildford, where not a word is said of the king's houses being decayed, though it is mentioned that their number had been reduced in other ways. On the other hand, though the general valuations give no sign that Dorsetshire was visited by any army, half the houses in Dorchester and Wareham, and nearly as many in Shaftesbury, were 'entirely destroyed since the time of Sheriff Hugh.' It is not clear that the 478 houses in Oxford were actually burnt out or abandoned; they were only 'so waste and destroyed that they cannot pay geld,' and *destructae* may mean no more than *destitutae*. Of Robert d'Oilgi's houses only 8 were *vastae*, 26 others were *hospitatae*, though from poverty they could not pay geld, and (*pace* Mr. Parker) seem presumably included in the 478, for the other 243 houses in the town did pay.⁴ In any case, as the county recovered, the town should have recovered its trade, its population, and its prosperity. Must we not attribute the continued decay of Oxford in 1086 to loss of its political importance, to the pressure of increased taxation, or to the extortions of sheriffs, as to which the Saxon chronicler in summing up the reign makes special complaint, that the king recked not how sinfully they gathered money or how much wrong they did? The last cause appears to have naturally suggested itself to the Domesday commissioners, for we are expressly told that the decay of 74 houses at Lincoln was due 'not to the oppression of sheriffs and officers, but to misfortune, poverty, and fire.' At Norwich the burgesses are said to be *omnino vastati* by Earl Roger and fire and the king's geld and Waleran; while the description of the Dorsetshire boroughs seems to point to Sheriff Hugh. The country manors were protected by powerful owners, but on the towns king and sheriff pressed heavily, and it seems better, in the south, to attribute the poverty of some of them in 1086 to this cause and to fires rather than to the ravages of twenty years before.

F. BARING.

VACARIUS: A CORRECTION.

PROFESSOR F. PATETTA's paper on 'Vacella, giureconsulto Mantovano del sec. XII.,' in the *Atti della R. Accad. di Torino*, xxxii. (1896-7), contains an 'Instrumentum sententie late contra episcopum Mantuanum, in palatio comunis Mantue 1189; ibi fuere Vacella et Bartholomeus iudices Mantuani.' This document, now printed for the first time, shows that Vacarius is not, as I supposed in this Review, 1896 (p. 307), the only name of a Lombard jurist to whom the abbreviation 'uac' might refer, and that my misgivings

⁴ D.B. 158, a. 2; *Early History of Oxford*, pp. 227, 248. So, too, at Shaftesbury, in the quarter of the abbess, there were 111 houses [sound] and 42 *omnino destructae*, yet she 'had there 151 burgesses and [only] 20 *mansiones vastae*.'

(*ib.* n. 19) about the possibility of 'uacell' being another form of 'Vacarius' were but too well founded. This judge at Mantua, who is certainly not to be identified with the English Vacarius, is probably, as Professor Patetta shows, the author of the 'Contraria Legum Longobardorum.' The theory that Vacarius came from Mantua or had written about Lombardic law must therefore be abandoned.

F. LIEBERMANN.

THE FORGED BULL TO ST. AUGUSTINE'S, CANTERBURY.

WHARTON, in his 'Anglia Sacra' (ii. pp. v-vi), selects, as a specially bad case of charters forged to secure exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, the papal bull which, in the twelfth century, St. Augustine's abbey at Canterbury claimed to possess, and in virtue of which its abbots refused profession of canonical obedience to the archbishops. He printed a charter (containing two documents) which related to the forgery; and the same charter (now 'Cart. Ant. A. 62' at Canterbury) is printed in the appendix to Dr. Sheppard's 'Literae Cantuarienses' iii. 367. It appears to me that his comments upon it (i. pp. lix-lxi), are based upon misapprehension.

The charter, as I have said, contains two documents, both dated by the editor 'circ. 1155.' It will, I think, be found that they are widely different in date and occasion. The first is a letter from Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, to Adrian IV, and must therefore belong to 1154-1159. It seems to me most natural to connect it with Silvester's obstinate appeals to the holy see concerning his benediction, as abbot of St. Augustine's, which was eventually carried out by archbishop Theobald 'iuxta mandatum Domini Papae Adriani' ('Literæ' iii. 367). It would thus be the archbishop of Rouen's letter which influenced the pope in his decision.

The bishop of Evreux's letter to Alexander III, which is the second of the two documents, must obviously be much later. For the facts that he was bishop and that he speaks of 'Beatum Thomam' prove that it cannot in any case be earlier than 1170. Dr. Sheppard's conclusion (i. pp. lx, lxi) is that

It is probable that the process took something of the following form: (1) the narrative written down in the very words of the archbishop and bearing his seal was sent to Christchurch. Then (2) the bishop of Evreux must have been armed with papal authority to enable him to compel the production. (3) Lastly, as the command of the king is so clearly insisted on as a condition for the burning, the bishop must have carried the forged privilege to the king's presence, and there destroyed it, &c.

For, according to the writer,

The abbot of St. Augustine's, upon being required to do so, produced his privilege of exemption, which, being recognised as the bull forged by

Guernon, was by command of the king, and by the hand of the bishop of Evreux, handed over to be burnt' (p. lx).

Now of all this there is not a word in the document as I read it. The bishop of Evreux (Giles) merely says:—

Privilegia [sic] autem quae ex confessione Gaufridi Catalaunensis episcopi, in praesentia sanctae recordationis Innocentii Papae, adulterina probata sunt, et praedicto Domino nostro Archiepiscopo reddita, de mandato eiusdem Domini nostri igni comburenda propriis manibus tradidimus.'

The king, it will be seen, is not mentioned. The *mandatum* was that either of Becket or of the archbishop of Rouen. I gather from the document that it was the latter, and that he gave his nephew the 'privilegia' to burn. I see no evidence that Giles visited Canterbury, or that he compelled the production of the bull to St. Augustine's, or indeed that it was burnt. And I think this letter of his to the pope was probably written in connexion with the renewed struggle on Roger becoming abbot of St. Augustine's in 1178.

J. H. ROUND.

A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ASSESSMENT OF WAGES.

In an earlier number of this Review,¹ I ventured to suggest that the discovery of assessments among unpublished records might show that the justices of the peace had acted upon their legal powers before the days of Elizabeth. A fortunate accident enables me now to point to one instance, printed indeed over forty years ago, but buried in a local archaeological journal² until a short time ago, when in modernised form it reappeared in the 'Notes' of a local weekly newspaper.³ In 1853 a note relative to labourers' wages, as fixed by the justices of the peace for Norfolk in 9 Hen. VI, was communicated to the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society by Sir Henry Ellis, who derived his information from a volume in the British Museum.⁴ He merely gives the text of the ordinance, and it may therefore be of interest to indicate the connexion in which it is found. Among various treatises bound together is one in a fifteenth-century hand described in the catalogue as a 'registrum chartarum de villis, terris, maneriis, libertatibus, privilegiis, aliisque ad iura episcopi et conventus Eliensis spectantibus.' It deals more particularly with the manors of the hundred and a half of Mitford in Norfolk, held by the bishop of

¹ ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW, ix. 313.

² *Norfolk Archæology*, iv. 362.

³ *Norfolk and Norwich Chronicle*, 30 Oct. 1897. I am much indebted to J. C. Tingey, F.S.A., Hon. Curator of the Norwich archives recently placed in the Castle Museum, who drew my attention to the 'Note.'

⁴ Cott. MSS. Dom. A. xv. f. 137b.

Ely, gives the names of persons owing suit, mentions various payments due from the several manors, and adds some miscellaneous information apparently for the guidance of Henry Sharington, the bishop's bailiff.⁵ Among other things, disconnected from anything that precedes or follows, is the following ordinance:—

Ordinac̄ fact' p̄ Justic̄ pacis in Coñ Norff sup stipendiis Artificiar' seruieñ et laboř Anno ix^{mo} Regis H. Sexti.

It is ordeyned that a plowman a shepherd a carter a maltester' the best shall take xiijs. iiij*d.* in the yere and mete and drynk and clothyng and the secondary xs. and mete and drynk.

A woman seruant of husbondrye the best shall take xs. and mete and drynk and clothyng.

A laborer a dycher a waller an hegger a dawber shall take in the wyntersday *jd. ob.* and in the somersdaye *ijd.* and a secondary laborer a dycher a waller an hegger a dawber shall take in the wynterday *jd.* and in the somersday *jd. ob.* and mete and drynk.

A Baylly of husbondrie shall take in the yere *xxd.* and mete and drynk and clothyng.

A Thatster shall take in the wynters day *jd. ob.* and on the somers day *ijd.* and mete and drynk.

Masons leyers reders tylers sall take on the wyntesdayes *ijd.* an on the somersday *ijd. ob.* and mete and drynk.

A Carpenter a sawer shall take on the wyntersday *ijd.* and on the somersday *ijd.* a secondary Carpenter a sawer shall take on the Wynters daye *ijd.* and on the somersday *ijd. ob.* and mete and drynk.

The thressyng of a q^rl̄ Whete Rye mestelyon pesoñ and benes and the syeng of the same *iiij*d.** withoute mete.

The thressyng and the syeng of a q^rl̄ Barly and ote *ijd.* wyth oute mete.

This, then, is a copy of a very early assessment of wages, being the earliest instance which we as yet know, in which the justices acted upon the powers conferred by 13 Ric. II st. 1. c. 8, a statute which, according to the recital in 6 Hen. VI c. 3, had not been executed owing to the omission of any penalty for non-observance. The latter measure, designed to remedy this defect and passed as a temporary act, was confirmed by 8 Hen. VI c. 8 'until the king hath otherwise declared his will in the full parliament.' In less than two years there appeared this ordinance for the regulation of wages in Norfolk. That the wages thus fixed were actually paid cannot perhaps be proved, but the inclusion of the ordinance among entries of payments and dues is surely not without some significance as indicating that the assessment was held to be binding. Was it not as important for the bishop's bailiff to know the price payable for labour on the episcopal estates as to be acquainted with other payments due from those same estates? Apart from any value as an instance of local regulation, the assessment is of some

† Blomefield, *Hist. of Norfolk*, v. 1178.

interest as bearing witness to that rise of wages in employments outside the cloth trade which is indicated by the difference in the maximum rates laid down by 12 Ric. II c. 4 and by 23 Hen. VI c. 12. Thus the bailiff who in 1388 receives 13s. 4d. and clothing once a year can in Norfolk in 1431 command 20s. and meat and drink and clothing. The best ploughmen, shepherds, carters, and maltsters receive 13s. 4d., meat, drink, and clothing; the secondary 10s. with similar allowances, as against 10s. in 1388 for master hines, carters, and shepherds, and 7s. for drivers of ploughs.⁶ The value of women's work has risen from 6s. to 10s. and allowances for the best, a price at which it remains in later fifteenth-century legislation. That this rise was not entirely due to local causes may be inferred from 23 Hen. VI. c. 12, which fixing general maximum rates more minutely than 12 Ric. II c. 4 shows in some cases an advance on those actually assessed by the justices in 1431.⁷ The following extracts from the later statute may suffice for purposes of comparison:—

Wages by the Year.

Bailiff of husbandry	23s. 4d.	meat, drink,	5/-	for clothes.
Chief hind, chief shepherd, carter	20s.	„ „	4/-	„
Common servant of husbandry	15s.	„ „	40d.	„
Woman Servant	10s.	„ „	4s.	„
Infant under 14	6s.	„ „	3s.	„

Wages by the Day.

Summer.

			Winter.	
	With food	Without	With food	Without
Free masons or master carpenter	4d.	5½d.	3d.	4½d.
Master tiler, slater, rough mason, mesne carpenter, and others in building trade	3d.	4½d.	2½d.	4d.
Every other labourer	2d.	3½d.	1½d.	3d.

Special harvest rates are mentioned.

To attempt any proof of a continuous rise in wages⁸ during the fifteenth century is beyond the scope of this note, but such a conclusion seems to be warranted by a perusal of the statute book, apart from the evidence adduced by Thorold Rogers in his great work, and it is therefore an open question whether the legislature of the period deserves the unqualified condemnation he has passed upon it.⁹

⁶ 12 Ric. II. c. 4 seems to exclude food and clothing; it draws no distinction between best and secondary servants, and only deals with day labourers in general terms.

⁷ The averages given by Thorold Rogers of daily wages for 1431, *Agric. and Prices*, iv. 514, seem slightly higher than those fixed by the justices for a county in which the rate of payment was high: *ibid.* p. 501.

⁸ 11 Henry VII c. 22 shows a further advance in some directions on 23 Henry VI c. 12.

⁹ Whatever the motive may have been, the rise was not due to a rise in the prices of food. As Thorold Rogers points out, provisions were extraordinarily cheap, and

So far as Norfolk is concerned, we know as yet of no further assessment for a period of one hundred and eighty years, but after the confirmation of the Elizabethan Act by James I the Norfolk justices were certainly not entirely unmindful of their duties, for in 1610 they issued an assessment, a copy of which has survived to our own day among the county records kept in the shire hall at Norwich.¹⁰

ELLEN A. McARTHUR.

LADY KATHARINE GREY, AND EDWARD SEYMOUR, EARL OF HERTFORD.

In the fifty-first volume of the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' Mr. A. F. Pollard contributed a life of Katharine, the wife of Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, known in her maiden days as Lady Katharine Grey. On the death of her sister, 'Queen Jane,' she succeeded to a strong reversionary claim to the throne under the settlements made by Henry VIII and Edward VI; and it will be remembered that there was one other sister, the diminutive Lady Mary, who shared the birthright with Jane and Katharine, and also the misfortune which attended it. Lady Katharine's pathetic story has been told more than once, and the intention here is only to refer to the latter years of her life—those of her imprisonment for clandestine marriage with the earl of Hertford—in order to correct an error partially repeated in the notice above referred to.¹

Sir Henry Ellis, in 1827, showed what the circumstances really were by printing among his 'Original Letters' several found in the Lansdowne collection referring to Lady Katharine, and three—one of these a petition to the queen—written by her own hand. Sir Henry also printed an extremely interesting and touching narrative of her death in 1568, which, it cannot be doubted, was drawn up at the time;² and Camden in all probability had knowledge of it when he thus wrote, the English edition of his 'Annales' being now quoted:

wheat, which from 1260 to 1400 had been 5s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a quarter, was 5s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. from 1401 to 1540. *Econ. Interpr. of Hist.* p. 330.

¹⁰ The reference to an assessment for 1630, mentioned by Miss Leonard in the January number of this Review, points to an assessment for Norwich, a separate county from that of Norfolk. [Mr. J. C. Tingey has kindly communicated the text of the assessment of 1610, which will appear in our next number.—Ed. *E. H. R.*]

¹ Misrepresentation of her imprisonment and the place of her death was made by Camden, who wrote of it in his *Annales*, probably not more than forty years after the event. His error, that she died in the Tower of London, was repeated by all subsequent historians down to Bayley, who published his *History of the Tower* in 1825. It had been detected, however, by a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1823 (vol. 93, pt. 2, p. 11), who had discovered in the *Reyce MS.*, deposited at the Heralds' College, that Lady Katharine's death occurred at Yoxford in Suffolk.

² Of this document (printed in *Original Letters*, 2nd ser. ii. 288) there are two copies in the British Museum, *Harl. MS.* xxxix. 373, and *Cotton MS. Titus, C. 7.* 125. In the heading of the Harleian copy it is said that Lady Katharine died a prisoner in the Tower; but that this is an erroneous addition to the original is evident from the title of the Cotton copy, which does not state where her death occurred.

‘She [Lady Katharine] was committed to the Tower, and after certain years being taken with a grievous sickness, she craved pardon of the Queen before Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower, that she had contracted marriage without her privity, and, with obtestations commending her children and Hertford’s liberty to her protection, slept piously and peacefully in Christ.’ This is just as represented in the important paper above referred to, and as it does not mention where the death occurred, only that it was in Hopton’s presence, Camden, knowing him as lieutenant of the Tower, naturally inferred that there Lady Katharine died.

Though the major part of the error was corrected many years since, yet it is sometimes even now repeated in its entirety, notably in the latest edition of Burke’s ‘*Extinct Peerage*.’ The minor part—that though Katharine did not die in the Tower, she was at the time in charge of the lieutenant—survives, and is that which Mr. Pollard has perpetuated. Sir Owen Hopton has been the stumbling-block, and to reconcile the poor lady’s death in the presence of the lieutenant of the Tower, though not at the Tower, Mr. Pollard adopts the conjecture of an author of 1848,³ viz. that Sir Owen, out of pity for his poor prisoner’s declining state, removed her from the Tower to his own country house, Cockfield Hall, at Yoxford, in Suffolk. The fact is that Sir Owen had no connexion with the Tower until three years later. This, and a fuller acquaintance with the last four years of Lady Katharine’s life, might have been gathered from the ‘*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*,’ and here, in order to show clearly that those years were not passed in the Tower, it may be permitted to the present writer to indicate the places of the state prisoner’s detention.

After two years’ imprisonment in the Tower—August 1561 to August 1563—Lady Katharine was, on account of the prevalence of the plague, transferred to the custody of her own uncle, Lord John Grey, at his seat, Pyrgo in Essex. It seems to have been a curious selection, for Lord John had been implicated in the desire to supplant the Tudors by the Greys, and had narrowly escaped with his life. This, however, was in Queen Mary’s time, and that he had gained the favour of Elizabeth appears in the fact that she had granted him possession of Pyrgo, an ancient royal estate adjoining Havering-at-Bower. The prisoner remained at Pyrgo about fifteen months; there are several sorrowful letters⁴ written thence by herself or by her uncle to secretary Cecil, imploring the queen’s pardon, and the draft of a petition to that effect. The uncle’s death in November 1564 caused her transference to other quarters, and a letter by Cecil of 26 November shows that she was then with ‘Mr. Petre,’ *i.e.* Sir William Petre.⁴ It has been supposed that her

³ G. L. Craik, *Romance of the Peerage*, vol. ii.

⁴ *Lansdowne MSS.*, printed by Sir Henry Ellis in *Original Letters*, 2nd ser. vol. ii.

stay with Petre was but temporary, and that it was at this time she was recommitted to the Tower. For this, however, there is no evidence, and as eighteen months later we find her being transferred by Petre to another custodian, it may fairly be thought that the interval had been spent in his charge. No letters have appeared as witnesses of Lady Katharine's sojourn at this time, but we are tempted to conclude that it was at Ingatestone, Sir William Petre's seat, which, as being only eight or nine miles from Pyrgo, was convenient for the transfer; and Ingatestone lay between Pyrgo and Gosfield, where we afterwards find the prisoner.

Sir John Wentworth of Gosfield was an elderly man of infirm health; he was most unwilling to accept the charge, but, notwithstanding his supplication to the Privy Council to be relieved, it was forced upon him. His letter of 14 May, 1566,⁵ forwarded one he had received from Sir William Petre preparing him for Lady Katharine's reception, and then or very shortly after she arrived. The distance from Ingatestone (where we suppose the prisoner to have been) to Gosfield was twenty-one miles, and it formed another stage in the continued journey from the Tower to Suffolk, the final bourn. It is evident that at this time the poor lady's health was fast declining. Her entreaties to the queen for pardon and restoration to her husband had been disregarded. No letters of hers later than those from Pyrgo have been discovered, and it would seem that heavy despondency now consumed her vitality; 'the torment and wasting' of her frame had been her own description of her state. Sir John Wentworth's plea of ill-health appears to have been well founded, for in the year following he died, while Katharine was still under his roof. This event must have caused her additional distress; a second time, so it would seem, responsibility had harassed her custodian to death. Yet, as wrote Roke Green, the executor and steward, 'her Ladyship's behaviour had been very honourable and quiet, and her servants very orderly.'

Lady Katharine had been at Gosfield Hall seventeen months, and was now (October 1567) committed to her last keeper, Sir Owen Hopton. To him the Queen's command was repeated—not to suffer his prisoner to have conference with any stranger, or any resort to be made to her other than by himself and his household. The long journey of fifty-three miles between Gosfield and Yoxford was made in two days, the intervening night being passed at Ipswich. The suffering traveller was conveyed in a 'coche;' but if a vehicle on wheels, what was such at that time, and what were the roads? That the tax on the poor lady's waning strength hastened her end seems

⁵ This and other papers afterwards referred to are among the *State Papers*. Transcripts were contributed by the writer to *Notes and Queries*, May–August 1895, and these seem to have escaped Mr. Pollard's notice.

evident in the fact that she lingered but fourteen weeks at Cockfield Hall; and though a physician was twice brought by Sir Owen from London, death could be but little retarded. She died at nine o'clock in the morning of 27 Jan. 1568, in the presence of Sir Owen Hopton and her attendants. That is learnt, with other most interesting and touching particulars, in the contemporary account to which reference has been made. In it the reader will not fail to find the traits of a noble and gentle woman, a faithful and affectionate wife and mother, a not unworthy sister of the wise and pious Jane, who, fourteen years before, had with quiet courage died on the scaffold. She was buried in Yoxford Church with the honours due to one of royal blood, but did not finally rest there; for at a time of which there is no record, either at Yoxford or Salisbury, her remains were transferred to the Seymour tomb in the cathedral of that city.⁶

Error has also attended the history of Lord Hertford, and is now repeated by Mr. Pollard in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' To Camden, as in Lady Katharine's case, the misrepresentation is traced. In the words of the translator, Hertford 'was clapt up in the same Tower [as his wife], and kept in prison the space of nine years.' This has been repeated again and again, and Mr. Pollard reproduces the modification that the earl, after two years' imprisonment in the Tower, was, on account of the plague, placed under the custody of his mother, the duchess of Somerset, and her second husband, Francis Newdigate, at Hanworth in Middlesex; that the next year he was sent back to the Tower, and that he there remained until his wife's death. This is wrong. Hertford, released from the Tower in August 1563, did not return to it until a much later period of his life, a period entirely distinct from that in question. The mistake hinges on one made by the compiler of the 'Calendar of State Papers, Domestic,' who, having found the draft of a Privy Council order of 26 May, 1564,⁷ the destination of which had been left blank, filled in between brackets 'Lieutenant of the Tower;' it was very natural and excusable, considering that Hertford's nine years' imprisonment in the Tower was current history. But Cecil's letter of 26 Nov. 1564, the bearing of which on Lady Katharine's

⁶ Very interesting particulars of the obsequies are found with the *State Papers*, of which the writer's transcripts will be found in *Notes and Queries*, 3 Aug. 1895. Although at Yoxford there appears on the registers only that of burial, '21 Feb. 1567' [N.S. 1568], there is tradition of the removal. The *Reyce MS.* says: 'There lie buried in the church and chancel of Yoxford the *bowels* of the Lady Katharine,' etc., and until a few years back the villagers pointed to a 'black stone' as covering the depository of her 'heart.' It is distressing to add that the stone, and other most interesting Yoxford memorials, have been swept away by the flood of modern 'restoration.'

⁷ This draft, though indexed with *State Papers, Domestic*, is found with *State Papers, Borders* (vol. viii. fol. 80 verso), on account of its being written on the back of a paper of that series.

story has been shown, also indicated Hertford's sojourn; he was not in the Tower, but 'remained with Mr. Mason,' *i.e.* Sir John Mason. It is thus clear that the order of six months previous had eventually been addressed to Mason, with whom the earl 'remained' when Cecil wrote. The correction made, there is no ground on which to base Hertford's recommittal to the Tower at this period, and, on the contrary, the 'State Papers' inform us as to the places of his detention, in the same manner as they indicate those of Lady Katharine.

After being about nine months at Hanworth, he was placed, as shown, in the charge of the eminent Sir John Mason; this was in May 1564. Sir John died in April 1566; and Hertford's quarters were not immediately changed, for two months later, *viz.*, 24 June, he wrote from 'my Lady Mason's house in London.'⁸ In 1567, and until the end of February 1569, he is found at 'Oldthropp [=Althorp], Sir John Spencer's house;' there he must have been when his wife died, not in the Tower as represented. The same year, September 1569, he wrote from Wulf Hall ('Wollfhaull'), his own ancestral home in Wiltshire, and he was there at the end of 1569, engaged in pulling down the old house and building a new one, rather more than a mile distant, in Savernake Forest.⁹ The new house was called Tottenham Lodge, and 'from my park at Tottenham' Hertford wrote 10 June, 1571.⁸

In the letter last referred to he expresses his continued sorrow for want of the queen's favour, and therefore it may be supposed that, though he had been living two years (1569-71) on his own estate, his liberty was still restricted. That he counted these two years in the term of his imprisonment is clear from a statement he made in 1573 (regarding the fine which had been imposed on him, and which to a very large extent was eventually remitted), wherein he pleaded that he had 'patiently abided Her Majesty's heavy displeasure in prison, ten years lacking one month.'⁹ His committal to the Tower had been in August 1561, and as the whole term of imprisonment was ten years less a month, it follows that his restoration to freedom was in July 1571. And that it was so appears in the fact that he received his degree of M.A. at Cambridge 30 Aug. 1571. Thus Hertford's nine years' imprisonment in the Tower is disproved. He was there but two years, and afterwards for nearly eight years his liberty was restricted to certain places, in custody or under surveillance. After 1571 he appears to have recovered the queen's good graces; a royal visit to him at Tottenham Lodge was discussed in 1582, but the accomplishment of the favour was not until September 1591, when with magnificence and wonderful

⁸ *State Papers, Domestic*

⁹ Letters found at Longleat; see *Wiltshire Archaeological, &c. Magazine*, xv. 140-207; *Wulf-hall and the Seymours*, by Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson, F.S.A.

pageantry the earl received Elizabeth at Elvetham, his seat in Hampshire. It was his second wife, Frances, daughter of Lord Howard of Effingham, who then, as wrote the chronicler, 'most humbly on her knees welcomed Her Highness as she alighted from horseback at the hall door, and was by the Queen most graciously embraced.'¹⁰ But four years after this happy event Hertford was a second time in disgrace, apparently in connexion with the claim to the succession of his son, Lord Beauchamp, as heir to his mother, Katharine Grey. The 'State Papers' show that he was committed to the Tower towards the end of 1595, and released 3 Jan. 1596.

His second wife died in May 1598, and in December 1600 he took for third wife another Frances Howard, daughter of Viscount Howard of Bindon. But his only children were the two sons born to him in the Tower by Katharine Grey, and as the sad penalty of a life prolonged to eighty-three years they both predeceased him. He lived during the greater part of the reign of James I; was ambassador to Brussels in 1605; high steward to Anne, queen consort; lord lieutenant of Somerset, of Wilts, and of the cities of Bristol, Bath, Wells, and Salisbury.¹¹ Holding these offices, we may credit him for ability without giving perfect credence to the panegyrics engraved on his sumptuous tomb in Salisbury Cathedral. He died 6 April, 1621. His second and third wives lie in Westminster Abbey, and the reader of the Salisbury inscription, interested in the sad story of Katharine, his first choice, learns with satisfaction that it is her remains that have been gathered here, and that it is her effigy in marble that reclines beside her husband's. The words that tell this are touching: 'Having experienced the vicissitudes of mutable fortune, they, as in the harmony of their living union, here at last rest together.'¹²

W. L. RUTTON.

A ROYALIST ACCOUNT OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE KING'S FORCES
FROM TAUNTON, 13 DEC. 1644.

THE original of the subjoined letter, addressed, it would seem, to Prince Rupert, belongs to Mr. Edward A. Serel, and was lent to me by him, to bring before the annual meeting of the Wells Natural History and Archæological Society, on 27 Jan. 1898.

JAMES COLEMAN.

May it please y^r highnes—

It is time that I give you some account of our actions here. I remained before Taunton euer since I receiued orders for the blockinge of it

¹⁰ Nichols, *Progresses*, iii. 103.

¹¹ Doyle, *Official Baronage*.

¹² For the inscription, in Latin, see *The History . . . of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, London 1723. The copy in the Brit. Mus. bears the press mark 295, 1. 23.

uppe, & had now reduced them to that misery, that it was impossible for them to haue held out a week longer, but in this time of there necessity there Parliam^t ffrends were soe mindefull of them that they drew out all the force they were able out of Portsmouth Southampton Poole Wareham (w^{ch} I heare they have slighted) Weymouth and Lyme besides some horse & ffoot w^{ch} come from London, accompanied wth the countenance & afsistance of all those Gentlemen who have estates in this County and are now in rebellyon.

The horse are comaunded by Coll Vandruske, the ffoot are under severall Comaundes, according to the places from whence they are Drawne and they name Sydenham Comaunder in Cheefe, but I beleue hee only beares the title for the conductinge of them to the releefe of Taunton, & some other will shortly be sent to take that charge.

Sr Lewis Dives kept his horse about Shirbourn & came not uppe towards us that wee might unite before the enemy was ffallen betweene us, & Coll. Bampfeyld by Sr John Berkley's order marcht off from Chard, w^h hee did not vntill the enemy came to Crewkerne. The enemy by both there reportes was about 3000 horse & ffoot.

I findinge that Shirbourne fforces came not to ioyn wth mee, & that Sr John Berkleys fforces under the comaunde of Coll Bampfeyld were by his order marched towards Exceter and that I was exposed wth my small force against the power of Taunton w^{ch} had as many ffoot as I had, & all these w^h came to releue it, yet I stayd untill the enemy came wthin two myles of mee & then I rise from my quarters & brought of all my gunnes and Carriages wthout losse of a man, yet the enemy sallyed immediatly uppon mee but they were soe hungrye that they could not followe us by any house but that they sought for bread, & by that meanes they gaue vs the better opportunity of cominge off & lost some of there own men wth the Bread in there mouths Soe that I am Marched againe vnto Bridgewater hauinge reduced the towne & Castle of Taunton vnto an impofsibility of holdinge out ffive dayes longer. I send unto his ma^{tyes} Comissioners to sende me some ayd but there men are not yet rased & I wish they had neuer gone about it in the way they proposed for then I am sure wee had not beene in soe ill a Condition as now wee are.

Coll Bampfeyld in his march towards Exceter turned againe & alteringe his resolution came & ioyned wth mee but it was after I was drawne off. wee are now about this towne & I beleue Sr Lewis Dives his horse wilbe wth vs this night & Sr ffrancis Hawley hath promised to adde somthinge to our strength both of horse & foot & I beleue soe united wee shalbe able to face the enemye, & I hope beate him out of the Countrye, but wee shall doe this much the better if his ma^{ty} shall sende some forces this way as if they did intend to come to ioyn wth vs but I beleue there appearinge either in the hither part of Wiltshere or on the edge of Dorsetshere will diuert them I have wasted much amunition in this buisnes & I beseech your highnes to take some course that I may bee suplyed either from Exceter or Bristoll.

I shall send your highnes dayly advertisement of what I understand of the enemye's motion & designe. And I shall beseech your highnes to look vpon this buisnies wth soe much providence to preuent what mischeife

may thereby ensue as a thing soe considerable in its relation to his ma^{tyes} affayres that if the enemye should be master of the feyld all that his ma^{ty} can hope for of leuyes & recrewts in the West is Endaunger^d to bee lost. This I leave to your highnes consideration & myselfe to bee ever disposed off.

by your hignes Comaunder
EDMUND WYNDHAM

Bridgewater 14^o Dec.

I came off from Taunton yesterday beinge the 13th of Decemb.

Endorsed. West Bridgewater Dec. 14, 1644.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ARCHBISHOP KING.

The following fragment of an autobiography of William King, archbishop of Dublin, is contained in a volume of his letters in the Armagh Library (G. I. i.). It was communicated by the late Rev. J. W. Stubbs, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; and the proof has not only been revised by his son, Mr. William C. Stubbs, but has also been most kindly collated with the original by the Rev. W. Moore Morgan, LL.D., prebendary and librarian of Armagh. The manuscript being autograph, it has not seemed desirable to correct the archbishop's somewhat eccentric Latinity.

Quaedam meae vitae insigniora.

Ipse natus Calendis Maii 1650 patre Iacobo eiusdem nominis avo et proavo familiâ antiquâ de Burras in Scotiâ septentrionali. Pater licet presbyterianae sectae rigidissime adhaerens, tamen solemne eorum foedus inire noluit eo tempore in Hiberniae septentrionalibus partibus omnibus eius sectae sequacibus sub excommunicationis cuiusdam poenâ a suis impositum. Inde mihi baptismum recusabant per sex menses, nec alio qui administraret comparante tandem amicis pro me spondentibus et absente in bello patre, baptisatus utcunque fui.

Primâ infantîâ morbis conflictatus sum, ita ut de vitâ meâ desperatum est, debilisque corpore per aliquod tempus parvam mei spem feci.

Anno 1653 memini tum puer eclipseos fere totalis quae circa id tempus contingit, et quae matri et caeteris multum terroris incutiebat; memini belli et militum, quorum reliquiae aliquae adhuc regionem peragrabant.

Anno 1655 scholam missus discere omnino recusavi et obstinate ludimagistrae restiti, licet verberibus me ad discendum urgebat sed frustra; fessa igitur destitit.

Anno 1658 iam coli regio Tironensis post bellum incipiebat, ubi pater sese transtulit, et aliâ scholâ etiam sub ludimagistrâ constitutâ, in eam missus sum, sed eodem successu: verberibus quidem coactus alphabetum memoriter recitare didici, sed ne litteram distinguere potueram. Saepe solus flebam, et censui ex malo animo et odio in me parentes meos me ad discendum literas cogere, cum in iis neque sensum nec usum inveniebam, neque tam hebes eram quin in iis rebus quâ ratione coniuncta erant licet cum labore progressum aliquem facere potui.

Post vero anni dimidium experiundo insumptum tandem alphabetum

didici et literas numerando verba pronunciabam, et cum catechismus Westmonasteriensis in manus meas datus est, verba non intelligebam, nec capax intelligendi quae legebam omnino aversatus sum libros. Contigit quodam die Dominico me in horto cum foeminâ quâdam spatiari; ingressi vero lucum consedimus, scripturas sacras legebat illa, et inter legendum somnus obrepit; decidentem e manibus librum sustuli, et principium eius more meo literas numerando verba pronunciabam, deprehendi statim sensum aliquem in eo contineri quod nunquam ante observaveram; captus vero novitate enixe me ad legendum accinxi et eâ dormiente tria priora capitula percurri, in paucissimis haerens. Quamprimum domi constitutus Biblia comparavi et subitos progressus in legendo feci, et omnes aequales praetergressus spem feci me doctrinae capacem esse.

Per bellum duodecennale turbatis rebus publicis, aedificiis igne consumptis, et culturâ terrae neglectâ, horrebant omnia; omnis literatura et erudiendi pueros opportunitas cessabant; tota igitur iuventus datâ occasione ad ludum properabat; ad foeminam ludimagistram septuaginta aut octoginta discipuli utriusque sexus congregabant, plerique puberes et venereas res meditantes; iuveni petulantia sese ioculariter tanquam coniuges appellabant et ludicra matrimonia inibant. Ipse licet puer tanquam sacerdos eos jungebam, et nescio quo fato pro presbytero me designabant, caeterum multi qui sic ioco coniuncti serio relictâ statim scholâ coniugio copulabantur.

Anno 1659 dissolutâ eâ scholâ per aliquod tempus otiabar et obliviscbam quod didici, donec aliâ scholâ sub magistro in viciniâ apertâ, iterum pensum id curabam, et peiore fato magister neque bene legere nec scribere intelligens severitate solâ insaniebat; nihil igitur progrediebar nisi quod aliquando a scholâ fugitivus legebam vitas illustrium virorum scriptas per quendam Clark et alios historicos libros aut fabulosos quos domi inveni. Scribere tentans miseram et maxime rudes literas formabam, et saepe earum causa vapulans pennas et atramentum horrebam, magistro ignaro et ad corrigendum quam instruendum aptiore et magis prompto.

Anno 1660, restitutâ regiâ familiâ, alia facies rerum incipiebat et sero in septentrionalibus partibus mutatio introducta est. Incertis vero rebus et fluitantibus neque scholae reformatae erigebantur nec satis firmas in statu in quo erant manebant; iam curabantur, iam negligebantur, parum igitur proficiebam, aliquando frequentans, aliquando vacans. Anno 1664 quidem arithmetica discere incipiebam; magister nihil ultra quinque generales regulas callebat, eas docuit certo pretio assignando quadrantem anni unicuique regulae me non admissis ad legendum eo quod non satis distincte scribere didicissem, nec licebat inspicere discentes, id enim si fecissem et ille qui admisit et ipse qui fecissem simul vapulasset; sed nescio quo casu nactus librum arithmeticum per quendam Record scriptum eiusque proprio Marte regulas arithmeticas summâ voluptate didici usque ad extractionem radicis quadratae nec cuiquam id indicare ausus ne vapularem.

Anno 1662 nactus magistrum Latine scientem me ipsi discipulum dedi. Accidentia discere coepi Maii 18 et omnes Anglicas regulas cum declinationibus et coniugationibus memoriter callui ante finitum mensem Augustum et magister me idoneum praestaturum ad academiam adeundam intra annum iactabat. Satis rationes regularum et genium linguae

capiebam et iungere verba per regulas ut fieret syntaxis tentabam; at magister alio se contulit et iam vacuus tempus et quae subito didicissem cito perdebam. Circa vero mensem Novembris constitutâ scholâ apud Dungannon ibi me contuli, et malo fato magister Scotus et suorum mirator non me progredi sinebat sed dedit mihi in manus Despauterii grammaticam Latinam scilicet et cogebat ut memoriter eam repeterem cum interim nihil in eâ intelligebam. Inutili eiusmodi opere totum annum insumpsi, mihi valde laboriosum, nec perfectius quid de linguâ intelligebam quam cum primum incepti, excepto quod Latina quaedam verba memoriâ tenebam. Post Corderio opem dedi, deinde Psalmis Davidicis, et Ovidii epistolis, quae omnia satis prompte memoriae commendabam, multis in iis non intellectis et magistro non minus ignaro; demum Metamorphoses Ovidii et Virgilium aggredior et tandem Horatium et Persium, paucis in iis intellectis, sed memoriae commissis, praeter Horatium, cuius odas tenere memoriâ non poteram offensus versibus quos quasi duros et non currentes ut hexametri et pentametri solent, respuebam.

Anno 1665 translationibus operam dedi et ex iis paulatim discebam aliquid linguæ Latinæ, et tunc relectis poetis melius sensum eorum callebam, ubi dubitabam interrogatis peritis me expediebam et iam aliis doctior prodii. Virgilium cum voluptate legebam simul et Ovidium et Psalmos Davidicos heroico carmine scriptos et Sapphicos, caeteris neglectis utpote dure euntibus ut mihi videbatur, at Horatius non tam placuit quia minime intellectus.

Anno 1667 Collegium Sanctae Trinitatis adivi, admissus 18 die Aprilis, tutorem nactus Carolum Cormacium, socium seniore, qui iam Collegium relicturus minime pupillos curabat; vix aliquem progressum feci ante hyemem sequentem. Sed cum nulli scholares anno praecedente electi fuissent debuerunt ad numerum complendum per statuta praescriptum ut memini circa 26,¹ ipse fere omnium iunior ea ratione inter scholares electus fui, et Novembre sequente inter etiam natos, quod tutori debebam, qui conscius se negligisse officium suum quoad instructionem eo modo compensavit negligentiam expertus me non otiosum fuisse sed eiusdem formae sodales sedulitate antesse.

Interim aretis rebus conflictatus sum et paene oppressus, parentibus et amicis me negligentibus, utpote paupertate etiam conflictantibus, ita ut vix viginti libras habui per totum sexennium quo in academiâ moratus sum aliunde quam ex ipsa academiâ, et tamen in eo providentiam Dei agnosco, quod satis decore et honeste per totum fere id tempus vestitus et pastus incessi.

Anno 1668 per aliquod tempus tanquam pupillus Henricum Dodwell A. M. audivit, qui rogatu praedicti Caroli Cormack nobis legebat logicam. Non possum affirmare me logicam eius ope didicisse, multi vero maioris momenti documenta ab eo recepi, et familiaris illi factus, me potius in amicorum numero quam pupillorum habuit.

Anno 1669 tutore Collegium relinquire, Iohannes Christian A. M. et socius me in pupillum adoptavit; non possum quin memorem quae beneficia illi debeo, grati animi enim est agnoscere per quos profeceris.

Imprimis igitur et quod praecipuum vero religionis sensu me

¹ 35 scholars were elected in 1667; King's name is 25th in order of standing.—J. W. S.

imbuebat. Natus temporibus turbatis, vix aliquid quod intellexi de religione audivi ante annum decimum, tum scholis constitutis aliquid in litteris incipiebam, sed parum de religione neque novi nec audivi aliquem Deum secreto orantem, nihil de publico nec privato Dei cultu, nihil de catechismo, de sacramentis, de symbolo, decem preceptis nec oratione Dominicâ. Dixi antea me scholam adiisse anno 1659 cum multis discipulis, at quantum memini ne unus fuit omnium qui vel semel orationem secreto Deo obtulisset, nec fieri bene potuit ut offerrent; cum enim omnes formulae orandi exulabant, fieri vix potuit ut rudes et illiterati iuvenes ex se orationes conciperent. Cessavere itaque omnes orationes secretæ, nec ut fieri solent pueri ab incunabulis orare edocti, mane et vespere preces secreto celebrare edocebantur. Sancte ita profiteor me neque audivisse nec novisse id mihi officii incumbere antequam academiam ingressus sum, nec id ab aliquo factum fuisse memini. Solebat pater noctu ante lectum adivit convocatâ familiâ orationem concipere, at cum preces eius conceptæ erant verbis et phrasibus temporibus istis et sectæ quodammodo peculiaribus, eas minime intelligebam, nec multum curavi quæ factæ fuere, nec facile intelligi potuerant sine dictionario quod ipsas explicaret; qui legerit scripta istius temporis et peculiarem phrasin et dialectum fere dixerim animadvertet, satis veritatem eorum quæ scribo perspiciet.

At iam pium et fidelem tutorem naetus, ille a religione incipiebat et mihi repræsentavit quam necesse foret, tam ad aeternam quam temporalem felicitatem ut serio de religione cogitarem, ut continuis orationibus non solum publicis sed etiam secretis divinam opem implorarem ut fiduciam meam in Deo solo ponerem et firmo voto statuerem me gloriam eius et servitium in omnibus pro primo habiturum. Quasi a veterno expergefactus hæc monita recolligebam et satis perspectum habui debere me aut omnino religioni renunciari aut alio modo eius praxi me addicere quam antea fecissem. Necesse enim fore ut aut Dei cultum prae omnibus mundi deliciis commoditatibus et beneficiis haberem, ita ut iis omnibus paratus essem renunciare, cum consistere cum mandatis Dei non poterant, aut ut religioni penitus valedicerem. Medium enim nullum esse inter hæc satis perspectum habebam, tam ex verbis Christi quam ex ipsius rei naturâ; eligendum esse an Christi servus esse velim an mundi. Electio hæc multum ante oculis versabatur, et negotium satis ingratum iuveni meditatio eius fuit, turbasque animo perquam dolorosas concitabat et diu vacillantem mentem et incertam torquebat. At tutoris monitis et hortationibus in meliorem partem trahebar, et ut aeternæ foelicitatis spem abjurerem horrebam, opem divinam et auxilium eius gratiæ impetrabam, et in hoc conflictu experientiâ didici quam insufficientes vires meae essent sine gratiæ divinae auxilio, cum non solum tentationes mundanas ut vincerem impotentem me comprehendi sed etiam ut propositum cum iis configendi susciperem. Imo in eo statu me vidi constitutum ut non solum implendo officio meo imparem me expertus sum, sed ne mihi persuadere valebam ut conarem; miserum me sensi et servititem malam quam servire coactus sum multum plorabam.

Dum vero his cogitationibus defixus continuis tormentis animus cruciabatur, tandem subiit (volente ita Deo) ut rem altius recolligerem et mecum statui religionem a fundamentis examinare, cum enim deliciae et

voluptates praesentes cum omnibus commodis et beneficiis religionis ergo negandae essent, aequum duxi ut inquirerem an spes futurae foelicitatis tam firmis fundamentis nitebatur, ut rationi consonum videatur quod eius causa commodis praesentis vitae, imo vitae ipsi si opus esset, renunciare deberem.

Totum igitur religionis negotium retexendum mihi fuit et ab ipsis principiis repetendum. Magnum hoc et arduum opus mihi visum fuit, et non sine labore et studio ingente peragendum. Cogitabam quam difficilis futura erat inquisitio et laboriosa, nec tamen id me maxime deterrebat, sed momentum ipsius rei et periculum erroris maiorem mihi tumultum excitabat; si lapsus essem, non mortem aut vitam infelicem sed aeternam miseriam me manere deprehendi.

Nec tamen destiti, sed quo maioris momenti res agebatur eo diligentiore curam adhibendam existimavi; ad opus igitur sedulo me accinxi, et methodum primo mihi proposui secundum quam in tam gravi re procedendum esset, nec in hoc multum haesi. Disquisitionem igitur sic ordinandam esse duxi, primo ut inquirerem de religione naturali; 2^o revelatâ; 3^o Christianâ; 4^o sectis quae Christianam religionem dividunt. Primo de eâ quae Protestantes a Romanis separat, 2^o de ea quae inter Protestantem, Independentibus, et Socinianis distinguit, caeterae enim sectae sub his venire satis constabat.

Interim graves viros et peritos consulebam; sermones, ubicunque licuit, de his serebam; cum viris qui maxime aestimabantur in unâquâque sectâ, si opportunitas offerebat, disserebam; libros de his rebus tractantes comparabam et diligenter legebam, in procurandis quibus tutor meus mihi consulebat et opem tulit, nec tamen quo animo haec faciebam cuiquam indicavi; quod tamen saepe postea dolui, cum fidelis consultor et quasi confessor cui omnia animi dubia sine scrupulo quis aperire audeat, sit in his rebus maximi momenti.

Volumina implerem si omnia narrarem quae legi, quae disputavi, quae meditatus sum, si dubias solutiones et argumenta evolverem. Summa res fuit quod gratiâ Dei cooperante ad foelicem exitum rem deduxi, et talia principia stabilivi mihi, et eiusmodi argumentis confirmavi, ut ab eo tempore ad hunc diem sint Deo gratiae; nec quid in negotio religionis aut mutavi, aut addidi aut detraxi, et multis in istiusmodi dubiis subsidio fui, nec quis me ex tramite cui tum institi aut scripto aut verbo vel lato ungue deturbavi.

Anno 1670 . . . die mensis Februarii gradum Baccalaureatum suscepi, et statim febris intermittente correptus per tredecim septimanas ea laboravi; evasi quidem, sed fracta valetudine, nec unquam postea id roboris aut sanitatis firmitudinem recuperavi quam antea expertus fueram.

Anno 1672 vacantibus quatuor aut quinque locis inter socios, licet iunior omnium examinandum me exhibui ut candidatus, persuasus quod alii incapaces essent electionis quia propter seditionem quandam contra socios et praepositum censura notatierant, idque mihi intimatum est ab ipso praeposito; experimentum igitur feci etiamsi imparatus, vix enim septimana ad praeparationem data est, nec opus erat. Tres, quantum memini exclusi sumus. Georgius Brown, nuper praepositus, et ego iuniores inter exclusos, sed hoc molestiam nullam creavit, cum satis constabat nos nihil de doctrinae aestimatione perdidisse.

Anno 1673 vacavit unus locus inter socios, nolui tamen interim examinationi me committere, sed id seniori reliqui neque cum Brown amico contendere volui; illi igitur sine rivali contigit electio. Ipse vero tanquam capellanus reverendissimo Iohanni Parkero archiepiscopo Tuamensi a sacris admissus sum. Mihi dedit praebendam de Kilmainmore cum octo vicariis quae simul non mihi sexaginta libras sterlingas annuatim solvebant, et tamen per triginta milliaria in longitudine extendebant; tam misere est ea dioecesis Tuamensis improprationibus et aliis incommodis distracta.

Martis die 17 1673 collegium reliqui suscepto prius gradu magisterii comitiis vernis.

Anno 1674 Aprilis 26 in ecclesia cathedrali Tuamensi sacrum presbyteratus ordinem suscepi, ordinem patrono conferente, antea diaconus ordinatus a reverendo admodum Roberto Mossom S.T.D. episcopo Derensi. Cum paravam me ad hos ordines suscipiendos contigit Iacobum Ducem Eboracensis postea regem Angliae se Romanum Catholicum declarasse; id fere omnibus maximi doloris causa extitit quolibet ominante inde Ecclesiae et reipublicae pericula et turbas. Satis perspexi et sensi quod inde eminebant mala praesertim clericis, et ego ignem et cruciatum in oculis habui et meipsum interim rogabam an poteram religionis causam martyrium subire. Satis horruï prospectum, tamen speravi, Deo iuvante, me posse quodlibet eius veritatis causam ferre, et eam mente ad ordines accessi.

Iam vero rure constitutus aliam vivendi formam subivi, et quasi in novo orbe vivendum erat. Dum academicus essem contentus comiteu collegiali, vix semel mense vel cibo vel potu alio usus sum quam eo quem statuta collegii scholaribus assignant. At iam capellanus mensae archiepiscopali admotus liberrimam edendi et bibendi copiam fruebar. Sexdecim quotidie ferculis onerata mensa pro prandio et 12 pro coena, cum vini varietate largissima et aliorum liquorum generosiorum profusione. Licet neque naturam edax nec bibax fueram, attamen vix fieri potuit, quin plusquam salutari conveniebat ingererem; praesertim tam subita mutatio incauto nocuit, accedente clero quibus familiariter utebar bibacore quam oportuit, et genio totius populi inter quos versabam comotationibus et epulis dedito, terram omnibus ad luxuriam ministrantibus abundante. Hinc factum erat ut antequam de incommodis aliquod somniarem podagra correptus sum. Quod accidit primo mihi anno 1675; ad quam etiam faciebant nocturnae lucubrationes, vix enim ad musaeum me recipere potui ante mediam noctem et in eo plerumque morabar ad horam secundam matutinae, licet saepe gravis coena et poculis post coenam.

Nec solum iis incommodis me involvi sed aliis etiam peccatis et erroribus, quae per totam vitam animum doloribus et cruciatibus affecere et afficient. Inter caetera cum nihil praeter beneficium rusticum in oculis habui nec ullam ambitionem tactus essem ultra progrediendi contentus praesentibus multam studendi curam abieci; considerato enim tam cleri quam populi statu satis doctus mihi videbar ad quodlibet officium inter eos obeundum, nec cur sollicitus essem de multa eruditione rationem ullam credidi cum iam nulli usui fore comperiebam pleraque quae didici, et vix credendum quantum haec cogitatio industriam meam retardabat. Multum hinc temporis perdebam, et horae quae studiis et libris deditae ad progressum non contemnendum adjuvarent aut nugis aut ludicris aut ineptiis aut

peioribus perditae sunt. Dolet quoties memoriae occurrit quot horas bonas vegetus tam animo quam corpore sic locaverim.

At patronus meus pius et prudens magis mihi consuluit quam ego mihi ipsi, et monuit me de erroribus meis nec quid me peccare sustulit sine reprehensione. Si quid in concionibus incongruum dubium aut negligeriter dictum observavit, id arguebat; si quid indecens in verbis aut factis aut ipse notaverat aut ab aliis audierat, id mihi indicabat et saepe verbis satis amaris obiurgabat; dicere solebat se iam senem esse, iam fractum animo et corpore morti proximum, iam iam vivos relicturum nec posse diu ecclesiae invigilare, me iuvenem esse et sperare se me altiori stationi destinari et iam tempestatem esse in quâ me illi subeundae idoneum, pararem. Omnino igitur dum vegetum dum nondum negotiis distentum incumbere me debere iis studiis quae formarent me et pararent ad maiora. His persuasus multa feci; patres aliquos, concilia, canonicam legem et civilem percurri, licet nec eâ diligentia aut attentione quâ decuit. Ille mecum frequenter confabulari, interrogari, suadere, corrigere et fere officio examinatoris et lectoris fungi, praesertim de iis quae ad constitutionem ecclesiae et disciplinam pertinebat, diligentius inculcare. Gradatim igitur quasi socium et curarum participem me tractabat; et licet saepe imprudentia aut iuvenali fervore ipsi molestus fueram, tamen reprehensione contentus favore me semper prosecutus est.

Anno 1679 Duce Ormondiae iam prorege Hiberniae contigit reverendum virum Phillipum Barber A. M. Cancellarium Sti Patricii Dublin. et ministrum Stae Werburgae fatis fungi. Patronus meus iam Dubliniensis Archiepiscopus, Kilkenniae versabat proregi officium exhibiturus, mane per tabellarium notitiam istius mortis recepit et simul complebantur aedes eius petitionibus qui pro amicis solliciti ipsos favori eius commendare volebant quo beneficium tum vacuum assequerentur. Ipse apud aedes eius in comitatu Longafordensi ignarus omnium morabar, at priusquam aliquem in cubiculum admisit nuncium direxit ad locum ubi essem, iubens me statim ut Dublinium adirem et curam Stae Werburgae ad Cancellariatum Sti Patricii pertinentem suscipere; me enim illum designasse Cancellarium Sti Patricii, morte incumbentis vacantem. Tum egressus cubiculo nunciavit omnibus, qui ipsum sollicitabant de beneficio, quod sero accessissent, iam enim ipsum mihi contulisse, et statim proregem adivit indicans quid fecisset; ille subridens artificium eius se intelligere indicabat, et contentus satis dispositione, licet a multis sollicitatus, sese intermiscere recusavit.

Nuncius hic omnes meas rationes turbabat et novam rerum faciem aperuit. Anno 1676 mortuo Randolpho Ince praeposito id est praecentore cathedralis Stae Mariae Tuamensis, suffectus ipse sum per patronum archiepiscopum et satis contentus beneficio opimo nihil ultra curabam sed totus in eo fui ut pararem mihi mansionem commodam ubi vitam rusticam degerem et quomodo id fieret multum cogitavi. Domum in villa Tuamensi comparaveram, et quibusdam utensilibus ornaveram, quae necessaria pro tempore videbantur. At quomodo cibum et caetera quae ad commode vivendum requiruntur sine uxore haberem inexpertus dubitavi. Ut lectus, coquina, linteamenta et caetera domestica vitae negotia curarentur rure sine ope foeminae vix capere potui. Quam moesta foret vita sine consorte, sine amicis, sine

participare curarum quae non ab rure separari poterant; quomodo aeger curarer, quomodo solus familiam ordinarem penitus nescivi. Et forte si diu manendum fuisset in eo loco coactus matrimonium contraxissem, at Dublinii nil opus mihi his fore satis perspectum habui. Nec tamen multum placebat vita coelebs, nec facile penitus omnem matrimonii cogitationem deposui, veritus etiam sum laborem et continuam sollicitudinem horrebam, quam amplissima parochia Stae Warburgae secum necessario trahit. His curis distentus anno 1679 27 die Aug. Dublinium perveni et curae parochiali me addixi et diligens in concionibus visitationibus aegrorum catechisandis rudibus et aliis officii functionibus omnibus innotescebam. Dies mihi in his occupatus est, noctu studiis et libris intento; placuit mihi haec vivendi forma et gratias Deo agebam qui me ex segni illo et inertis vitae statu vindicasset, quem ruri agebam. Tam enim et mihi et aliis usui esse potui, et negotiis immersum minus passionibus et tentationibus mundanis obnoxium me sensi. At statim valetudinem mihi vacillare sensi, primo morbillis tunc epidemicis et multis mortiferis correptus, mox febrim et statim podagrâ. At parum valetudinem curabam, cum gratissima esset officii mei executio.

Anno 1683 a febre male recuperatus Angliam adii et consilio medicorum aquis Tunbridgiensibus usus sum. Flagrabant tum factiones inter regios et republicanos, et civitatum privilegia per regem imminuebantur, revocatis chartis quibus immunitates iis concedebantur. Observabam capita factionis contra regem religioni et sobrietati inimica, et numeravi ultra triginta praecipuos istius factionis viros tunc aquas illas vitriolatas frequentantes impietate et vitiis non minus quam factione notabiles; ex altera parte qui pro rege stabant sobrios et religionis sensu imbutos, multo tamen minus populares, causa enim quam defendebat genti toti Anglicanae displicebat, revera enim rex potestatem arbitriam inducere et papistis favere constabat. Serios igitur cum iis de rerum statu sermones habui, illi vero indicabant mihi adversarios regis non patriae amore factioni se immiscere, paratos enim esse et patriam et religionem prodero modo Rex sese eorum ministerio daret, sed causam eam eligere ut populo placerent et ut regem cogerent ad partes suas confugere, quod si faceret ex animo tum psum libenter patriotas istos praetensos adjuvare et rempublicam et religionem evertere velle, nullam enim illis nec religionis nec iuris curam revera esse. Regis igitur partibus se addicere, ne cogerentur factioni adversariorum accedere, et eorum ope leges evertere.

At minime mihi ardebat ea ratio, subtritis enim municipiorum privilegiis et electione membrorum summi senatus sublata aut in regiâ potestate reductis electoribus non intelligebam quomodo libertas populi defendi potuit, caverent igitur ne regias partes tamdiu foverent donec in immensum exescente eius potestate nihil haberent quod opponeret si modo malâ uti rex voluerit potentiâ quam imprudenter illi offerebant.

Satis consciis videbantur vera esse quae dicerem, at sperabant regem non ausurum quid in leges, se enim unanimiter illum deserturos in eiusmodi ausis, et magis illum callidum esse quam ut solus facinus tantum auderet; nec revera multum ausus erat, licet frater cum regiam dignitatem adeptus esset tam temerario ausu se perdidit.

[Paginae 17, 18, 19, 20 desunt in MS.]

pag. 21 [. . . videbantur magis obsidentibus obnoxii. Inter enim

caetera parerga libros de castrorum munimine tractantes perlegissem et satis quae ad eam rem spectabant quantum ex libris disci potuerant callebam. At omnia munimenta Hiberniae per pacem longam penitus neglecta inveni, ita ut per totum iter ne unum tormentum bellicum paratum inveni; pauca fuerunt eius generis et plerumque inepta ad usum et sine necessario apparatu vectura scilicet et caeteris; nec aliqua provisio de pulvere pyrico aut globulis expulsoriis nec erant armentaria et si quae fuerant aut armis erant vacua aut si quae omnia inepta et minime ad usum accommoda. Nec displicebat hic status rerum armatis enim factionis papisticae hominibus et totâ potestate regni iis per regem Jacobum commissa satis perspexi illos arma non deposituros nisi bello coactos, et quo magis nuda erant castra et fortilitia eo facilius praevideam eos posse ad obedientiam reduci.

Circa medium Septembris anno 1688 redii Dublinium et apud Kildariam 20 milliariibus a Dublinio distantem audiui de expeditione principis Aurasiaci quam meditabatur in Angliam; haec dudum expectavi et commissis turri Londinensi episcopis cum obmurmurationibus et indignatione totius gentis saepe amicis dixi me mirari quid sibi voluit rex. Violentis enim consiliis et conatibus intempestivis quibus religionem papisticam et potestatem arbitrariam promovebat, ambas quam maxime omnibus exosas, animos omnium abalienasset immemor se ad placitum principis Aurasiaci regnare, si enim dum in tali fermento populorum ille princeps cum 5 millibus armatorum solum apud Londinum aut alibi appulissent actum esse de rege. Audito vero iam quae parabat persuadebam mihi illum sibi coronam vendicaturum.

Et hinc mihi scrupulus perquam molestus in animo obortus est, scilicet quid mihi, siquid eius generis contigerit, faciendum esset. Ex parte unâ stabat fidelitas in regem et iuramenta quae lege iussus de fidelitate eâ suscepi cum subscriptionibus et declarationibus ad eum finem legitimis, satis persuasus haec non eo fine instituta esse ut regi absolutam potestatem in leges et subditos conferrent aut ut constitutionem et formam reipublicae immutarent, an id tamen praevenire aliter quam bello in regem posset dubium suboriebatur; et licet tale bellum licitum foret, an eo usque procedere liceret ut rex penitus deponeretur, vix mihi persuadere potui, quod tamen tanquam certum si succederent arma principis Aurasiaci praevidebam. Si igitur a rege starem, servitutem patriae, religionis eversionem, et libertatis oppressionem me promoturum sensi; si a principis partibus regis depositioni accederem, quod licere me fieri non putabam. Haec autem minimo aliis scrupulum movebant, aut enim credebant rem non ad depositionem progressuram, aut si id contigerit, meritum fuisse regem utpote incapacem secundum leges regere rempublicam, quibus se tam factis quam principiis inimicum declarasset. Quid igitur faciendum mihi esset sedulo mecum meditabar, et ut quietum me continerem, nec his rebus me intermiserem tandem statui paratus me providentiae subdere nec unquam author fui ut arma aliquis capesseret, at cum vidissem totum statum reipublicae eversum abrogatis actibus vulgo *of settlement and explanation* quibus nitebantur protestantium hereditates plus duobus millibus nobilium civium et clericorum maxime notae melioris nominatim proscriptis, ecclesiae disciplinâ potestate et iurisdictione suppressis, restituto clerico papistico beneficiis et promotionibus ecclesi-

asticis, et omnes protestantes bonis exutos, plerosque etiam libertate, et per falsas criminationes aut arbitraria mandata carcere inclusos, non ulterius dubitavi quin liceret mihi et aliis liberationem eam accipere quam providentia obtulit per principem Aurasiacum iam regem agnitum Angliae et Scotiae, meque ipsi, tanquam regi et liberatori submittere, praesertim cum nihil ad deponendum regem Iacobum aut ipsum promovendum ad coronam nec facto aut scripto contulisses; licere enim me submittere illi, cui talis potestas data esset ab ordinibus totius reipublicae et providentiâ divinâ ut iam submittere.

Interim substitutus a reverendissimo Francisco Marsh S. T. D. archiepiscopo Dubliniensi commissarius ad visitandum clerum Dubliniensem cum aufugit in Angliam circa mensem Februarii 1688, colore istius potestatis in me assumpsi iurisdictionem in totam dioecesim et omnia, consentiente clero, ordinavi quasi plenâ potestate indutus. Sed cum viderem eam in se insufficientem esse nec secundum leges posse me eam vindicare, procuravi reverendum Antonium episcopum Midensem in custodem spiritualitatis eligi a duobus capitulis, scilicet Sanctae Trinitatis et Sancti Patricii, archiepiscopo in remotis agente et cum quo commercium habere non potuimus, imo per actum parlamenti per regem Iacobum proscripto, nec eo minus illo consentiente omnia in dioecesi ordinabam.

Multis cleris aufugientibus in Angliam destitutae erant pleraeque parochiales ecclesiae pastoribus; eas omnes supplevi, fugatis enim clerici in remotioribus partibus regni agentibus a beneficiis per violentiam papistarum sese ad obeunda officia parochialia in parochiis a propriis pastoribus desertis libenter offerebant. Hinc ne una ecclesia in totâ dioecesi curato destituta mansit per totum oppressionis tempus, et licet papistae fere in multis locis ecclesias parochiales vi ingressi sibi retinebant, curati tamen officia obibant in domibus privatis.

In multissimo fere omnibus magni momenti protestantes Dublinienses sub difficultatibus quae eos premebant consulere solebant episcopum Medensem et me, et consilio nostro utebantur experientiâ docente non sine successu. Hinc fere pro oraculis habiti sumus, et quicquid novi aut audiverant aut didicissent nobis afferebant, quicquid mali illis illata fuissent aut timebant nobis aperiebant; hinc fere tota historia rerum factarum innotescebat, litteras privatas sibi directas aut alias compertas, publica instrumenta, proclamationes, ordinationes, imo transcripta eorum quae in scriniis secretariorum servabantur mihi communicabant. De iis rebus habito saepe colloquio cum amicis frequenter loquebamur, quidem quae iis interessent redacta quae disseruimus in chartis amicis in Angliâ et septentrionali parte Hiberniae communicabant et pro meis satis imprudenter venditabant, quae cum iterum per speculatores referebantur parti regis Jacobi ipse pro authore omnium habitus sum idque mihi maxime nocuit.

Julii 25, 1689, ego et multi alii capti carceri commissi sumus. Ipse in castro Dubliniensi detentus ibi diaria composui omnium quae observavi, et saepe commercio tam Romano-Catholicorum quam protestantium dignatus, qui frequentes me invisebant et libere mecum loquuti sunt de rebus publicis, multa didici quae aut fiebant aut struebantur; interim copiae e Angliâ sub Duce Schonenbergensi appulerunt, et, usque ad Dundalkiam progressi, illic substituerunt. Id grave fuit pro-

testantibus Dubliniensibus qui liberationem a malis impatienter ab iis expectabant, at edoctus quam male res cessissent in ducis illius castris, militibus fere omnibus morbis consumptis necesse esse iis patientiam quam maxime potui inculcandum fere censui. Dissolutâ militiâ ex utrâque parte, et exercitibus in Hyberniâ reductis, visum erat Iacobo regi incarceratos protestantes liberos dimittere sub cautione fidei iussorum, deliberatum erat de me inter alios dimittendo, opponente se meae libertati summo iusticiario Regii Tribunalis in Hyberniâ Thoma Nogentio, at pro me stabat amicus mihi antiquus Edwardus Herbert, eques, tunc Cancellarius Angliae per Iacobum declaratus, qui et ipse religionem reformatam constanter professus est, et multorum bonorum quantum in se fuit omnibus eiusdem religionis professoribus extitit, in omnibus enim difficultatibus et angustiis ipsis se exhibuit patronum et defensorem. Accessit etiam ipse Comes Tirconnell et accusante me iusticiario, quod in concionibus meis perfidiam in regem docere solebam, respondet Herbertus se me saepius audivisse concionantem nec unquam aliquid contra regem aut obedientiam ipsi debitam animadvertisse, sed e contra semper cum occasio esset me strenue fidem in regem docuisse, et mirum sibi videri quod iusticiarius qui nunquam concionanti mihi adfuisse contrarium assereret, nullo teste aurito producto quod obiiciebatur me libertate scilicet male usurum tamen minus noxae rebus regiis contingeret in praesente rerum statu ex perverso usu meae libertatis quam ex invidiâ in regem oriundâ a detentione meâ in carcere sine aliquâ causâ. Sic tandem, scilicet 4 Decembris 1689, post fere quinque mensalem incarcerationis libertati restitutus officia functionis me diligenter obivi.

At circa principium Iunii 1690 iterum carceri cum toto grege protestantium ad tria ad minimum millia custodiae commissus sum, et ibi mansi donec victoria regis Gulielmi ad Boynum fluvium profligavit omnes contrariae partis professos propugnatores.

At tum maxime mihi cavendum esse putavi ne alicuius inhumani consilii autor aut fautor essem contra eos qui Iacobaeae factioni favebant. Satis constabit nullam sperandam iis esse gratiam, nisi agnoverint regem Gulielmum, et sese praesenti rerum administrationi submitterent, datâ subiectionis fide per sacramentum. Sedulo igitur sacerdotes Romanos conveni, et eos serio admonui ne authores essent summae perniciei sibi et amicis suis, eos a praestando fidelitatis iuramento Regi Gulielmo et Mariae Reginae ut leges iussere dissuadendo, variis argumentis et exemplis id ipsis licere contendere, et multis eorum persuasi, qui a suis consulti similiter persuaserunt, populo a se pendente in casibus conscientiae; pauci igitur se iuramento eo se regi et reginae obligare recusarunt, unde protectionem et securitatem statim assequuti sunt, et ex eo tempore humane cum ipsis agere nec ut memorem iniuriam quas ab ipsis tuli necum statui. Unde quaedam mihi incommoda orta sunt, at multa animae meae quies et non levia religionis reformatae momenta inde contigerunt; et firmiter credo si omnes eadem moderatione cum debità curâ et propriis mediis usi fuissent, iam magna pars Romanorum Catholicorum sese reformatae religioni adiunxissent. Constitutis gubernatoribus regni Hiberniae a rege Gulielmo, licet tota regio reducta non esset ad eius obedientiam, Limericum enim et fere tota provincia Connactiae euni

parte, magna parte Momoniae pro rege Iacobo stabat. Applicuit se rex ad implenda beneficia ecclesiastica iam vacantia in quae quatuor episcopatus et unus archiepiscopatus numerabantur, scilicet archiepiscopatus Cassiliensis, episcopatus Elphinensis, Clocherensis, Clonfertensis, et Derensis. Ipse ab ipso ad episcopatum Derensem, redivitibus opimum, nominatus sum, ac per literas patentes gerentes datum nono Ianuarii 1690 [1699] et consecratus fui in ecclesiâ Stae Trinitatis 25 Ian^{rii} per Franciscum archiepiscopum Dublinensem Antonium Midensem.²

Mense Martio sequente adivi Derriam et ad ordinandum episcopatum tum valde confusum et neglectum me applicui cum industriâ quam potui maximâ. Terram fere desolatam inveni, villas et domos combustas; inquisitione factâ comperi fuisse in dioecesi Derensi ante turbas bovini generis animalia circa 250,000, relicta sunt post solutam obsidionem Derensem circa 300; ex 460,000 equini generis duo equi claudi et mutilati, septem oves et duo porci, nullae vero gallinae generis, unde miserum fuisse statum istius provinciae satis constat. Deficientibus animalibus, gramen et herbae in mirum modum creverunt, et forte iniecto igne cum aruerint magni tractus terrae arserunt, ita quod idem ignis per 18 millia excurreret, et per omnes fere regiones vicinas vagaret; contigit vero abeuntibus nativis Hibernicis post solutam obsidionem Derensem manere fruges per eos terrae commissas, immaturas adhuc, nec ignis concipiendi capaces, eas igitur maturescentes collegere relictî populi, et inde famem evitare; superfluas vere, et ad victum non necessarias, ad castra tulere et inde reportarunt vaccas et oves et caetera necessaria cum pecuniis, e Scotiâ etiam multa animalia tam bovini equini et ovini quam pennati generis comportarunt et multiplicatis praecipue et fere ultra fidem porcis satis victus suppetebat; at clerici male se habebant, parum aut nihil beneficiis possessoribus reddentibus. Multi erant non residentes qui alibi beneficiati per curatos parochiis inserviebant; moniti curatos providere, responderunt non sufficere ad sustinendum curatum proficua, et mihi si vellem sequestrari ea in usum curati permisere; ego vero iniquum duxi eos qui redditus opimos ex beneficiis tempore pacis retulere parvo admodum stipendio curatis assignato, iam proventus diminuto curam aninarum in me reicere, nec populum iam pauperem dignum suâ curâ ostendere; graviter tuli eorum negligentiam, eosque docui me expectare aut quod resignarint beneficia aut curatum providerint; si resignaverint spondebam me statim de curâ providere, si recusaverint monui eos me per censuras ecclesiasticas compulsurum, et in eum finem processum contra eos formavi, et procedente causâ ad excommunicationem consultis iurisperitis se submiserunt, et curatos constituerunt; conflavit vero haec res non parum mihi invidiae apud clerum. Quantum ad clericos residentes quibus non suppediebat quantum ad victum sufficeret ex beneficiis iis, propriis sumptibus suppetias tulit, donec proventus proprii sufficerent.

Ecclesias dioecesis neglectu et belli furore multum ruinosas inveni, quasdam etiam igne absumptas; ad reparandas eas me accinxi et visitando ecclesiam parochianos hortatus sum, ne corruiere sinerent labentes, id magni sumptus iis causam aliquando fore, quod iam parvis praevenire poterant, et partim suadela partim portionem sumptus conferendo omnes eccle-

² The other names are not supplied in the MS., but the following bishops were also joined in the consecration: William, bishop of Kildare; John, bishop of Killaloe; and Narcissus, bishop of Ferns and Leighlin.

sias reparari obtinui, septemque aut igni consumptas aut vetustate collapsas aut nunquam a reformationis tempore reparatas reaedificandas curavi; disciplinam ecclesiasticam quantum potui restauravi, constitutis guardianis inquisitoribus clericis parochialibus et ludimagistris in unâquâque parochia, a quibus rationem tam in generali visitatione quam parochialibus exegi, et coram me notatos, aut a guardianis delatos, prosequendos curavi et ad poenitentiam agendam coegi, et processibus causisque audiendis in curiis consistorialibus ipse praesens plerumque invigilavi. Quae omnia nova et fere insolita primo multum tam laicis quam clericis bilem movebant, at postea cum utilitas eiusdem curae aperte constabat laudem inde lucratus sum.

Clerum multum hortatus fui ad frugalitatem sobrietatem et diligentiam, praesertim ut cum schismaticis colloquia conferant et ad conformitatem cum ecclesiâ adducere conarentur; id vero frustra fore persuadere mihi nitebantur, adeo enim inveterata esse eorum praecudicia et odia ut sine vi aut miraculo ut amoverentur sperari non posse. At rem tentandum esse duxi, et in parochialibus visitationibus, ubi frequentes plerumque erant schismatici vel curiositatis gratiâ vel negotiorum, orationes habui quae videbantur ex occasione potius quam meditato effusae; de aliquo articulo deseruimus inter eos et ecclesiam, nec sine fructu quibusdam persuasus aliis dubitare coactis et omnibus fatentibus se nova quaedam audivisse in gratiam ecclesiae lege stabilitae et fortiora quam dici posse putabant.

Anno 1692 aestate Londinium adivi colloquia habiturus cum societate Londiniensi ad quos comitatus Derensis tanquam proprietarios pertinebat. A prima fundatione et constitutione eius societatis multae lites et controversiae inter eam et episcopos praedecessores meos intercedebant tam de terris quam piscariis; proximus meus decessor, scilicet reverendus admodum Doctor Hopkins, longam contentionis serram fere in omnibus curiis cum illis reciprocavit. Interceptam inveni bello interveniente, necessario re-suscitantam nisi amica aliqua accommodatione sopitam; proposui igitur conditiones aequas ut mihi videbatur, plura etiam concessurus, si ratio id exigeret. At qui eorum negotia apud Derriam procurabat, schismaticus cum esset inveteratus, omni nisu moliebatur ne pax inter nos fieret multis mendaciis et accusationibus alienare a me animos eorum qui societatem constituebat, qui ipsi plerumque schismaticis favebant, effecitque ut omnes pacis condiciones repudiarent.

Civitate itidem Londino-Derensi fere tota bello depopulata et civibus qui magistratum gerere idonei erant viduata, quatuor relictis et praesentes soluta obsidione novos cives Aldermannos scilicet Burgenses elegerunt, ipsi schismatis fautores fere omnes eius generis novos cives constituere; totam igitur civitatem sub eorum imperio et potestate inveni, qui gnari me ecclesiam studiose fovere et mediis uti factioni eorum noxiis futuris eaque effectum ad detrimentum schismatis sortiri omnibus modis me impedire negotia mihi facessere studere, et societati de me multa et gravia conquesti sunt, firmamque quam a me tenere perfide procuratori negotiorum societatis tradiderunt, unde mihi necessariae lites et ad curias accessus et refugia.

Anno 1693 meditati mihi quomodo me utilem schismaticis praerberem et membra ecclesiae lege stabilitae firmarem occurrit; schismaticis se totos scripturae auctoritate fundare, religionem suam scripturae con-

formem esse et ea niti, nostram humanâ praescriptione stabiliri nec posse ea in quibus a schismaticis dissentimus auctoritate divinâ aut sacrae scripturae testimonio aut exemplis firmari; haec tantâ confidentiâ iactabantur, ut fere omnes nostri videbantur agnoscere quod licet nihil in fide vel liturgiis aut modo Dei colendi in ecclesiâ contrarium esset, tamen auctoritate ecclesiae et humanae prudentiae regulis solis introductae fuissent, modum vero quo utebantur schismatici simpliciorum esse et magis scripturae congruere. Id mihi mirum videbatur, et sic dispositis nostris et illis minime sperare potui aut me posse persuadere illis sese ecclesiae adiungere aut nostris firmiter adhaerere. Ut igitur errori huic obviam irem, scripsi librum cui titulus '*The inventions of men in the worship of God,*' in quo liquide ostendi nostrum modum colendi Deum scripturis conformem esse, illorum vero non solum non congruere sed contrarium esse. Scriptus est liber stylo modesto sine asperitate aut verbis irritantibus, et quod satis mirum eo magis eos irritabat. Irati et fere ad furorem perciti non habebant quod criminarentur saltem quod stylum et modum ac ratiocinia proponendi, videre se iam vocari ad probandum quod pro concessio hactenus habuissent, scilicet modum suum colendi conformem esse scripturis, nostrum iis non niti, saltem non praecipere; haec erat arx praecipua et praesidium firmissimum, quibus se tutos credebant. At facto in haec impetu et iis quibus maxime fidebant dirutis, improvise aggressu fere obrui videbantur. Non iam ad ratiocinia aut longas consequentiarum deductiones vocabantur, non ad humanae prudentiae regulas aut auctoritatem ecclesiae, sed ad ipsas scripturas et verba eorum planissima, quae imparati proferre non potuerunt, et quo magis quaerebant eo difficiliorem rem comperti sunt.

Mirum mihi ipsi fuit tam subitam mutationem hunc librum secutum fuisse. Nostri qui prius fere silentes sustinebant scommata et continuas altercationes schismaticorum, quorum aures continuis ratiociniis et insultationibus obtundebantur nec in congressibus, compotationibus conviviis ullibi quiescere poterant, sed quasi victi et muti silebant, iam quasi novis animis reviviscentes vice suâ adversarios aggressi ad scripturas provocabant, iisque feliciter insultabant, et vitare eiusmodi congressus cogebant; imo quasi conscii victoriae in se reportatae a nostris, ministri eorum conventiones de religione nobis cum suis prohibuere. Ingens post haec de litibus religiosis silentium, et inviti ad disputationes protracti multum nostris quietis et gaudii praebuere.

At ministri de responso solliciti Josephum Boyse veterem mihi adversarium suscitavere, et Robertus Craighead minister Derensis ipse etiam aliud exornavit, publicatis his responsis plenis calumniis personalibus, falsis rerum narrationibus ubique fere perversis verborum meorum sensibus et quod magis editoribus nocuit minime sibi congruentibus, iudicio fere omnium communi imparia habebantur.

M. Boyse multa quae petebam concedenda agnovit, caeterum relictâ sacrâ scripturâ prudentiae humanae regulas ad vindicandas praxes suas contra ratiocinia e libris sacris producta advocabat, et ubi defuit responsum probabile opprobriis et scommatibus vim argumentorum evitare studebat, omnibus artificiiis quibus uti solent causae malae defensores adhibitis; ubi praxis eorum quae nullum colorem admittere potuerunt summâ confidentiâ negabat. M. Craighead nihil fere, quod sensum aut rationem olebat,

protulit; inde contemptu fere omnium eius liber scriptorem exposuit; contrarius interim M. Boyse magis quam mihi pressus argumentis e directorio eorum et confessione fidei petitis facile se expediebat negando se illis obligatum esse.

His respondi in libro cui titulus '*An admonition to the dissenters of the diocess of Derry*,' in quo facta negata liquido probavi, concessionem Mri Boyse notavi, contrarietates inter ipsum et alium advocatum expesui, et ratiocinia si quae protulisti retundi.

Iteratas ab illo objectiones refelli in secundâ admonitione in quâ artificia quibus usus est palam et facta quae ille negare ausus est demonstravi. Nec multo opus labore, omnibus enim notissima erant. Prodierunt stricturae quaedam in hunc librum, sed clam et secreto nec vendibiles, unde constabat quod ipsos authores de illis pudit.

Anno 1697 librum cui titulus '*De origine mali*' emisi. M. Bayle stricturas in eum priusquam legisset edidit; mirum non videbitur quod neque sensum neque vim argumentorum assecutus est, cum non aliter ipsi notus esset liber, quam ex sciographiâ quâdam sive contractâ quâdam eius enarratione quam vir doctus M. Bernard in Gallico quodam opere vocato '*Oeuvrage de Scavans*' dedisset.

Postea Wolfius libro latine scripto quaedam in meo impugnavit. Demum quidam anonymus in libro Gallico cui titulus '*Tentamina Theodicii* sive *Essay de Theodicio*.' Primus impugnabat ea impudenter et impie quae protulissem; 2^{dus} sine multo acumine sed serio et cum quâdam gravitate; tertius modeste et sedulo sed sine viribus.

Anno 1689 revocatis omnibus donationibus possessionum confiscatarum in Hiberniâ ad eos pertinentes qui armis contra Gulielmum regem concertati sunt.

[Caetera desunt.]

BRITISH CONVERTS TO CATHOLICISM IN PARIS, 1702-1789.

THE community of the Nouvelles Catholiques, for the instruction of female converts from protestantism, was founded in Paris by Gondi, and, after occupying several sites, eventually settled in the rue St. Anne, in a house presented to it by Marshal Turenne on his abjuration. The national archives possess the register of admissions from 1702 to 1789. I have extracted the names of British subjects and of French residents in England. Huguenot children, it is well known, were taken from their parents and placed in this and other convents, but there is no trace or probability indeed of compulsion in the case of foreigners. There are instances, it will be observed, of the daughters of Huguenot refugees in England and of the offspring of mixed marriages being placed in the institution. Some stayed only a few weeks; others, especially girls of tender age, several years. Abjuration in nearly every case preceded departure. The wife of Marshal de Gramont, daughter of the duc de Noailles, seems to have befriended a number of the converts, both French

and British. The institution possessed 1,354 books, apparently the confiscated library of the protestant church at Charenton. There was a similar institution for male converts near the Jardin des Plantes, but its records have disappeared. I have corrected the spelling of names of places, some of which are phonetic in the original :

Clare, Agatha, 25, native of New England, wife of — Clare. 1708.
Lefèvre, Helen, 28, London, wife of Jacinthe Filebert, of the king's life guard. 1711.

Toussaints, Elizabeth, 40, London, wife of Joseph Belair, surgeon. 1713.

Morgan, Bridget, 17, Cork, daughter of Cha^s M., goldsmith to the king of England, and Catherine Herondell. Brought by Madame Mauran her aunt; had abjured at Nantes. 1713.

Smith, M^{lle}, Irish. Went to live at S^t Germain. 1714.

Shee, Mary, 20, Dublin, d. of Nicholas Shee & Eleanor Dorcelle. 1717.

Berkley, Mary Ann Morgan Allier, 18, London, d. of Maurice B. & Anne Morgan. 1717-22.

Cockburn, Madelaine, 28, Edinburgh. Transferred to convent at S^t Germain. 1720.

Maeneal, Anne, 22, Daf (?), Scotland, d. of John M. & Margaret Witherington. Went back to her mother, a catholic. 1720.

Clark, Sarah,¹ 17, d. of Capt. Walter Clark & Jane Forest. 1721.

Vic or Wick, Margaret, 10, London, d. of a watchmaker, mother a protestant living in Paris. 1722.

Ditchfield, Jane, 23, London, widow of Jacques Corembon (?), procureur. Transferred to Hospitalières of St. Marcel. 1722.

Owen, Mary de Marne, 12, London, d. of a barrister & of — de Marne. Brought by her mother, a convert, married to de Marne, a catholic, living in Paris. Brought by Ingleton, superior of the English college, Paris. Went back to her mother, & 2 days afterwards entered convent of St. Joseph. 1723-24.

Power, Frances Louise Jane de, 18, Montpellier, her father ex-captain in Fitzgerald's regiment, Irish, & her mother Mary Fitzgerald, born catholic. Went to Benedictine convent at Leucque (?). 1724.

Wilkinson, Elizth, 12, London, d. of Ja^s W., tradesman & Mary Biddle dec^d. Father re-married. To be taken by him to Nouvelles Catholiques at Rouen. 1724.

Hook, Mary, 9, d. of Hook, protestant minister, a convert. To go to convent at Cambray. 1724.

Sharp, Elizth, 25, Essex, widow of Dr Sharp, formerly Anglican minister, both parents had abjured. Went to English convent, faubourg St. Antoine. 1724.

Morrison, Mary, 16, London, d. of W^m & Anne M. First at a quakers' school, then brought by her father to convent near Amiens to learn French; the abbess brought her 23rd Oct. 1724 to the Nouvelles

¹ Probably the Demoiselle Clark, who was imprisoned in Paris, for what reason does not appear, in 1725, and for whose liberation her mother applied through Ambassador Walpole. (*Arch. Nat.* O' 372.)

Catholiques (apparently without the consent of her parents). Died 12th Nov. after 10 days' illness, received on deathbed confirmation and extreme unction. 1724.

Cuan, Margaret, 13, London, d. of Pierre C., secondhand clothes dealer, native of Tours, protestant refugee in London, & Aimée Crochart dec^d. 1725.

Nutelle (?), Mary, 18, Rochdale, d. of Jn^o N., draper, & Mary Hott dec^d. In service with a protestant jeweller in Paris. 1725.

Anderson, Cecilia, 24, Aucenact (?), Ireland, d. of Jn^o A. dec^d & Mary Rutledge. Had been living 2 years at Aire, Artois, with her uncle Rutledge, ex-captain in Berwick's regiment. Left without abjuration. 1725.

Mackenzie, Elizth, 20, Stonehaven, Scotland, orphan. Brought by Smith, procureur of Scotch college, Paris. 1726.

Lasagette, Rebecca, 9, London. 1728-37.

Cags (Cox ?), Anne, 20, Binne (?), 30 miles from London, d. of H^v C. & Elizth Hasle. 1729.

Macarthy, Jane, 14, Charme, Vivarais, d. of ex-captain & Catherine Fléchier. Sent to her aunt in Paris. 1729.

Mackenzie, Anne, elder sister of Elizth M., who returned with her in order, as she did not understand French, to explain to her in Scotch (Gaelic ?) the virtues of the catholic faith. 1729.

Norcliffe, Elizth, London, d. of colonel in Queen Anne's army & Elizth Fox. 1730.

Nassy, Elizth, 21, wife of Rob^t Bothwell, Hellworth (?), England. 1731.

Rich, Charlotte Mary, 13, London, father dec^d, mother's name Younger. To go to convent in diocese of Metz. 1731.

Jones, Mary, Cherbury, d. of Rob^t J., farmer & Elizth Bridgwater; had abjured in London. Went to M^{me} Berkley. 1732.

Drummond, Mary, 18, Edinburgh, did not know a word of French; brought by Smith, of Scotch College. 1732.

Drummond, Anne, 14, Edinburgh, orphan; brought by Smith. Went to M^{me} Penton (or Fenton) at English convent St. Marceau. 1735-38.

Stone, Elizth, 25, d. of Cha^s S. & Susan Hill, wife of François Gambier, servant, catholic, who brought her to Paris to be made a catholic. Went back to him after abjuration. 1736.

Blythe, Mary, 10, London, d. of James B. & Mary Carr. 1737-41.

Alexander, Elizth, London. Refused to return to England with her father, but went to a lady in Paris. 1737.

Brady, Mary, 13, Dublin, d. of Patrick B. dec^d & Judith Ralphstone. 1739-42.

Hervey, Margaret, 62, Winchcombe, Gloucestershire, wife of Antoine Montonnier, catholic, who had persuaded her to come to France to be made a catholic. Returned to England on account of his death. 1739-41.

Jones, Martha, 17, Edinburgh, d. of Cha^s J., cornet in Black Watch, & Elizth Douglas. 1739-41.

Gocheron, Anne, 28, London, d. of protestant refugee, wife of Claude Chenuat, who had abjured catholicism in London, but was now at the Nouveaux Catholiques (institution for male converts), both desiring to become catholics.

Alexander, Jane, 14, Dublin, d. of Tho^s W. dec^d & Anne Annter (Hunter?), a convert. Taken by mother from protestant grandfather. 1740.

Huddleston, Catherine, 45, Cumberland, d. of Lord M. (*sic*), a protestant, wife of John Cassin, of Queensborough, Ireland. Went to live at Boulogne for her health. 1740-48.

Brady, Catherine, 25, Kildare, d. of protestant minister & Lettice Rollay. 1740-42.

Clony, Margaret, 13, London, d. of Timothy C., tailor, a catholic, & Jane Lewson, protestant. 1741.

St. Hyacinthe, Susan Charlotte Pauline, 16, Worcestershire, d. of Paul de St. H. & Susan Marconnet. 1741.

Stratton, Emily, 16, London, orphan: brought by mistress in Paris to whom she was apprenticed & to whom she went back after abjuration. 1743.

Chenuat, Elizth, 12, London, d. of Claude Chenuat, octroi collector at barrière St. Marcel, & Anne Gocheron, convert. 1744.

Sobieski Stuart, Jemima, born at Kensington, 9 Oct. 1737 old style, d. of the late Monsieur Stuart, colonel of infantry, & Dame Sarah Hall. Entered 31 July 1748 on the recommendation of the procureur & of Père Massé, cordelier. M. & M^{me} Nunesse undertook to pay for her. Handed over to her mother 25 June 1751 after confirmation, penitence, & eucharist with great piety.

Fuller, Anne, 10, London, d. of Geo. F., dec^d, officer, and Margaret ——. Brought by grandmother, a catholic. 1748-54.

Lisle, Elizth, 21, York, d. of H^v L., protestant minister, & Sarah Whittle. 1750.

Magenis, Eleanor, 17, London, d. of James M. & Mary O'Danell. 1750.

Burke, Elizth, 12, London, father victualling officer (army contractor?) at London, mother Elizth Dass, protestant. 1752.

Stradick, Angelica, 17, London, d. of navy captain & — Clay. Left to be chambermaid in Paris. 1755.

Kay, Lucy, 20, Lancashire, d. of Jn^o K. dec^d & Anne Oult dec^d. Entered voluntarily. 1757.

Gray, Elizth, 25, St. Tregon (?), near Stirling, d. of Jn^o G., farmer, & Helen Dow dec^d. Returned to Scotland. 1757-65.

Oliphant, Margaret, 16, Edinburgh, d. of Lawrence O. & Jane Douglas. Entered voluntarily. Left to go to M^{me} Rothes. 1761-65.

Drummond, Agnes, 14, Edinburgh, d. of Alexander D., mother protestant. Brought by M^l Drummond *alias* Smith, on whose death she went back to Edinburgh to her aunt M^{rs} Downie, a catholic. 1776-78.

Smith, Elizth, 12, brought by Comtesse de Gourey. 1782.

J. G. ALGER.

Reviews of Books

Introduction aux Etudes Historiques. Par C. V. LANGLOIS et C. SEIGNOBOS. (Paris : Hachette et Cie. 1898.)

THE authors of this little book have prepared an admirable set of instructions and warnings to those engaged in the study of historical documents, which, if they do not contain anything very new to advanced historians, will be of the greatest service to young aspirants, and to that very large class of persons who, without being young, deal with evidence in a more or less reckless manner. This is especially the case with the earlier part of the book, which is mainly the work of M. Langlois, though one recognises in him the medievalist who is mainly concerned with charters and chronicles, and has little to do with the vast collections of letters and despatches which form the most important part of the materials offered to the writer who deals with more recent times. No doubt the general principles laid down by M. Langlois are the same in both cases, but there are special counsels and warnings for him who is hampered by a profusion of materials as well as for him who is troubled by their comparative rarity. The student of the earliest periods, too, may wish that M. Langlois had dwelt at greater length on the value and limitations of the evidence from archæology, while the inferences to be drawn from permanent institutions as bearing upon states of society in the ages when they sprang up seems also to deserve larger treatment than they receive. The argument (p. 29, note 1) against the necessity of a knowledge of geography to the historian is, perhaps, only badly expressed. What M. Langlois appears to mean is that the historian does not need to know, for instance, how deep the Atlantic is, or the connexion between mountain ranges and thunderstorms. He might be taken, especially by a young reader, to mean that the different conformation of the east and west coasts of Greece had nothing to do with the relations of the Greek states respectively with Asia and Italy.

The second part of the book, mainly the work of M. Seignobos, naturally gives rise to more difference of opinion, as it concerns itself no longer with the examination of sources, but with the conditions and objects of historical writing. M. Seignobos, with the full approval of his coadjutor, writes, it must be remembered, under the influence of the reaction which has happily sprung up in France against the sweeping and inconclusive views of the 'literary school,' and it may fairly be questioned whether he has not run into the opposite error of decrying all attempts to mark out causation in history, and of enlarging upon the effects of small causes at the expense of large ones. M. Seignobos, for instance, writes—

Il faut donc résister à la tentation naturelle de distinguer les faits en grands et petits. Il répugne d'admettre que de grands effets puissent avoir de petites causes, que le nez de Cléopâtre ait pu agir sur l'empire romain (p. 215).

We have heard of Cleopatra's nose before. What has hitherto been unheard of is that a man with a tenth part of M. Seignobos's good sense should have repeated the saying with approval. Does he mean that if Cleopatra's nose had been a quarter of an inch shorter than it was Anthony would not have taken up with some other young woman whose nose was of more suitable proportions? Or, if he means that Anthony's own temperament was at fault, in what way did that affect the Roman empire? If Octavius had been dangling after some pretty Italian girl, and had consequently allowed Anthony to guide his fleet to victory at Actium, how would this have altered the fortunes of the world? Certainly the emperors would have been different, and Anthony and his descendants would have ruled the state in the place of Augustus, Tiberius and so forth; and, as the individual characters of the Anthonies would have differed from those of the Caesars, the account which Tacitus would have had to give of court-life would have been somewhat different. That the imperial government would have been settled much as it was under the Caesars will be the view taken by those who believe that whilst small causes produce small results large causes produce large ones.

Another example, which comes nearer home, appears to be equally misleading.

L'Angleterre au xvi^e siècle a changé trois fois de religion par la mort d'un prince (Henri, Edouard, Marie). L'importance doit se mesurer non à la taille du fait initial mais à la taille des faits qui en sont résultés (*ib.*).

How very superficial this is! The fact is that there were currents of opinion in England at the end of the reign of Henry VIII which would have led the country onward at the accession of Edward VI, and currents of opinion at the end of the reign of Edward which would have led the country backward at the accession of Mary. The changes would, no doubt, in either case have come more slowly if the wishes of the rulers had been different, but they would have come all the same.

The strong tendency displayed by M. Seignobos to magnify the effects of personal causes, and to minimise the effects of currents of feeling produced by more general causes, makes the careful student of history reluctant to take him as a guide in larger matters. He has, indeed, much valuable criticism to bestow on shallow and unfounded theories, because he has a very proper horror of talk about universal progress, the historical mission of a nation, and so forth; but, in my opinion at least, he fails to note the course of historical evolution in the struggle of men in groups against habits which either the whole group or the influential members of it recognise as objectionable, and in their prolonged efforts strive to free themselves from. No doubt each single member of that group, whether it be called a clan, a nation, or a church, or anything else, has its own peculiarity, but it is only when these different appreciations are fused together that a common dislike is the result and a common line of action ensues. Italian unity, for instance, became idealised in our own day because an increasing number of Italians agreed

in wanting to be rid of the Austrians. They did not begin with the idea, the idea came because it was the antithesis of a condition they detested. *Fuori i Tedeschi* was prior to *Italia una*. SAMUEL R. GARDINER.

The History of Mankind. By Professor FRIEDRICH RATZEL. Translated from the second German edition by A. J. BUTLER, M.A.; with introduction by E. B. TYLOR, D.C.L., F.R.S. Vols. I. and II. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1896, 1897.)

THE wide range and necessarily elaborate subdivision of the study of mankind, and the abundance and variety of recent observations in all its departments, have made the systematic treatment of anthropology very much more difficult, in proportion to its growth, than is the case with most other sciences, and in particular have at the same time rapidly made antiquated the earlier surveys of the subject as a whole, and deterred the majority of anthropologists from the attempt to replace them.

Professor Ratzel's previous work had sufficiently illustrated his wide familiarity with the subject, and his powers of lucid and systematic treatment. Consequently, when, in 1885, the first edition of his 'Völkerkunde' appeared, it was recognised, both in Germany and elsewhere, as a masterly summary of our present knowledge of the lower races of mankind, and of their modes of life, and took rank at once both as a popular exposition and as a systematic textbook of ethnology. A second edition, much revised and somewhat condensed, was published in 1894-95. But unfortunately, in this country at all events, the 'Völkerkunde' in its original form had no prospect of admission among a large class of readers with a direct interest in the habits and beliefs of 'savages,' and in many instances with exceptional facilities for the collection of anthropological data. Mr. Butler's translation should prove a successful attempt to meet this difficulty. It is based on the second German edition above mentioned, and has been revised, in part by Mr. Henry Balfour, in part by Mr. Ling Roth. The translation appears to be accurately rendered, and is frequently happy in expression. For a popular edition, it has been thought unnecessary to adhere to any definite system of transliteration of the proper names; and this decision is defended at length in the translator's preface; though it may be doubted whether, with a convenient if novel code rapidly coming into general use—and even adopted intermittently by some newspapers—this adherence to sea-captains' orthography will be a real gain to the book in the long run, and more particularly in the use of the index.

The two volumes already published include, besides Professor Tylor's short but very suggestive introduction, and preliminary chapters on the principles of ethnology, the detailed accounts of the American Pacific, the light-coloured south and central African, and the negro races; leaving northern Africa, Asia, and Europe for treatment in the third volume. The account of each group is preceded by a sketch of its habitat, and devotes separate sections to physical and mental character, dress, weapons, and other property, social and political constitution, and religious beliefs and practices. All the eleven hundred illustrations, which give its peculiar value to the original 'Völkerkunde,' have been reproduced in the transla-

tion. In the original, several of these were wrongly described, and a few mistakes are to be looked for in the English edition, but the descriptive list which follows the translator's preface has been carefully revised. It is perhaps to be regretted that the illustrations have not been at the same time numbered consecutively; for the page references to the English version do not, of course, correspond with those to the original German; and moreover there are often two or more cuts on a page, and frequently several objects represented in the same cut. The paper, type, and rendering of the illustrations are all excellent; the numerous coloured plates, though occasionally overcrowded and overcoloured, are a great addition to the book.

The almost uniform absence of references to authorities in the text, and in regard even to some of the illustrations, perhaps justifies the hope that the third volume will not be allowed to close without at least a list of sources, if not a select bibliography. The latter feature would very greatly increase the usefulness of the work to more advanced students.

J. L. MYRES.

The Cults of the Greek States. By LEWIS RICHARD FARNELL, M.A.,
Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. Vols. I. and II.
(Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1896.)

THIS work supplies the student of Greek religion with the kind of help which has been much needed for many years. In the two volumes now published Mr. Farnell gives, besides three introductory chapters, a full account of the cults of Zeus, Hera, Athena, Artemis, and Aphrodite, with their kindred forms Hekate, Eileithyia, and the like. The worship of each deity is treated from three points of view—the places at which and the names under which the deity is worshipped, the cult monuments, and the ideal representations of the deity. The references, instead of being heaped up, according to the common practice, at the bottom of each page, form a separate supplement at the end of the chapters treating of each deity. This plan has much to recommend it, especially in such a subject as this, where references must be numerous. It is very convenient to be able to study the ancient authorities together; on the other hand, owing to the method in which the references are arranged, it is by no means always easy to refer back from the supplement to the discussion in the text.

The treatment of the subject is, as it should be, for the most part historical. A complete account of the individual cults is of much greater use to the student than any elaborate attempt to attach Greek religion to sun-gods or totems or cornspirits. Of sun-gods, indeed, Mr. Farnell is an avowed opponent, and in his first volume spends perhaps more space and time than are necessary in convincing the English reader that the sun-god is nought, and that philological attempts to explain the names of Greek gods are vain. In the opinion of most English readers at least, the sun-god has been dethroned for more than a decade, and the present generation of philologists has ceased to expound mythological problems. On the other hand, it may be doubted whether the newer hypotheses offer better explanations or elucidate more of the known facts than the discarded sun-god theory. But though Mr. Farnell obviously inclines to the views

of Mannhardt, Robertson Smith, and Frazer, he is careful to prevent hypothesis distorting fact.

The geographical lists of cult seats are very useful, and this method of exposition might be extended with advantage. Perhaps nothing would be more instructive or give a clearer view of the distribution of cults than a map or a series of maps with the seats of the different cults clearly indicated, and with the limits, so far as known, of the cult areas marked off, somewhat in the same manner as dialect differences are distinguished in the German 'Sprach-Atlas.' With such a map and a discussion of how far local and independent worships have been subsumed under the more widely known names of Artemis, Athena, and so on, the student would be well equipped for further investigation.

It is unnecessary here to discuss details, but Mr. Farnell's thoroughness and the illustrations of his book deserve all praise. Sometimes a wrong conclusion is drawn from a literary source. For example, Theocritus's second idyll will not prove the existence of a worship of Hekate at Syracuse. The scene of that idyll is much more probably laid in Cos, a place with which Delphis the Myndian was more likely to be familiar, as is obvious from the geographical proximity of Cos and Myndus, and from the frequent mention of Myndians in the inscriptions of Calymna and Cos.

P. GILES.

Sources for Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars.

Collected and arranged by G. F. HILL, M.A., of the British Museum.
(Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1897.)

MR. HILL in his modest preface offers to 'the more advanced scholar' no more than a secondary use in his book, as containing a certain number of the sources, for the given period, in a handy form for ready reference. So much convenience any scholar or historian may recognise in the volume, the compilation and arrangement of which, though leaving something to be desired, have been carried out in a competent and scholarly fashion, and make Mr. Hill's work a valuable addition to our educational instruments. No student of ancient history should be without this volume. The teacher, the lecturer, will find in it a convenient book to which he may refer his pupils. Those *in statu pupillari* will find in it a quantity of texts, epigraphic and literary, to which they are being referred constantly, without much hope or expectation on the part of their pastors and masters that the references can or will be verified. The texts, especially the epigraphic ones, are very well edited, and on the whole well selected, though it may be regretted that the great Eleusinian decree (*CIA.* iv. 27 b) is not given in full, the rather as it is not at present available in any English manual. *Prima facie* more exceptions might be taken to the choice of literary authorities; but in fine, the work being a school book, a book for the 'schools,' is a first-rate book of its kind. Oxford teachers will be grateful to Mr. Hill for exhibiting in his volume, so that all who run may read, a specimen of the more excellent way. What is good enough for Oxford—or for those in Oxford who are trying to cultivate a more enlightened and critical study of the primary sources, even in relation to the 'schools'—will probably pass muster for similar purposes elsewhere. There are remarkably few *errata* for such a work, and the Clarendon Press is hardly to be made

responsible for most of them. The price, moreover, considering the size and character of the volume, is moderate.

So much in commendation of the work, which might well be followed by a similar volume for this or that other period of Greek history, or for a period or periods judiciously chosen in Roman history. What is here added in qualification of that unstinted praise, is added not for the purpose of discrediting Mr. Hill's good work, but partly in the hope of making it more serviceable to its present users, and partly in view of a second edition, to be confidently expected at no very distant date.

First, in regard to the work as a whole. It consists of selections from the authorities (epigraphic and literary) for the period from 479 B.C. to 431 B.C. digested in eight chapters, under eight titles. i. Origin and Organisation of the Athenian Confederacy. ii. The Quota Lists. iii. External History of Athens, her Allies and Colonies. iv. The Athenian City. v. The Athenian Constitution. vi. Biographical. vii. Sparta and Peloponnesos. viii. The Western Greeks. These eight chapters (with exception of ch. ii.) are further subdivided and codified by a large number of sub-titles, rubrics, or heads, into groups of quotations bearing upon particular subjects, larger and smaller. The eight main divisions may be accepted as almost self-evident, or at any rate not worth quarrelling about. But the extent to which Mr. Hill has carried his process of subdivision within each several chapter involves the introduction of a good deal of theory—or what Mr. Hill calls 'conviction'—into the bare evidences. This drawback may make the book even more acceptable to the incipient scholar, but it tends to prejudice some doubtful points, and may even at times be misleading. To take a couple of examples. On p. 3 Mr. Hill has an italic remark, '*Ephesos remains Persian*: Thuc. 1. 137. 3.' The reference does not prove the point, which is open to argument. Again, on p. 298 in leaded type appears as an incontrovertible fact *Battle of Oinoe* [Oinoia?], and the novice will not have Mr. Hill to thank if he discovers that this historic event is perilously like an archaeological *Märchen*. Perhaps a little more discretion in the use of subordinate titles, or a more liberal use of notes of interrogation, would qualify the somewhat dogmatic air of 'conviction' here and there apparent in Mr. Hill's pages. The classification of texts under the titles might also have been in some cases more systematic.

Another point of general criticism concerns the choice of authorities for printing. Mr. Hill contents himself with bare references to Herodotus and Thucydides, but prints Diodoros, Plutarch, and other secondary authorities at considerable length, including the *κεφάλαια* of Aristodemos, worthless in themselves, except as examples of the way in which history should not be conducted. There is either too much or too little of these late authorities printed here, especially as no hint or indication of their intrinsic merits, of their secondary and tertiary stratifications, and so on, could be given, consistently with the plan of the book. On the other hand the omission of the leading passages in Herodotus and Thucydides limits to an appreciable extent the convenience and completeness of the work. The quotations from the Aristotelian 'Polity of Athens' might also be given with advantage in full. It is a question whether any single citation which extends to more than a page—except in the case of the

inscriptions—might not better be looked up by the student in a complete text, under the guidance of a simple reference. Pages and pages are printed from Plutarch's 'Lives,' from Cornelius Nepos, and so on. Oddly enough one of the best and shortest chapters in Plutarch's 'Perikles' is omitted, the unique record of the attempt to hold a panhellenic congress in Athens, c. 17—a record which recent historians have generally recognised as of primary importance for the reconstruction of the Perikleian policy, though the chronological determination of the event is one of the most delicate and obscure problems in the history of the period.

Another point of general application concerns Mr. Hill's chronology. He might with advantage be more liberal in chronological indications throughout. Every event which can be certainly dated should have its date affixed, in the text or in the margin. Where exact dates are not ascertainable, approximate or alternative dates might be introduced, with proper indications of uncertainty. Mr. Hill might, for example, have saved his readers the trouble of looking up the years of the Roman consuls named on p. 161. The chronology of the 'Pentekontaetia' is indeed largely in debate. Busolt has recently¹ made some very important suggestions and contributions to the subject, which Mr. Hill will find useful for his second edition. In regard to the dates which he gives, Mr. Hill would have done better to drop Clinton's inexact method of reducing the Olympiad and Attic reckonings to our era, and to adopt the method now in vogue, giving a double figure B.C. for the Attic or Olympian year. For example, on p. 43 the date of the first *Quota list* is given as 'Ol. 81, 3 (B.C. 454).' The quota was no doubt paid in the spring of 453 B.C., and if only one year B.C. had to be given, it should have been 453 B.C. But the proper equivalent for Ol. 81, 3 is B.C. 454-3, and so on throughout. One may count on Mr. Hill's assent to this remark, for in the last chapter, but only in the last chapter, of his book he has followed the more exact method. In some other respects his book makes for exactitude, notably in the transliteration of Greek proper names, and in the use of technical terms. Absolute consistency in these matters is perhaps unattainable; but no charge of pedantry can be sustained against a book of this kind if it leans to the stricter standard. We have got rid (thank goodness!) of the 'senate' as the designation of the Athenian council of 500; and it is doubtful whether any one would have quarrelled with Mr. Hill if he had called the βουλή a *boulê*, the word still in use for the Greek parliament to-day. Purism demands a close consistency in abbreviations: Ar. does duty with Mr. Hill for 'Aristophanes' and for 'Aristotle,' besides the variants Aristoph. and Arist. This last abbreviation sometimes stands for 'Aristotle,' and sometimes for 'Aristeides,' and the last name is also represented by Aristid. We have 'Thrasymboulos' on p. 308 and 'Thrasymbulos' on pp. 338, 340. But these are mere trifles, and it cannot be said that any obscurity arises in regard to Mr. Hill's references from such slight inconsistencies. Finally, before leaving the general aspects of the book, it might be said that Mr. Hill has been rather prodigal of space in his type-setting, and might easily find room for additional matter by excision and compression in this respect. Every

¹ *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 1.

reference to the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum' is introduced by the three letters C. I. A. very amply punctuated and spaced. On p. 152 there is a column of such references, thirty-two in number, practically taking up the whole page. No doubt the rather luxurious method of citation and type-setting followed in the book conduces to synoptic ease and to lucidity of reference; but probably a good portion of space might be economised without serious loss of those advantages, by a careful revision in this particular. The system of cross references is good, and might even be extended.

Reviewing briefly the separate chapters, a remark or two on each may not be out of place. In ch. i. p. 2 it would be well to indicate that the list of confederates preserved by Pausanias was at Olympia. The indications in regard to the primitive divisions of the Delian confederacy are taken apparently from Kirchhoff; but Kirchhoff's theory had been seriously challenged even before Busolt's last publication. On p. 14 the *τάξις φόρον* of 425 B.C., or rather the *psephisms* prefixed to it, are given. It was quite right to introduce this text somewhere; but it is perhaps premature in its present position. On the other hand, on p. 24 we have the text of the great *psephism* of B.C. 378-7 (Nausinikos) reconstituting the naval alliance of Athens, just a century after its first establishment. This text is welcome, but would work better in connexion with §§ 37-46, 'The earliest Stage of the Athenian Confederacy,' where, by the way, § 37 (=Thuc. 1. 96) should be printed *in extenso*, as some persons have not learnt off that *locus classicus* by heart. In § 76, p. 18, =CIA. i. 266, Mr. Hill seems to allow for only five lost letters, besides the three certain restorations: it would be interesting to know how he proposes to fill in the short lacuna. On pp. 25, 26 ('Terms for the Relation between Athens and the Allies') it is not easy to discover on what principle Mr. Hill has varied between English and Greek terms: perhaps it would be better to give the Greek terms throughout, with or without English equivalents. The term *ὑποχείριοι*, § 118, should hardly rank with the others, having little or no technical suggestion about it. In § 135 there seems no reason for naming Lesbos before Hestiaia (a similar *hysteron proteron* occurs on p. 134). A very important text for the 'Constitutional Condition of the Allies' (p. 33) should be added from Thuc. 1. 144. Under the head of 'Athenian Officers in the Allied States,' p. 34, should be inserted a reference to [Aristot.] *Resp. Ath.* 24. The 'Judicial Position of the Allies' might have been more clearly indicated, and it is not easy to see why the texts on the arrangements with Hestiaia have been postponed to ch. iii. Ch. ii. is the most satisfactory of all, containing simply the quota lists for nineteen years in full, and the fragments for the succeeding years, down to the limits of his period; but when he was about it, Mr. Hill might as well have included all the extant remainder, which would have added some valuable matters, e.g. the Rubrics in CIA. i. 257, 258 and so forth. Mr. Hill shows by his practice that he is alive to the fact that the inscription of one age may illuminate the history of another, but he has not carried the practice quite far enough. In ch. iii. we again miss the full texts from Thucydides, which would not have occupied much space. In regard to the 'Peace of Kallias,' the sub-title, 'Passages showing that there was no actual Con-

tract adhered to,' p. 127, is ambiguous: does it mean (1) There was no actual contract, or (2) There was an actual contract, but it was not adhered to? In this connexion Mr. Hill will do well in his second edition to insert Thuc. 8. 56. 4, the most important bit of evidence in favour of the existence of 'an actual contract' now available (as Busolt has lately pointed out). There is a reference to Kirchhoff on p. 145; perhaps such references are not of much use to students *in statu pupillari*, yet a similar one (to Kirchhoff's *Entstehung* &c.) is almost necessary in § 192, to render the citation of Hdt. i. 51 intelligible. Many of the texts in this chapter would be more in place in ch. i. Their arrangement requires revision. In ch. iv ('The Athenian City') it has plainly been impossible for Mr. Hill to exhibit the principal 'sources,' which in this case are strictly material, the actual buildings, and the Akropolis *in statu quo*; but a reference to Furtwängler's essay reconstructing the party history of Athens in the light of the archaeological remains might have been introduced, the rather as the work is accessible in English.

The two chapters which follow, ch. v. ('The Athenian Constitution') and ch. vi. ('Biographical'), are, as they stand, the least satisfactory and the most in need of reconsideration and reconstruction in the volume. The amount of 'conviction,' *i.e.* hypothetical history, in ch. v. is excessive. It is difficult to know where to begin or to end the criticism of this chapter, but a few points in justification of the less favourable judgment must be adduced. The sub-titles are not as well organised or arranged as they might be. On p. 199 we have 'Position of the Areiopagos after the Persian Wars;' on pp. 207, 208, 'Attack on the Areiopagos. Position of the Areiopagos.' It might have been better to put together all the references for the Areiopagos, its position and fortunes in that short period. To the texts on that subject should have been added at least Aristot. 'Pol.' 8 (5). 4. 8. 1304a. The texts printed on the 'Murder of Ephialtes' in this chapter are purely biographical. As the references to the Areiopagos might have been put together, so no less advantageously those relating to the 'Conditions of Citizenship,' the 'Franchise,' and so on, and likewise those relating to 'Officials' and 'Magistrates.' Why 'The Crews' and 'The Composition of the Crews' on p. 201 are separated by 'The Trittys' is anything but self-evident; or why on p. 219 'The Lot and the Dokimasia' appear as a single title. The dokimasia held good for all offices: in the Greek writers the lot is associated especially with payment for civic services. The texts on 'The Reform of the Strategia' on pp. 203 ff. (no. 30-57) are not quite satisfactory. The title itself is a 'conviction,' that is, an hypothesis. Texts of various dates, and referring to various dates, are strangely mixed, while some of the best documents do not appear. Diod. 13. 97 and 106 does not prove the daily change in the chief command even for 406 B.C., for (as I have elsewhere shown) Konon may have been, in Thucydidean phrase, *ἕκκαρος αὐτὸς* at that time. The strategic right of summoning or convening the assembly (*ekklesia*) is not established by the texts cited, for the position of Perikles is not strictly normal; the circumstances of the time were not quite normal; and lastly, 'the constant and direct relations' of the *strategoï* with the *boulè* suggest an omitted hypothesis or 'conviction.' Under the title 'Date of the Election' there is no reference to the most important of

texts on the subject, [Aristot.] 'Resp. Ath.' 44. 4. In short, this important chapter seems to require careful reconsideration, rearrangement, and amplification. What the next chapter (vii. 'Biographical') seems chiefly to require is wholesale reduction and excision. The notices of Pausanias, Themistokles, and Perikles should be ruthlessly cut down: two or three pages of biographical notes, very carefully selected for each case, and a list of mere references would be better under this head. There is, by the way, a slip to correct on p. 239, §§ 16, 17, where Mr. Hill confuses Πασαίας ὁ βασιλεὺς with Πασανίας ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον, though they are carefully distinguished by Aristotle, who would as soon have confused the assassin of Philip with one or other, as have rolled the grandfather and grandson into one. In ch. vii. the mistake is naturally duplicated. In this chapter one misses especially the full texts of Herodotus and Thucydides, for which space might have been gained by omissions in ch. vi. of much of Plutarch's 'Lives,' Diodoros, Nepos, and Aristodemos. The precise chronology of the last chapter (viii. 'The Western Greeks') has already been commended. One wonders that Mr. Hill forbore to state that the bronze helmet mentioned on p. 321 is in the British Museum. In the second edition Mr. Hill will be able to make some use of Bakchylides for this chapter. The indexes are excellent as far as they go; but an *index rerum* should be added, especially in view of the mass of titles and sub-titles which are not represented in the table of contents. Users of the present edition are left to compile such an index for themselves.

R. W. MACAN.

Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome. By H. M. and M. A. R. T. Part I. 'The Christian Monuments of Rome.' (London: Adam and Charles Black. 1897.)

THE idea of producing a handbook to Christian and ecclesiastical Rome was an excellent one. With the extraordinary growth in recent years of our knowledge about the great city we are inundated with books dealing with the classical period. But Christian and medieval Rome has never yet been treated in the same systematic way. There exists, indeed, a vast amount of writing on the subject, but it has never yet been made available for English readers. To bring together the results of modern investigation concerning post-classical Rome is a task which demands no ordinary knowledge and no common skill. The book before us can hardly be said to satisfy these requirements. The present volume, which deals with the churches and the catacombs, is only a first instalment of the authors' design. After some introductory chapters on the origins and antiquities of Christian worship in Rome, the churches, beginning with the great basilicas, are described in alphabetical order. The remaining chapters are devoted to the catacombs. There are a few (we should say not enough) plans and illustrative woodcuts.

The book, so far as it goes, challenges comparison with the accounts of the churches in the latest edition of Murray's Handbook. In many cases very little information of real importance or interest can be gained from it which is not in Murray, and in some respects it is less complete, for many minor churches of interest are omitted. A more serious charge is that an examination of any portion of this guide reveals a number of

inaccuracies which produce the uncomfortable feeling that no statement in the book can be accepted until it has been verified. The preliminary 'list of books consulted' is suggestive of what may be found all through the volume. For instance, it is not encouraging to find 'Einsiedeln' in the column of authors' names opposite to 'Itinerary' in that of titles. Considering the class of readers for whom the book is intended, what is the use of the entry 'Johannes Abbas—Index Oleorum,' without any indication of the place where that obscure document may be found in print? Several quite obsolete works are given as authorities, while on the other hand all the writings of Le Blant are ignored, except his first book, published in 1856. Duchesne's 'Origines du Culte Chrétien' is not mentioned. We do not wish to lay undue stress on such (probably) typographical errors as the date 1532 for the Venice edition of Tillemont, or 'Ware' for 'Wace;' but it is too bad to give the title of Gibbon's great work as 'The Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire,' and the entry 'Tacitus—Annali' does not suggest a first-hand acquaintance with that historian. None of these obvious mistakes are noticed in the list of errata, which contains, by the way, the correction 'Cipollano' for 'Cipollanno,' both being wrong for 'Cipollaro,' according to Armellini ('Chiese,' p. 799, whence the passage is transcribed almost verbally), whose accuracy we have no reason to doubt. These are not encouraging indications for the general correctness of the book, and when we come to the descriptions of the churches we find them full of mistakes of a similar nature. It is true that in a compilation of this kind, where so much is taken from recognised authorities, there is necessarily a great deal of correct and valuable information. But this is not due to the compilers, who often go wrong with their authorities before them. The materials may have come from trustworthy sources, but the results have never had the benefit of competent revision.

It would hardly be worth while to take up space in the ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW by a long series of corrections. A few of the mistakes may be given by way of example. Facing p. 10 is a hopelessly antiquated plan of Trajan's Basilica, showing only one apse and treated as the prototype of a church like S. Clemente (p. 12). On p. 34 it is stated that the sedilia in a church 'should be a bench, and not three stools, according to Scamnum,' the words we have italicised being obviously due to a misunderstanding of a reference to the word *scamnum*. On p. 49 the Janiculum is described as 'within the walls of Severus.' In the account of the tomb of St. Peter, Caius is called the contemporary of Eusebius (p. 51). The well-known passage of Eusebius ('H. E.' ii. 25-6) calls him the contemporary of Pope Zephyrinus. The name of Constantine was not found on 'many stones' of the Vatican Basilica (p. 55), for it was only used as a brick stamp. It was not 'the consul Sallustrius' (p. 112), but Sallustius the prefect of Rome who was concerned with the building of the Basilica of St. Paul in the fourth century. On p. 114 'Adeodatus a Levite' occurs without any explanation, as though 'Levite' were a Christian title familiar to everybody. On p. 143 it is gravely stated that Pelagius II removed the hill behind S. Lorenzo, 'which, owing to inundations of the Tiber, was in a falling condition.' A reference to Armellini (p. 867) reveals the origin of this absurdity—a misunder-

standing of the authority. We may add that S. Lorenzo has no apse (p. 145; cf. p. 146, 'the present apse'). After this it is hardly surprising to read that an *arcosolium* has 'the appearance of an apsidal niche' (p. 380). This inaccuracy extends even to modern ecclesiology. The 'Mater Dolorosa' is represented with seven swords, not arrows (p. 40), and if the Virgin appears with her foot on the serpent the allusion is not to Rev. xii. 1, but to Gen. iii. 15. The errors in the forms given to names (especially classical) are innumerable. Indeed, there is much to show that the authors have not an intimate acquaintance with Latin. The words *Altare privilegiata* are not 'often inscribed over altars' (p. 31). To indicate another class of failings, Ataulfus appears as Adolphus, and 'Claud the Goth' (p. 427) is even worse. Ordinary readers cannot be expected to recognise the Poor Clares under 'the nuns of the Clarisse order' (p. 260). When we get to 'chapteral,' meaning a capitular church (p. 255), and 'understandable' (p. 472) we reach a lower level. Finally, we cannot forgive the fact that in a book intended for the English public the Bible is quoted in the words of the Douay version.

We do not say that this book will not be found instructive and useful by many persons. The part, for instance, dealing with the catacombs, so far as we have tested it, contains far fewer mistakes than the earlier portion. But to become of any real value, not to speak of attaining a recognised position among guide books, it will have to be subjected to a searching revision.

G. MCN. RUSHFORTH.

Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur, von Iustinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453). Von KARL KRUMBACHER. 2te Auflage. (Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, herausgegeben von Iwan von Müller, ix, i.) (München: Beck. 1897.)

IN the second edition of his 'History of Byzantine Literature,' a work whose reputation is now so thoroughly established that it would be an impertinence to praise it, Professor Krumbacher has had the assistance of two collaborators: Professor Ehrhard, of Würzburg, who has contributed a sketch of theological literature; and Professor Gelzer, of Jena, who has enriched the bulky volume with an outline of the history of the eastern empire. Professor Ehrhard, like Professor Krumbacher, has had to do the work of a pioneer; and the immense labour which he must have spent over his two hundred pages deserves the amplest recognition. It is to be hoped that his sketch, with its invaluable bibliography, may lay the foundations for research that may ultimately lead to a full and comprehensive history of the eastern church.

Professor Gelzer's sketch of the empire from A.D. 395 to 1453, condensed into about 150 pages, is a miracle of able exposition. It is marked by the originality and suggestiveness which we should expect from its author. His knowledge of the ecclesiastical, especially the oriental sources, and his freedom from ecclesiastical prejudice, render his remarks on church history valuable in the highest degree. He is the first to introduce the true name of the first dynasty of iconoclasts; and though, out of deference to usage, he speaks of the 'Isaurian' Leo, he calls the princes of Leo's house the *Syrian* emperors. It had always been

recognised as a difficulty that Leo the *Isaurian* was born at *Germanicia*; but it was K. Schenk who first clearly pointed out (*Byz. Zft.*, v. 296-7) that Leo was not an Isaurian, and that his supposed Isaurian origin is a mistake in Theophanes. The words in Theophanes are: *Ἄγων . . . ἐκ τῆς Γερμανικῶν καταγόμενος τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας* (A.M. 6209), and in the same place Leo is called *ὁ Ἰσαυρος*. Schenk thinks that Theophanes confounded *Germanicia* in Commagene with *Germanicopolis* in Isauria, and that the words *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δὲ* are due to a copyist, who saw the discrepancy between *ἐκ τῆς Γερμανικῶν* and *ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας* and inserted a corrective phrase. Schenk is perfectly right in his main contention, but I cannot accept his explanation of the error in Theophanes; as in another passage, which he overlooks, Leo is rightly called the *Syrian*: A.M. 6232 (p. 412, 2, ed. de Boor) *τοῦ τυράννου καὶ παρανομοῦ τῶν Σύρων*. Now Theophanes cannot have called him the Isaurian in one place and the Syrian in another. And when we further observe that in the first passage the Latin translation of Anastasius gives *genere Syrus* (ed. de Boor, p. 251), it seems clear that *ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας* is a corruption of *ἐκ τῆς Συρίας* (possibly through a dittogram of *ης*: *τῆς ἰσαυρίας*) and that this led to the deliberate change of *ὁ Σύρος* to *ὁ Ἰσαυρος* in the title of the year. The responsibility for the mistake, then, does not lie with Theophanes. We have also to give up the 'Macedonian' name for the dynasty founded by Basil I. This emperor and his successors appear as the *Armenian* dynasty in Professor Gelzer's pages. Of course the legend of their Slavonic origin is derived from no better authority than Hamza.

Professor Krumbacher's own work has grown by about a third, and the additions which he has made to the bibliographical notices of the first edition are enormous. The only defect is one for which he is not to blame. Owing to the circumstance that his work is intended as a continuation of Christ's 'History of Greek Literature' in the same series of handbooks, some writers who ought to be treated by Krumbacher are omitted because they have been treated by Christ. This is unfortunate, since Christ's notices of these later authors are quite perfunctory and inadequate. Thus John the Lydian really belongs to Justinian's reign, and ought to have an article from Professor Krumbacher; but Christ noticed him, and therefore he is left out.

In a work of this kind the index is of supreme importance. Professor Krumbacher's index is satisfactory on the whole, but requires some revision. Thus the title 'Theodora, Kaiserin,' confuses the various empresses of that name. It may be added that there is no reference in the index to the 'Vita Theodorae' published by Regel, and I cannot discover any notice of this document in the book; it seems to have been accidentally omitted. In the article on Kekaumenos (§ 118) it should be stated that the work consists of two different documents by different authors (relatives): the 'Strategikon' of Kekaumenos, and a nuthetic discourse addressed to an emperor. Misprints are wonderfully few: I have noticed p. 148 'Leon der Isaurier' should be 'Leon der Armenier'; p. 282, l. 21, 1180 should be 1118; p. 329, Baroccianus 128 should be 182; p. 357, l. 25, Johanes; p. 1000, l. 29, kingsmaker should be kingmaker; p. 1073, l. 13 from foot, Eudoxia should be Eudokia; p. 1118,

l. 28, Bamsley should be Barnsley; p. 1088, add to the bibliography, Klausning, de Syncellis, Leipzig, 1755.

The monograph on the poetess Kasia, which Professor Krumbacher promised on p. 714, has appeared in the course of 1897. All that is known of the life and works of this lady is there collected, and her epigrammatic saws and one of her hymns are printed. Readers of Gibbon will remember her under the name Icasia as one of the rivals of Theodora at the bride-show of Theophilus. Her true name was Kasia, and Krumbacher suggests that *Εικασία* arose from an annexation of the article: *ἡ Κασία*, *Ἰκασία* (cp. *ἡσκιά* from *ἡ σκιά* &c.). He rightly accepts the anecdote of the challenge which Theophilus addressed to Kasia at the bride-show and her smart reply. But the point of the situation must have been that Theophilus, knowing that Kasia was a *docta puella*, tried to draw her; and the story gains a great deal if we suppose that the prince addressed her, and that she retorted in metre. The words recorded by the chroniclers (*see* 'Sim. Mag.' p. 625, ed. Bonn) fall into political verses easily enough. Theophilus may have said:

<Κασία> ¹ διὰ γυναικὸς <εἶς> ἐρρῶν τὰ φαῖλα,

and the lady have replied (with no change but the transposition of the last words):

ἀλλὴ καὶ διὰ γυναικὸς τὰ κρείττονα πηγάζει,

Professor Krumbacher prints in full (p. 966-7) the text of the important preface to the chronicle of Skylitzes, which, like the preface to the Syriac chronicle of Michael of Melitene, furnishes us with some precious notices of lost historians. In this preface Skylitzes says that for the earlier period of Byzantine history there are two excellent handbooks, Syncellus and Theophanes; but that no writer has carried on the history from the point where Theophanes stops, in the same spirit and on the same method. The works which treat this later period are either (1) 'zu kurz und zu ungründlich,' like that of Psellus, or (2) monographs, generally partial and written with a purpose, e.g. Genesis, Leo Diaconus. So Krumbacher rightly explains the general gist of the criticism of Skylitzes on those writers who had dealt with the history of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. But there is one difficulty; the criticism on Psellus does not seem to the point. The words of Skylitzes are: *ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν γὰρ τινες οἷον ὁ Σακελώτης διδάσκαλος καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ὑπέρτιμος ὁ Ψελλὸς καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἕτεροι· ἀλλὰ ἀπεργον ὑψάμενοι τοῦ ἔργου τῆς τε ἀκριβείας ἐκπεπτώκασι τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν καιρωτέρων παρέντες καὶ ἀνόητοι τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς γεγόνασιν, ἀπαρίθμησιν μόνον ποιησάμενοι τῶν βασιλέων καὶ διδάξαντες τίς μετὰ τίνα τῶν σίχητρων γέγονεν ἐγκρατῆς καὶ πλεῖον οὐδέν.* This characterisation is quite inapplicable to the extant history of Psellus, published by Sathas. We must therefore conclude that *Skylitzes refers to another work of Psellus, now lost, an historical epitome.* The words which immediately follow and introduce the second class of authors can hardly be right as they stand: *ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστοχασμένως συγγραψάμενοι ἔβλαψαν τοὺς συγγραψάμενους, οὐκ ὠφέλησαν.* We require *οἱ ἔστοχασμένως, not οὐκ ἔστοχασμένως.* It should be noticed that Skylitzes speaks of the chronicle of Theophanes as ending

¹ Or *εἰς κόσμον.*

with the death of Nicephorus. In our texts it comes down to the death of Michael I. Was there a second edition ?

Only those who, like myself, have constantly occasion to make use of Professor Krumbacher's work, can fully appreciate its merits, and the herculean labour which its achievement demanded.

J. B. BURY.

Ahmed Ibn Hanbal and the Mihna : A Biography of the Imam, including an Account of the Mohammedan Inquisition called the Mihna.

By WALTER M. PATTON, B.D., Ph.D., Professor in the Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, Canada. (Leyden : E. J. Brill. 1897.)

THIS is an excellent monograph on the life of Ibn Hanbal, one of the most notable religious leaders in Moslem history, who played a prominent part in those disputes on matters of dogma which took place in Baghdad during the reign of Mamūn and of the three succeeding caliphs. Ibn Hanbal is best known as the founder, or imam, of the Hanbalites, the latest of the four sects or schools of divinity into which the orthodox Moslems are divided ; from the present work, however, it would appear that he himself had no intention of founding a new school, and that this only arose long after his death, being the result of his life's work. This volume, indeed, is the first attempt, in English, to explain in some detail the nature of the great struggle which took place during the third century of the Hijrah over what the orthodox held to be one of the cardinal dogmas of Islam. Ibn Hanbal headed the reactionary orthodox movement against the rationalism of the Mutazilites, whose cause had been espoused by Mamūn ; and the 'Inquisition,' for so Mr. Patton translates the word *Mihna*, 'test' or 'trial,' was instituted by the caliph for the persecution of the orthodox. As the author points out, the character of Mamūn, the first free-thinking caliph who took interest in matters of religion, a scholar and friend of scholars, certainly does not appear under a favourable light in this biography ; of his liberal tendencies there can be no doubt, for he had a quick and very capable mind, hating to be fettered, but at the same time he was utterly intolerant, and while rejecting what he deemed the tyranny of orthodox belief, played the part of a tyrant in persecuting those who differed from him.

The story of the long life of Ibn Hanbal is full of interest, and enables us to realise the manner of life in Baghdad during the generation following that of Harun-ar-Rashid. The particular belief which the rationalists combated, and for the sake of which Ibn Hanbal and his companions suffered so much, was that the Koran, the Word of Allah, was 'uncreated,' and Mr. Patton is at much pains to explain in what lay the importance of this view in the eyes of the true believers. Briefly stated, it may be said that the Koran, the Word of Allah, was eternal, for being God's knowledge, it had by its very nature been eternally present in God's being ; or, as Mr. Patton puts it, 'as long as there has been present to God that which is objective to himself, so long has there been a Word of God as the expression of his knowledge.' It is curious to note the apparent connexion between this Moslem dogma and the doctrine of the Logos as held by the Syrian Christians. Rather than forswear this doctrine, which it was maintained had been taught by the

prophet and ever since held by those who belonged to the communion of the faithful, Ibn Hanbal suffered a long persecution, and in the end endured a scourging of one hundred and fifty blows. His steadfastness excited the unbounded admiration of the people of Baghdad, for the Moslem populace had little sympathy with the loose views and free living of the rationalists. Afterwards the times changed, rationalism went out of favour at court, but Ibn Hanbal, though now honoured by the new caliph, never lost the affection of the people, and when he died at the age of seventy-seven, all Baghdad mourned him, the concourse at his funeral surpassing all that had ever been seen before.

As his authorities for this monograph, Mr. Patton has chiefly made use of the biographies of the imam contained in three manuscripts preserved in the library of the university of Leyden; and in his notes he gives ample quotations (in Arabic) from these sources. Every care has evidently been taken in printing this book, which will prove a valuable addition to our knowledge of an interesting period. In view of a second edition, a small mistake may be pointed out on p. 175, where it is stated that 'Abd Allah the celebrated son of Ibn Hanbal was buried 'in the quarter called commonly al-Harbiya (or *al Kati'a*—the quarter of the city or the plot of ground in which his house stood?)' In point of fact 'Abd Allah was buried not in the Harbiya quarter, but in the district lying at some distance to the north of this, beyond the Tahirid trench. His grave was near the Straw Gate, opposite the Kazimayn shrines, and the building would seem to have been the one which Niebuhr, who visited Baghdad in the middle of the last century, mentions as having then been recently carried away by the flood of the Tigris—Niebuhr in mistake putting *Ahmed* for 'Abd Allah Ibn Hanbal (the name of the father for that of the son). The name *Kati'a*, which Mr. Patton does not appear quite to understand, here stands for *Kati'a-Umm-Ja'far* (in other words the fief of Zubaida, the celebrated wife of Harun-ar-Rashid), which was on the Tigris bank and went as far north as the Straw Gate.

GUY LE STRANGE.

The Royal Navy: A History from the Earliest Times to the Present.

By WM. LAIRD CLOWES. Assisted by Sir C. MARKHAM, Captain MAHAN and others. Vol. I. (London: Sampson Low & Co. 1897.)

A Short History of the Royal Navy (1217-1688). By DAVID HANNAY. (London: Methuen. 1898.)

IF Mr. Clowes, as from his preface seems to be the case, wishes his book to be accepted as the standard popular naval history, he will have to edit his four future volumes with much more care (or at least with much more success) than he has been able to bestow upon this one. He will have to verify his citations, he will have to keep an eye on his 'process' blocks, and consider whether it would not be better to have fewer and more useful illustrations, to do without the more wretched of the little tail-pieces for instance, and even some of the portraits, which might be supplied elsewhere, in favour of bigger and clearer illustrations of the ships themselves, their guns, tackle, &c. He will have to alter the abominable and confused arrangement which has allowed of continual

ineffective and annoying repetitions throughout the greater part of this volume. He will have to see that names are properly printed, that 'Iona' is not given where 'Iom' is meant, that 'the witan' is not used in the singular number, that such monstrosities as 'Elfinar,' 'Hardine,' 'Gunnibjorn,' 'Comnenus' (used for Richard's prisoner Isaac), 'Michell' (for the well-known French editor), and as the confusion between Richard and William the Marshal &c. should be corrected. He will write plainly 'Fleming' instead of 'Flamand.' He will be sensible enough, let us hope, to leave the ancient Britons and even the Old English and Danes alone till he gets a collaborator who will be able to write about them in a scholarly way without gross mistakes and with some critical knowledge of his authorities. It is a pity that so much skimble-skamble stuff should appear in the same volume with Sir C. Markham's modest and useful chapter on 'Voyages and Discoveries, 1485-1603,' and with the careful tables that form as it were a revised edition of those which Professor Laughton made for his Navy Records Society volumes. Mr. Clowes is by no means in a position to give his opinion upon Nicolas and still less upon James;¹ nor will his lofty magnanimity be likely to conciliate the enlightened patriots who follow Senator Morgan. And Mr. J. S. White will hardly be pleased to see that Mr. Clowes has used his magazine article (with due acknowledgment) instead of Nicolaysen's authoritative work, upon the Gökstad ship. Ingram's translation of the Old English chronicle was highly creditable in its time, but it would be safer to use a more modern edition of the original. It is quite useless, however, to point out one by one the numerous mistakes, shortcomings, and misprints manifest in this volume. One knows from one's own experience 'how easily things go wrong,' but fate has surely been crueller than her wont to Mr. Clowes, if his corrected copy was never followed by his printers. It is a pity to see a fine opportunity thrown away in such a hopeless muddle as the first half of this big showy volume.

Mr. Hannay's modest book is, on the other hand, a creditable performance. A brief but not incorrect introductory sketch of the mediæval naval affairs of this country is followed by a succinct account of our naval history from Henry VII to 1688, well written, properly based, and as far as I have tested it (in several places) generally careful and trustworthy. It bids fair to become the popular naval history of England, and if its author goes on as he has begun, and as one anticipates that he will, may deserve to do so. It is pleasant to find that the Navy Records Society's excellent publications have proved of substantial use to Mr. Hannay, who knows how to avail himself of such succour. A few simple outline charts and plans would be of great service to the reader without really increasing the cost of production, and one would suggest to Mr. Hannay and his publishers that the present cheap issue might be followed by a really well illustrated edition, after the example of Green's 'History of the English People.' Mr. Hannay need not be afraid (with the curious timidity of Mr. Harrison) that any one will reject his book if he spells proper names properly and not according to the erratic habits of the last century; certainly his following of 'modern tradition' will not secure him one reader the more. There is really no pedantry in a scientific man

¹ P. x: 'James . . . is, as a rule, laborious and conscientious.' *O si sic omnes!*

trying to be correct in detail. On the other hand, it is to be hoped that he will give more attention to his conjectural argument, that the navies fought in line ahead in the first Dutch war, for though the instructions ordering ships to follow that of the admiral are dated March 29, 1653, the very extensive materials which exist on the subject, as Mr. Gardiner informs me, give no hint of any effectual change taking place in consequence.

F. YORK POWELL.

Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral. Arranged by the late HENRY BRADSHAW, with illustrative documents. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press by CHR. WORDSWORTH, M.A. Part II. 2 vols. (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1897.)

THE first volume of Lincoln statutes, containing the 'Black Book,' was reviewed in the ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW for 1893 (viii. 764). This volume, forming Part I. of the present work, treated of the oaths required by the statutes of the cathedral church of Lincoln, and of the books containing or supposed to contain such statutes and customs. The small companion volume, containing a collection of other Lincoln statutes and traditional customs which Henry Bradshaw intended to publish, has grown under Mr. Wordsworth's care to two large volumes, one of 450, the other of 825 pages. The result is that Lincoln can boast of published 'monumenta' such as no other cathedral can parallel. Out of the wonderful series of blunders which gave to Lincoln an unratified body of customs this good has come—that Bradshaw was tempted into the field, and that Mr. Wordsworth has finished what Bradshaw began.

In the two volumes of Part II. there is no exciting mystery to unfold, such as the story of the fate of the 'Black Book;' they contain the accumulation of years of research among the Lincoln and other cathedral muniments, and tell no one connected story. In fact Part II. has become the repository for all sorts of notes and documents, many of them remotely or not at all illustrative of the Lincoln statutes. For this reason it seems desirable to make here some sort of catalogue of contents, in order that the readers of this Review may know that they will want these volumes again and again for historical studies the most diverse. The arrangement is hard to follow, because the introduction, which is at first devoted to the elucidation of the text, gradually grows into another collection of muniments, only secondary in importance to the collection in the text. The appendices, again, exhibit the same tendency, and as the table of contents runs to over thirty pages, it is not always easy to find the required document. Luckily, the table of contents is repeated in the second volume, and the index is adequate. Mr. Wordsworth, however, mindful of Henry Bradshaw's warning against 'the poison of an index,' will not have his index treated as an exhaustive index of subjects.

The text opens with William Rufus's Lincoln charter of 1090, differing in orthography and in the order of the signatories from that in the 'Monasticon.' Then comes the work for which Bradshaw claimed the title 'Institutio Osmundi,' 'Hec sunt dignitates et consuetudines Sarum ecclesie.' This is divided into numbered paragraphs, 'that churches in England and Scotland may trace the extent of their obligation to the Sarum founder phrase by phrase;' the indebtedness of Bishop Poore's 'Consue-

tudinarium' to both of St. Osmund's documents is traced in an appendix. Then follow the Lichfield customs from the earliest known manuscript, which happens to be at Lincoln; the Hereford customs come in, unexpectedly enough, as 'a specimen of cathedral rules totally *different* from those of Lincoln.' The York statutes, edited for private use by Dr. Raine, are here reprinted, and then the Lincoln customs, dated by Bradshaw 1214, which were sent to Scotland for the use of the see of Moray. A series of awards, 1245-1439, is given as an appendix to William Alnwick's great award, full of fine examples of ecclesiastical disputes, and then follow the five parts of the notorious 'Novum Registrum.' For fifteenth-century ecclesiastical history the conclusion of the volume is of the first value, inasmuch as it consists largely of extracts from William Alnwick's register and visitation book. 'Knowing what we do of the internal life of Lincoln,' says Mr. Wordsworth, 'we do not hesitate to say that even in the lowest ebb of spiritual life in the latter years of George III, or under the regency, our cathedral was in a less corrupt and unhealthy state than it was in the days when Bishop Alnwick held his visitations.' But the book is not by any means confined to medieval church history. Here are Matthew Parker's customs, made when he was dean of Lincoln, compiled from Schalby's 'Consuetudines' and the 'Novum Registrum;' the royal injunctions for Lincoln, 1548; ordinances of the company of ringers of St. Hugh Bells and Our Lady Bells, 1612 (a voluntary society of bell-ringers of the artisan and tradesman class); visitation articles from the seventeenth century to the visitation of 1873; Lincoln forms of installation covering the same period, concluding with the order of proceeding on installing the present bishop. Then follow the draft statutes of the cathedral church of Truro, which probably no one would look for here. Some of the rolls of *Re* and *Ve* (*recessit* and *venit*) are analysed, as giving a yearly audit of account of daily or weekly payments by the common clerk to canons, vicars choral and others, and they are used as evidence to show that non-residentiaries contributed materially to the maintenance of the cathedral staff.

Perhaps the most generally useful of the appendices is that called 'A chronology of English uses, shewing the rise and decline of the Sarum, Lincoln, and other English uses,' which forms, in fact, a bibliography, chronologically arranged, of all the most important works connected in any way with the history of the offices of the Church in England. Although it is not perfectly clear what principle dictates the inclusion or exclusion of items, this list cannot fail to be exceedingly helpful to many students. It is to be hoped that the editor will publish separately the longer list from which this is extracted.

The above is merely an outline of the bulk of the material in the text; the introduction covers subjects of even wider range. Here are, with the visitation at Truro 1896, a list of Lincoln chantries, guilds, obits, time tables of masses, lists of royal, archiepiscopal, episcopal, and decanal visitations, large extracts from Laurence of Somercote's unprinted tract on the canonical election of bishops, with illustrative matter drawn from college and university elections. The tendency to extreme discursiveness cannot be regretted, seeing that it has not unduly hindered the production of the work, and that every subject is dealt with to the increase of knowledge.

These volumes are a worthy monument to the memory of more than one great scholar who has passed away, and as a memorial they contain much that has personal rather than historical interest.

In a few of the annotations, Ducange has been used where the English-Latin mediæval vocabularies are safer guides; an inclination is shown to give a word a classical interpretation to the neglect of the fact that the Latin word used is merely a rendering of English or Anglo-French thoughts; thus *garcio*, in an example which has given the editor some trouble, expresses exactly the double meaning of 'knave.' The editor and the late Archbishop of Canterbury found difficulty in the passage *Additis quoque frontibus utriusque partis Septentrionis et Austri respicere se debent vniuersi, &c.* (p. 329), but is any emendation necessary? The meaning seems clear: that the psalms shall be sung by the two choirs facing each other, and at the Gloria they turn to the east.

MARY BATESON.

Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310). Par J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX. Tome II. (1201-1260). (Paris: Leroux. 1897.)

THE second volume of this bulky work carries down the documentary history of the order of St. John in the various countries of Europe through a period of sixty years, comprising the texts or abstracts of no fewer than 1840 pieces. The editor's principle of selection from the wealthy archives in Malta and in the different *langues* remains the same as at starting (see the ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW, xi. 146-149, 1896), viz. to print all documents issued by great dignitaries of the order, and those addressed to them by great civil and ecclesiastical powers, settlements of disputes, and statutes of the order. Many, especially concerning the Spanish *langue*, are here printed for the first time; though perhaps the larger number are gathered together from numerous historical publications, continental and English, full references being given in each case to the original sources of the document. The advantage of having them all in one comprehensive body, marshalled in chronological order, is evident; it would, however, have greatly added to the current workable value of such a mass of miscellaneous records if to each volume had been appended a list, classified according to the seven *langues*. In the absence of such lists it is impossible to judge which branch of the order offers the most interest from any special point of view. The general plan of the work having before been pointed out, attention may now be drawn to a few points grouped together as far as may be under the circumstances.

We have as yet no special history of the planting and life of the order in this country; it is of some interest, therefore, to learn what documentary materials exist regarding the English *langue*. About fifty pieces occur in the present volume, besides ten concerning the Irish grand priory, a branch of the *langue* which, it seems, was considerably more important than the Scottish branch, relating to which there does not appear to be any document in this volume. Taking first the charters relating to Ireland, only one, a royal grant of an advowson in 1229, shows any gift to the hospital in that country, but an important confirmation by Innocent III in 1212 gives a long and full list of

their possessions, a list which needs study by an expert in Irish place-names for their identification. In no. 2056, the English Winchcombe has been erroneously identified as Wycombe. King John in 1201 and 1216 granted valuable privileges, with the right to justice in the king's court and letters of protection (the fee to the crown for these two grants was in each case a palfrey, not a sum of money). The hospitallers' mills obstructed the waters of the Liffey, as other mills obstructed the Thames at Oxford and elsewhere, but John and Henry III (in 1216 and 1221) were careful, while ordering these to be regulated, to preserve the rights of the order. Two of the documents refer to disputes over possessions, one in 1216 between the prior of St. John at Waterford and the bishop of Norwich, the other in 1220 between the grand prior and the abbey of St. Thomas in Dublin. In 1227 Henry III had granted that in every town where the order had tenants, one of them might be exempted from all local customs and exactions; this apparently trivial boon led to abuses, for in 1231 the king's tenants in Waterford are forbidden to move on to the lands of the Temple and the Hospital, and it is declared that these orders have only the right to exemption for a single man each in the king's cities and boroughs.

Among the pieces relating to the hospitallers in England are several indications of privileges granted to them by kings John and Henry III, letters of protection, special exemption from a tax, the grant of a fair, permission to enclose certain land, licence that the grand prior's ship may go beyond the seas, etc.—privileges of the same kind as were granted to other ecclesiastical bodies and wealthy subjects. On the other hand we get various evidence of the help that the order, by this time a rich body with safe treasure-houses, were able and required to give to the king financially. One of the chief ends of the organisation of the provincial branches being to collect the profits from their property and to send regular sums to the central house under the grand master, the grand prior would not infrequently have ready money under his control, and could be permitted to lend it on sufficient security. No doubt in the end they did not lose. Thus the will of king John (made in 1204, of which only extracts are given here) testifies to the long list of jewels, including the regalia and robes, which he had deposited in the hands of the templars and the hospitallers and three other religious bodies. In the following year a patent letter acknowledges that a number previously committed to the hospitallers' care had been returned to the king, who thereupon makes a gift of one of them, a gold crown, to be carried to the poor beyond the seas. In 1216 John again gives receipt for a long list of pawned jewels returned to him. Henry III had transactions of the same sort; for instance, in 1217 he granted to the order *3d.* a day out of the exchequer, a grant renewed in the two following years, until a rent of that amount could be assigned; we may perhaps connect with this payment—which appears to have been a debt, not a subsidy like that paid by the same king to the Teutonic knights—the grant in 1221 of the manor of Costessy towards the repayment of money lent during the sojourn in England in 1216 of Louis, son of Philip Augustus of France. The tax due to the pope in 1226 was paid through the treasurer of the order; and again, in 1232, the king owing certain moneys to the duke

of Brittany, the hospitallers and templars became his guarantors, the former receiving a gold crown as pledge for repayment of his debt. Several other documents attest the prominence and financial resources of the English *langue*; thus in 1227 they are authorised to raise and answer for the sixteenth charged on ecclesiastical benefices to the crown, and in 1233 for the fortieth assessed upon their own men.

Two documents of 1217 show the relations of the pope to the order in England: by the first he renews the right of presentation to the churches in their patronage; the second is directed against desertion from the order, the pope enjoining English prelates to excommunicate brethren who leave to marry or to enter other orders. Women appear sometimes; in 1227 permission was given to the hospitallers' house at Hampton (in the royal warren of Staines) in which sisters dwell, to keep dogs for their protection and for sheep. Margaret de Lacy having founded a house for nuns under the Augustinian rule had affiliated it to the hospitallers, but finds the two rules do not work well together; the pope therefore charges the bishop of Coventry to examine into the matter and to restore the house to its old *régime*. Lastly, a glimpse of Robert Grossetête, bishop of Lincoln, is afforded in 1237, where he refuses the incumbent presented by the grand prior to the cure of Buckminster.

These few citations as to the English and Irish *langue* will indicate the kind of material gathered up in this large tome. Many matters of curious local and social detail are scattered up and down its pages; but of greater importance is the text, in French and Latin, of the interesting statutes of the order issued under the grand master Alphonso of Portugal, about 1204-1206.

L. TOULMIN SMITH.

The Life and Legend of Michael Scot. By the REV. J. WOOD BROWN.
(Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1897.)

MR. WOOD BROWN has chosen a most attractive subject, and has handled it in a very interesting way. The arrangement of the various chapters of his work is admirable, and the facts he has to record are so grouped as to present a very clear idea of the great Scotsman of whom he treats from every point of view, whether as physiologist, astronomer, alchemist, prophet, or scholar. It must, however, be admitted that the ascertained facts of Michael Scot's life are very meagre indeed; and Mr. Wood's first chapter is a marvellous example of specious guesswork, gradually passing through all the stages of possibility, probability, and historic certainty. It cannot be too strongly insisted on that Michael Scot's close connexion whether with Oxford or Paris is merely a plausible guess, however likely enough to be true in itself; and there is not much more satisfactory proof for a sojourn at Bologna.

Mr. Brown's chief addition to the sum of our knowledge respecting the great 'magician' is his proof—for proof it is, so far as such a thing is capable of proof—that his hero can hardly have been born later than 1180 and that he died in or before 1235. This at once disposes of the old identification with the Michael Scot whom Boece and, we believe, Wyntoun also, represent as being sent towards the end of the thirteenth century as one of the ambassadors to bring the Maid of Norway back to Scotland. Mr. Brown's second chapter, entitled 'Scot at the Court of

Sicily,' is full of matter that will be new to most readers. His suggestion that Michael was the Emperor Frederick II's tutor, and composed his 'Physionomia' as a kind of wedding-present for that monarch in 1209 is highly probable. 'Scot at Toledo,' which is the title chosen for the third chapter, is also full of interest; and the argument tending to show that Michael had returned to Italy or Sicily by 1223 is conclusive. It must, however, be borne in mind that a great deal of the substance of these chapters is very speculative, and here and there there are signs that the author is not quite familiar with all the branches of his extremely perplexing subject. The identification of the famous translator of the 'Secreta Secretorum' with the 'Philippus Coronatus' of Frederick's Sicilian chancery is very tempting; but it is difficult to see the exact drift of Mr. Brown's arguments as to the identification of its earlier translator, Johannes Hispalensis. Here and there, too, Mr. Brown's references are very obscure and his facts doubtful. What is the meaning of the footnote appended to the assertion, on p. 15, that 'Paris was not more . . . distinctively the seat of arts than Bologna was the school of laws'? The sentiment, I admit, is irreproachable; but the note consists of the single word 'Elinando.' Again, where does Mr. Brown get his statement that Frederick's mother, Constance, died in 1200? Richard of San Germano, who was as likely to know as most people, puts it in 1198. Again, when on p. 45 we read that Adelard of Bath, Hermann and Alfred and Daniel de Morlay visited Spain, it is difficult to repress a suspicion that Mr. Brown is mixing up the two Hermanns together, though here again the statement is doubtless true. Further on Mr. Brown places too absolute a reliance on M. Berthelot when he follows this writer in assigning the year 1182 A.D. as the date of Robertus Castrensis's translation of the 'De Compositione Alchimiae.' One manuscript still extant shows that 1182 here is the year of the Spanish Æra, not of the Christian dispensation, thus proving almost conclusively that Robertus Castrensis is no other than our own English fellow-countryman Robert de Ketenes, the translator of the Koran. Moreover one or two of Mr. Brown's suggestions might have been supported by additional evidence had he known where to look for it. Thus, he appeals to Leland for the suggestion that Michael Scot was born in or belonged to the territory of Durham. But this statement is not quite isolated. On the other hand, we do not find any notice in Mr. Brown's pages of the very curious fact that one of the Scot MSS. declares that one of Michael's treatises was written for Frederick's son Manfred in the year 1256. Now, if we accept this as it stands, we shall have to postpone the date of Michael's death twenty years later than Mr. Brown is inclined (and with good reason) to do. If we take 1256 as the year of the Spanish Æra, we get 1218 A.D., in itself a very plausible date for the work in question; but if we accept this year, the Manfred dedication becomes practically, if not absolutely, impossible. Can it be that in this manuscript we have to do with a later copy of one of Michael Scot's treatises, originally made for Frederick in 1218, and thirty-eight years afterwards copied out for his son?

I should not call attention to trifles of this kind were it not that Mr. Brown's work is distinctly the production of a scholar with a wide knowledge of and enthusiasm for his subject. Only those who have painfully

plodded their way through the tortuous history of the great intellectual revival of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—that first Renaissance, as it might not unaptly be called—will be able to appreciate all the research that is apparent in Mr. Brown's pages, and to congratulate him on the skill with which he has quickened the dry bones of a subject that, under almost any other man's hands, would have been as arid as a desert of sand.

T. A. ARCHER.

Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von EMIL MICHAEL, S.J., Professor der Kirchengeschichte an der Universität Innsbruck. Erster Band: Deutschlands wirtschaftliche, gesellschaftliche, und rechtliche Zustände während des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung. 1897.)

THIS work, which is to carry German history down to the starting point of Janssen, begins with the industrial revolution of the thirteenth century, the importance of which is rightly emphasised. The present volume dealing with the thirteenth century gives a sympathetic and detailed view of the period: if anything, it covers the ground too completely for full treatment; here and there some questions raised might have been discussed at greater length, as the church's condemnation of usury (p. 37), which is rightly but rather summarily estimated as an economic necessity. There is a large and useful index, without which a work of the kind loses half its value.

A particularly good sketch is given of the influence of the monastic orders upon social and economic life: their influence upon agriculture (pp. 8–10): the Premonstratensian as the great eastern colonising force in the twelfth, and the Cistercians in the thirteenth century (pp. 89–91): the Benedictines and their work in making intercourse easier and safe (176–7): the appreciation of the effect of christianity in ameliorating the peasants' lot is very just; *unter dem Krummstab ist gut wohnen*, as is proved by many incidental pictures (e.g. the carrying of wine for St. Peter's in the Schwarzwald, pp. 51–2) throughout the work. Local details and differences (as among the peasantry in Styria, Austria and Bavaria, and elsewhere) are well brought out, and much use is made of contemporary writers, such as Berthold of Regensburg, whose outspoken sermons illustrate the rising spirit and improved position of the peasants: of the anonymous Austrian *der Stricker*: of Wernher the gardener, and others: local differences in house-building, customs such as beating the bounds, more important points such as field cultivation, peasant communities, less important points such as diversities of dress, of drink and amusements—all these are noticed. Specially full is the account of the colonisation of the east, with its reaction upon the older lands. Under the heading of the towns the industrial development of the time is traced, and the guilds (for which this century gives much important evidence) are discussed at length. The rise of the great trading bodies, intent upon a security of intercourse gained in earlier periods by the ecclesiastical encouragement of bridge building and road repairing (works of piety in Germany as in medieval England), come in for treatment next with their branches in foreign lands (170–200). But the knight-

hood characterised the thirteenth century no less than did the towns; William of Holland (whose reception of knighthood is described in detail, p. 238, after Beka, a clerk of Utrecht) was their typical king; pp. 205-246 sketch the rise of the *ministeriales*, their prominence, their education, characteristics, their warfare real and mimic, down to the condemnation of the latter by the church. But with the knighthood was closely bound up private warfare, and this next meets with discussion. The attainment of a vigorous and confederated civic life, which seemed a possibility just when this century decided that any national constitution was impossible, demanded peace and order: to the earlier peace of God succeeded the peace of the land—another characteristic of the century. Towns failed, emperor failed, and the future lay with the princes.

A discussion of the connexion between the empire and the German kingship naturally covers controversial points, but these are of less moment for the author's purpose than the social facts that built up society—the election of the king, the formation and crystallisation of the electoral college, the sovereignty, and especially its relations with the towns. The last section treats of the codes, procedure (especially judicial combat), and the study of Roman and canon law. Particularly interesting is the popular view (illustrated from contemporary evidence) of lawyers—*Juristen, die sind alle unchristen*:—the portrait of one legal bully Heinrich of Kirchberg (p. 324), drawn by Nicholas of Bebra, is more than interesting: the catalogues of classical authors read by the legal student (Ovid, Priscian, Juvenal, Terence, Horace, Persius, Plautus, Vergil, Lucan, Maximianus Gallus, and Boethius) lend a good foundation for studies of a more legal kind at Paris, Bologna and Padua. The volume closes with an estimate of the influence of the Roman law, not only in Bohemia (where Wenzel II dreamt of founding a legal school, thus anticipating his successor, Charles IV) but generally. The whole book if completed on the scale contemplated by its author should form an adequate and detailed, comprehensive and just view of German life in a century which in more than one sense kept the kingdom in its grasp until the days of Napoleon.

J. P. WHITNEY.

Bertrand du Guesclin. By E. V. STODDARD. (New York and London: Putnam's Sons. 1897.)

WE are much in want of a connected history of the Hundred Years' War. Abundant material has been amassed, especially in the Rolls edition of English chroniclers; and in France, M. Siméon Luce has left us the work of a lifetime in his edition of Froissart, 'La Jeunesse de Bertrand,' 'La Jacquerie,' etc. Therefore it is all the more annoying that a book which might fill up a gap should be so full of faults as to be almost worthless. Mr. Stoddard professes to have referred to Luce and to Rymer, but makes many serious mistakes. 'Edward III on the 2nd of July (1346) sailed from Southampton for Guienne' (p. 40). Adam Murimuth and Baker of Swinbrook show us that Edward started from Portsmouth on the 5th, and waited off the Isle of Wight till the 11th; Rymer gives two documents, dated the 10th and 11th, '*supra mare iuxta Insulam Vectam in arreptum passagii nostri*,' and '*apud portum Sanctae Elenae in Insula Vecta.*' A

division at Crecy, we are told (p. 41), 'was placed under the earl of Northumberland,' a mistake repeated on the next page. The 'county of Penthievre' (p. 192) means Ponthieu, and Abbeville is always written 'Abbeyville.' Guillaume l'Aloue is twice called 'Guillaume Alone' (p. 95), and Mr. Stoddard does not pretend to know from what sources M. Luce obtained his facts about this peasant hero. Robert Knolles becomes occasionally Thomas, Neville becomes Neufville, and 'John de Montfort' stands for both John IV and John V, the index clearly showing that the error is no slip, but that Mr. Stoddard considers father and son to have been one and the same man. The book is overloaded with names, but there are but poor attempts to delineate characters. Mr. Stoddard has no knowledge of the development of tactics, says much of the knights and next to nothing about the archers, is not clear whether the French at Poitiers were mounted or dismounted (pp. 67, 68), and thus, not appreciating the causes of the English military ascendancy, cannot explain the import of Bertrand's subsequent successes. At Poitiers the French are made to fight with their faces to the north, as if they had cut the Black Prince off from Bordeaux. Cocherel is fairly described, because M. Luce very carefully describes it; the most interesting feature of Auray, viz. the failure of the archers to pierce the dense ranks of French and Bretons, and, conversely, the success of the archers at Najara, Mr. Stoddard omits, probably because M. Luce's volume stops short of these battles.

The connected account of the facts of Bertrand's life is better, because Mr. Stoddard has only to follow Luce or Bonnechose. But he is curiously unable to grasp the meaning of M. Luce, even where he almost reproduces his words. The later part is fairly done. Yet the Prince's poverty, which led him to invade Spain as a common mercenary, and which was the cause of the hearth-tax which so alienated the Gascon magnates, receives little attention. Also, Mr. Stoddard does not know how hard it was for the English to raise troops when once the support of the local barons had been lost. Devon's Pell Records for 1370 would have shown how wages had been doubled since 1346, pointing to the difficulty of recruiting. It would be too much to expect that he would have been acquainted with the article of M. Jean Lemoine in the *Revue Historique* for May-June 1896 on 'Du Guesclin à Jersey,' where it is proved that Bertrand captured the castle of Montorgueil in the latter part of July 1373. J. E. MORRIS.

Die Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten. Von GEORG KAUFMANN.
Band ii. (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta. 1896.)

THE first volume of this work was devoted to 'Vorgeschichte,' i.e. an account of the origin of the university system in general down to the comparatively late date at which the German universities came into existence. When he reaches his proper subject, Professor Kaufmann finds himself for the most part in a *terra cognita*. The German universities were born in the full light of history; nearly all of them have published ample collections of documents, and have been made the subject of more or less elaborate monographs. There was, therefore, little room for fresh research or discovery, or for much originality of treatment. The author has deliberately abandoned the attempt to deal with the individual universities

one after the other. He aims at presenting a picture of the German university system as a whole. This he does by taking each aspect of the university system and each element in the university machine in detail, and comparing, with exhaustive fulness, the arrangements of the different universities in respect of each of them. The present volume brings the history down to 1500 A.D. We then have a series of disquisitions upon the foundation-bulls, the method of endowment, the relations between masters and scholars, the nations, the faculties, the relations of the universities to church and state, the chancellor, the governing bodies, the rector, the graduation system, etc. It must be confessed that it is difficult to make a book written on this plan particularly attractive reading, consistently with the standard of *Gründlichkeit* which the professor sets before himself; nor does he appear to have a very keen sense of that lighter, humorous side of university life, which does so much to relieve the tedium involved in the study of the original documents. But what he set himself to do the professor has done thoroughly and well: he has written what is likely long to remain the standard work on the German universities.

The most interesting, because the most controversial, topic on which the professor touches is the relation of the universities to church and state respectively. In his former volume, his desire to make out a case for the educational supremacy of the state led him, in my opinion, into positive mistakes. In reference to Germany, from the date of the foundation of the universities, this preoccupation is not seriously misleading. The initiative in the foundation of the German universities usually came from the state—from duke, or count, or town; the privilege of the pope in founding *Studia generalia* was fully recognised, but it was shared by the emperor; scholars as such were not, as a rule, treated as clerks; and the secular authorities who founded the universities at times claimed the regulation of them in the minutest details; or, if a large share of their control was practically entrusted to ecclesiastical chancellors, this was by the express permission and consent of the lay power. It is, no doubt, possible to reconcile the facts (if we allow, as Professor Kaufmann does, for a few exceptional attempts at independent action on the side of the church), but I cannot help thinking that the whole attempt is rather unhistorical. When Professor Kaufmann declares that the theory that the church alone had the right to grant the 'license to teach' is a modern theory, he is certainly going too far. There are abundant traces of this theory in parts of Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, though it was no doubt broken in upon by the admission of the emperor's concomitant prerogative. On the other hand, our author's attempt to show that education was regarded as the monopoly of the state is almost equally one-sided. The fact is that education in the Middle Ages belonged to that large, debatable sphere which did not belong unreservedly to the province of either church or state. If the conflicts between them were not very numerous or serious, it was because, on the whole, both sides were anxious to promote education. It is, of course, possible to say that, where the church authorities are found meddling with education, they are acting as the agents of the state; but the facts are equally susceptible of another interpretation. The question is one which hardly presented itself, in this naked and theoretical

form, to the medieval mind. Professor Kaufmann's theory has this much truth—that in the late fourteenth century the lay power was the stronger, not only in educational matters, but even in the strictly ecclesiastical sphere.

Professor Kaufmann is seen at his best when he passes from questions of constitutional machinery to the history of learning and the inner life of the institutions with which he has to deal. The volume concludes with a very valuable chapter on the history of university studies during this period, and in particular with the rise and influence of humanism. He brings out, with much learning and much clearness, the fact that as in Italy, so in Germany humanism was not a product of the universities, and only affected their teaching slowly and partially. Humanism was the product of courts and academies rather than schools and universities. It is true that there was a most important classical movement—a widespread groping after an improved and unscholastic teaching of grammar, and the closer study and imitation of the Latin classics—which was apparently quite independent of the Italian Renaissance. But this movement was born, not in the universities, but in the grammar-schools; the earliest trace of it is to be found in the schools of Gerard de Groot and the Brethren of the Common Lot in the Low Countries. It was not till towards the end of the fifteenth century that the new race of schoolmasters began to be imbued with the Italian influence, and it was only at this period that the spirit of the Renaissance began to touch the universities. But even then it cannot be said to have produced any marked revolution in their curriculum or educational system. It was only through its association with the Reformation that humanism succeeded in transforming the educational system of Germany, and, eventually, of Europe; and by the time that that revolution was effected, the humanists themselves, in any strict sense of the word, had passed away, and the humanistic spirit was a thing of the past. Great spiritual movements, for the most part, triumph only by partial death and total loss of their own identity. Professor Kaufmann does not notice how exactly this pre-Renaissance grammatical movement was paralleled in England, though of course the triumph of the later humanistic movement was even slighter and more evanescent than was the case in Germany. H. RASHDALL.

Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office.
Richard II, vols. I, II (1377-1385). (London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1895-97.)

THE future historian of the reign of Richard II will owe a heavy debt of gratitude for time and labour saved to Mr. G. J. Morris, who has compiled these admirable calendars and furnished them with elaborate indexes. A comparison with the meagre selection in the volume of patent rolls published many years ago by the old record commissioners emphasises the enormous assistance that the deputy keeper and his staff are rendering to the historical student by the printing of these full *précis* of the later medieval patent and close rolls. The rolls themselves have been so constantly consulted that these volumes cannot be expected to throw much new light on the broad outlines of the period they cover, but they will do

much to fill out those outlines besides supplying corrections and additions in innumerable points of detail. If Sir E. M. Thompson had had them before him when editing the chronicle of Adam of Usk he would have discovered that its author's original name was Adam Porter, and that he held in early life the living of Mitchel Troy (ii. 115, 307). Some new light is thrown, too, on that obscure personage, Owen of Wales, whose full name appears to have been Owen ap Thomas ap Retheryk; he had forfeited lands in Bidfield, Gloucestershire, by his adherence to the French king (i. 102, 104; ii. 235).

Within the narrow limits of a review it is of course impossible to do more than indicate the varied interest of the matter calendared. Much information about the antecedents of the peasants' revolt may be gleaned from the earlier rolls of the reign. The curious fact is, for instance, elicited that while the centre of the rising of 1381 was Kent and Essex, the attempt to get rid of the old labour services by obtaining official extracts from Domesday Book, which provoked repressive legislation in Richard's first parliament, seems to have been confined to Wiltshire and the adjacent counties. The extraordinary insecurity of life and property in the later years of Edward III and the earlier ones of his grandson is brought very vividly before us; the pardons for murder and other serious crimes are numbered by scores if not hundreds in the short space of nine years, and almost equally numerous are the oyer and terminers ordered on the complaint of monastic and lay landowners whose estates were invaded by armed bands often led by a knight or a priest, their growing trees cut down, their crops destroyed, their wives, daughters, or maidservants ravished, their ponds fished, and their cattle carried away. The suppression of the concerted rising of 1381 by no means put an end to these disquieting symptoms. In April 1383 it was reported that disturbers of the peace assembled in divers parts of the realm and demanded money and goods of the king's lieges under threats of murder and arson. The French descents on the southern coast and the ravages of pestilence added to the general misery. Piteous complaints of poverty and depopulation came from towns all over the country. Truro was said in 1378 to have been 'almost uninhabited and wholly waste,' traders deserted the plague-stricken Appleby for neighbouring villages, and Newcastle-on-Tyne lost 6,054 men in the pestilence of 1380 (i. 510). Ships belonging to neutral powers were constantly being seized off the coast and their cargoes sold. The state of Ireland must have been even worse if the bishop of Emly was really guilty of robbing a man of eighteen marks and destroying his own cathedral city (i. 18).

There is much in these pages to strengthen one's impression that a stronger and better king than Richard might have failed to avert political crisis, if not revolution, but it is also abundantly evident that the young king's reckless extravagance hurried on the day of reckoning. The lavish way in which he threw about among his courtiers the Mortimer estates which were in the hands of the crown during a minority may be instanced. By the summer of 1383 he was 'in great necessity,' and in 1384 the great magnates whom he had ignored made their first open protest; on this somewhat obscure episode a little fresh light is thrown. For the first time the 'advice of the council' is expressed in the royal

letters patent, and the Mortimer lands were taken out of the hands of Richard's grantees and placed (Feb. 1384) in the custody of the earls of Arundel, Warwick, and Northumberland, and lord Neville at a yearly rent of 4,000*l.* (ii. 377). Why chief justice Tresilian thought it necessary in July of that year to obtain a pardon for all treasons, insurrections with the commons, felonies &c. perpetrated by him (ii. 440) is not clear. A singular clause in a grant of the castle and lordship of Queenborough to Richard's favourite, De Vere, in March 1385 shows that he had learnt no lesson from the events of the previous year. He invokes 'the curse of God and St. Edward and the king on any who do or attempt aught against this grant' (ii. 542). Such a personal note must be rare if not unique in state documents of this time. It is the language of the angry youth who eighteen months later, when the magnates demanded the dismissal of his ministers, cried out that he would not dismiss the meanest scullion in his kitchen at their bidding. There are already traces of Richard's ill-omened attachment to the memory of Edward II, which may have dated from the meeting of his first parliament at Gloucester. He exempted the abbot of St. Peter's there from the duty of attending parliaments in person in order to 'oblige him to celebrate the offices for the soul all days of the anniversary of king Edward II' (ii. 273). The influence of the widowed lady Mohun of Dunster at court which led to her expulsion in 1388 is several times illustrated (*e.g.* ii. 457). The earlier pages yield a few fresh details of Richard's life before his accession, as that his first master was Sir Richard Abberbury, one of the witnesses in the famous Scrope and Grosvenor case (i. 155). Even our knowledge of the foreign affairs of the kingdom in these years is incidentally increased, though the rolls are of course usually of purely domestic bearing. Thus we learn that proceedings were taken against the ringleaders of the mutineers in the army which Richard's uncle, Edmund of Langley, took to Portugal in 1381 (ii. 256, 349, 494). Among documents of more private interest are several relating to William of Wykeham's foundations and the new Charterhouse, and an interesting visitation of St. Catherine's hospital by the Tower, in Aug. 1377 (i. 507). The municipal historian will find some light thrown on the Coventry gilds (ii. 263, 268, 271). Under cover of the gild of the Nativity there labourers and workmen were leaguering themselves together in 1384 to resist the mayor and bailiffs, and escape the punishment of their offences (ii. 497). The royal vineyards at Windsor are several times noticed (i. 231 *e.g.*).

Great care seems to have been taken with the analysis and printing of the rolls, and we have met with only two passages where an error might be suspected: among the signatures to a charter of Henry I inspected is R. *comite* Deivell—a new Norman earl if the text be correct; and there is a false date (1360) in a Durham document which appears in vol. ii. p. 2. The indexes, though not quite so impeccable, are a most laborious and excellent piece of work. Some may complain of the absence of a subject index, but where those of persons and places run to an average of 250 pages it would obviously be unreasonable to press the point. With regard to method the only fault we have to find is that to index half the passages relating to a person under the French form of his name and half under the Latin, as in the case of Beauchamp and de Bello Campo, seems

cumbrous and unnecessary. A simple cross reference would suffice and save valuable space. Much trouble has been taken with the identifications, and in the vast majority of cases the results are excellent. But we have noticed one or two cases where a local name has escaped without explanation; thus Richard of Barnards Castle only appears under *Castro-bernardi* unidentified. In the case of places on the Welsh border it would be well to distinguish a little more carefully sometimes between their medieval and modern description. Bishops Castle, for example, is described in the text as in Wales, but in the index as in co. Salop, though in other instances the documentary description is often reproduced by the indexer. It is perhaps inevitable that the foreign identifications should be vaguer and occasionally less correct than the others. The entry which places Brest in Normandy is no doubt a mere slip, but the *Soudan de la Trau* appears only under the corrupt form of the roll, 'Delatran, Soldan, knight of Gascony,' and *Audruicq*, similarly disguised as *Othorwyk* [France]. It would be well to adopt for French place names the method of identification used by French historians, who supply the name of the department, *arrondissement*, and *canton*.

JAMES TAIT.

Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati. A cura di FRANCESCO NOVATI. Vol. III. ('*Fonti per la Storia d' Italia.*') (Roma: Sede dell' Istituto Storico Italiano. 1896.)

THE present volume appeals perhaps more to the classical scholar than to the student of political history. Many of *Salutati's* letters will commend themselves to modern humanists as proving the wide range of their fourteenth-century predecessor's Latin scholarship. Others are of interest in the history of codices; one, for instance, to *Jost of Moravia* forms a link in the chain of evidence relating to the mysterious, and perhaps mythical, manuscript of *Livy*, which lurked in a monastery in *Lübeck* diocese, and of which the dean of *Olmütz* professed to have ocular demonstration. A letter congratulating the youthful *Poggio* on his safe arrival at Rome refers to a codex of *Cicero*, which he had copied for *Salutati*, and this copy the editor identifies with the manuscript of the 'Philippics' and 'Catiline Orations' in the Laurentian library ('*Cat. Codd. Latinor.*' ii. 448). Even before this *Poggio*, *librarius omni suspitione major*, had acted as the writer's copyist at Florence, and he was now plying the chancellor with Roman inscriptions—*video quidem te pauco tempore nobis urbem totam antiquis epigrammatibus traditurum*. A good example will be found of the spiritual interpretation of *Virgil*, in which the later Neo-Platonists displayed so much ingenuity, and with this may be compared a passage in which *Salutati* dwells on the mystical meaning of *Dante's Beatrice*.

There is, however, a wide neutral zone on which the scholar and the historian may meet. The expected advent of the first Greek teachers drew enthusiastic welcome from the veteran Latinist. He assured *Demetrio Cidonio* of his pride that his own reputation should be known to a Greek scholar; of his delight that amid all her troubles Greece still had students,

and that one of them was coming to Italy; of the zeal for the Greek language which his arrival would excite; on the morrow the writer would be sixty-five, and yet, he touchingly concludes, *Fortè etiam nostri Catonis exemplo, extremo licet vite tempore, Grecis intendam literis, et exemplis his quæ de nostris hausit Argolicam adiciam disciplinam.* To Chrysolaras he wrote that he had used all his power to procure an invitation to teach at Florence, while he urged Taddeo Angeli to bring from Greece historians and poets, all Plato, all Plutarch, the whole of Homer, and this regardless of expense. This eagerness and versatility, noticeable to his dying day, constitutes the charm of Salutati's scholarship. He has made his own all Latin authors down to Cassiodorus and Sidonius. To England he wrote more than once for the 'De Musica' of St. Augustine. He is equally anxious to obtain from the lord of Piombino the 'De Civitate Dei' in big characters fit for aged eyes, and a copy of Petrarch's letters on which he had long set his heart. He implores Niccolò da Tuderano to procure a *correctum opus divinissimum Dantis nostri*; such a one he hears has passed on the death of Dante's friend Menghino Mezzani to the lords of Polenta.

On the subject of education Salutati stands halfway between the ancient and modern systems. He was sufficiently old-fashioned to retain full belief in the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, but he condemns the barren exaggeration of dialectic, now nearing its end. In a humorous letter to the Mantuan professor Pietro Alboino, he rejoices that an Italian has arisen to wrest from the barbarous Britons the palm of philosophy which Italy indolent and voluptuous had lost, but then implores his correspondent, after learning all that grammar, logic, and rhetoric can teach in things human and divine, scientific or mathematical, to study poetics, the highest art of all, for of the verses which the learned logician had inclosed he could make no sense whatever. Quite modern, in spite of its literary affectations, is a letter to the young lord of Imola, Ludovico Alidosi. Here he expresses his fears for the future of classical learning. He implores the youth not to be discouraged at the superior skill of others in riding and *pallone*, in standing and running jumps. He urges the double duty of knowledge and expression, the avoidance of sciolism, the study of the best ancient models, precision of thought, directness and simplicity of language, the care for such details as orthography, the choice of words, the shunning of ambiguous terms, the judicious use of adjectives and adverbs. The letter is indeed a masterly essay upon style, valuable to any would-be speaker or publicist of to-day.

To public events the references in this volume are curiously few. The reader hears nothing of the struggle with Milan, except in two notices of the 'Invettiva' of Loschi, chief of the Visconti's staff of anti-Florentine pamphleteers: the latter of these is, however, of some importance in the history of the Florentine chancellor's celebrated reply. The schism is the subject on which Salutati felt most strongly. Among his finest letters is one to Benedict XIII (20 January 1395) imploring him to aid in the noble cause of unity, and another to Jost of Moravia where the suggested methods of renunciation are discussed in detail. This latter concludes with a spirited panegyric of the Turks, who are endangering christianity, threatening Rome herself, admirable in training, in absti-

nence and hardihood, braced by their fatalism to face death, trusting to agility rather than to armour, men of Roman discipline pitted against christians who are sunk in sloth and luxury, careful of their bodies and careless of their souls. Always ready to welcome the signs of religious revival, Salutati more than once expressed his admiration for the White Penitents at the very moment when his government was taking measures to avert the social and political dangers which might accompany these hordes of fanatics. Three letters bear the address 'Thome Rondello;' Salutati had enjoyed at Florence the friendship of the exiled archbishop Arundel. In phrases written between hope and fear he gives Arundel God-speed. The next letter congratulates him upon success, and significantly adds, *unum continere non possum, quod nobilissimum et altius vindicte genus est parcere*; the fate of the late king had taught that bloodshed but added nourishment to danger and suspicion. The third (29 Jan. 1403) begs Arundel for a subscription to the debt of the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli, dear alike to the Englishman and the Florentine; Salutati cleverly anticipates the objection that there are many poor monasteries in England which create calls upon the archbishop's purse; the English poor he had always with him, but the Florentine brotherhood was the prodigal son returning to his father, but with no suspicion of a disreputable past. Among letters of historical interest may also be reckoned that which describes the public funeral of the admirable Florentine citizen Guido di Tommaso, a most interesting picture of Florentine ceremonial custom. The signoria sent a horse, whose trappings bore the emblem of the people, a lance and shield and banner, with twelve waxen torches. The captains of the Parte Guelfa paid a similar honour, and then followed the six of Mercanzia accompanying their gift of a silken *pallium* with pendent lappets, embroidered with the arms of the deceased and of their own society. The consuls of the arts, the eight of watch and ward, the whole order of knights preceded a long line of merchants and citizens, while crowds of women and of poor bewailed the loss of the most charitable of Florentines.

The great value of this volume is perhaps its explanation of the extraordinary consideration in which Salutati was held by men of all classes, professions, and countries, and this not more on the score of scholarship than of character. Salutati with advancing years has lost all his petulance and some of his sprightliness, but he has grown alike in grace and knowledge, and with the younger humanists, Vittorino da Feltre and Marsilio Ficino, is a standing proof that there need be no divorce between christian ethics and pagan learning. On the harmony of the two he himself earnestly, nay indignantly, dwells in a letter to Fra Giovanni da Samminiato, who had striven to divert him from pagan studies. The opening sentences look back to St. Augustine and forward to the Italian Neo-Platonism: *Noli, venerabilis in Christo frater, sic austere me ab honestis studiis revocare; noli putare quod, cum vel in poetis vel aliis gentilium libris veritas queritur, in viam Domini non catur. Omnis enim veritas a Deo est, imo, quo rectius loquar, aliquid est Dei.* The conclusion is replete with humanitarianism and common sense. *Nec me putes unquam ad inanis fame gloriam laborasse, sed cupiditate sciendi communicandique quod Deus tradidit; ut aliis et*

posteris, sicut alii nobis suisque temporibus profuerunt, sic aliquid et ego prodessem; quod michi videtur scientibus non minus debitum, quam agricolis arbores serere, que pervenire debeant ad nepotes. Tu, quod sancte rusticitatis est, solum tibi prodes; ego michi prodesse conor et aliis. Yet no one upheld more stoutly than this man of the world the sanctity of religious vows. He writes in the severest strain to a Camaldolensian whose spiritual brethren were pressing him to give a dinner to the monastery in honour of his jubilee, and who himself proposes to celebrate the occasion by release from the religious life. The otherwise excellent Raffaello Bonciani receives rough handling for disobedience to his superior and clandestine desertion of his monastery. Onofrio degli Angioli is implored not to leave the seclusion of Santa Maria degli Angeli for the abbacy of Camaldoli, with which the pope has tempted him, *quoniam non crediderim de curie Romane sentina quicquam hauriri, nisi limosum et fetidum et illa turpitudine maculatum, qua spiritualia pecuniis venundantur.*

Among those who sought for guidance from Salutati was Caterina Vieri of Arezzo, who, forced as a girl to take the veil, fled from her convent, *cupiens esse mater et filios procreare.* That a man should write to a woman, particularly a young one, the chancellor describes as not lacking in impropriety; but relying on his clear conscience and his sixty-seven years he answers her appeal, beseeching her to return to her convent. It is needless to add that the director's advice was left unheeded, and Boniface IX, less rigid than the layman, legitimised the children which were the result of Caterina's secular instincts. But Salutati had sound good sense and was not always on the side of severity. He begged this same pope to grant a dispensation for the marriage of a young couple who were spiritually related, the man's mother being the godmother of his beloved: this prohibition, he pointed out, was not of Mosaic or christian, but only of papal institution, and therefore of less validity. To the bishop of Florence, Jacopo da Teramo, the chancellor confesses that he cannot bear sermons, although he appreciates the manly eloquence of the bishop *quod more fratrum ille sermo rythmica lubricatione non ludit.* Some sixty pages of the volume are occupied by advice to the chancellor of Bologna, Pellegrino Zambeccari, to abandon an absurd love affair quite unsuited to his age and position. Common sense, christian morality, and ridicule are employed in turn. Very humorous is the picture of the elderly Bolognese lover clad in his best ultramarine camlet, who follows the boat of his adored Johanna along the bank of the Reno, and finally, while 'coaching the oarsmen from the bank,' slips in the mud and tumbles into the river. The Bolognese are described as being peculiarly susceptible, and Florentine propriety was shocked at the practice of offering the seat next a young lady to her *intendens*, and allowing them to hold each other's hands. If Salutati's sense of humour is displayed at the expense of his brother chancellor, his tenderness finds expression in the letters which refer to the deaths of his own two sons from plague: it would be difficult to read his description of the last moments of his favourite Piero without emotion.

An interesting question arises as to how far Salutati intended his letters for publication. To Bartolommeo Oliari, who had pressed him

to publish, he replies that they are too numerous and not sufficiently good, that he fears criticism and that he is too busy; he will leave it to his heirs to make a small selection. Such a selection, however, he himself sends to Jean de Montrenil, chancellor of France, his great admirer. The recovery of a portfolio of his own letters, which had been stolen, he welcomes with unfeigned delight, confessing that it contained at least one which surpassed the work of those great masters Petrarch and Geri d' Arezzo. His modesty and vanity are probably alike genuine; they are but the changing colours of a simple character.

E. ARMSTRONG.

Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office.

Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Edward IV, A.D. 1461-1467. (London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1897.)

IT is no small matter of congratulation to the historical student that by the energy of the present deputy keeper of the records substantial progress has now been made with a long-suspended design of the first of his predecessors. Many other volumes of this 'Calendar,' relating to earlier reigns, have already been noticed in the *ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW*. But valuable as the Patent Rolls are in earlier periods their interest in connexion with the general history of England is decidedly greater after the reign of Edward III than before it; and when we come to the Wars of the Roses they contain much relating to the acts and property of the leading actors in the struggle which has never yet received due consideration, simply because the records themselves were so little known and so inconvenient for consultation. What a boon it is, then, to have the whole substance of these rolls for the first six years of Edward IV's reign condensed into one handy volume, with such full abstracts of each particular document that there seems absolutely nothing now to be gained by consulting the rolls themselves! For not a single piece of real information is omitted that is to be found in them—not even the authority by which each individual patent was passed, as 'By k.' (by the king), 'By p. s.' (by privy seal), or the like. Every point is noted. In fact, it may be said not only that this 'Calendar' is for all ordinary purposes as valuable as would be a complete transcript of the rolls, but really it is a great deal more valuable, because it omits verbiage and contains all the facts in perhaps a quarter of the space.

There may, nevertheless, undoubtedly be questions about the plan pursued in some points, as, for instance, whether it would not have been better to adopt a strictly chronological arrangement of the documents, instead of slavishly adhering to the order on the rolls. But it must be remembered, in reference alike to this and to some other criticisms, that one great object of the 'Calendar,' besides meeting the requirements of the historical student, is to obviate the necessity of frequent reference to the rolls themselves; and this could only be done by giving all the entries in the very order in which they stand. One great saving of space, however, has been effected in the commissions of the peace, which, after being merely noted in their places, are dealt with together in an appendix,

where a complete list is given, under every county, of all the names that appear in any commission for that county during the whole of the six years comprised in this volume; and a set of numbers after each name shows, by reference to a table, the dates of the several commissions in which that name occurs, and the exact rolls and membranes on which these commissions are entered.

As to the historical importance of this volume, we cannot hope to do it adequate justice. That would require a rather lengthened study and more elaborate treatment than could be allowed to us here. But we may well indicate points that will undoubtedly attract attention. Considering that the six years covered by the volume include the date of Edward IV's romantic marriage, the student may be tempted first of all to look up the heading 'Wydeville' in the index, to trace the progress of the family in the king's favour. And he will find, on looking up the references, that the name of Sir Richard Wydeville appears among those of a number of other Lancastrians whose lands the escheator of Northamptonshire and Rutland was ordered to take into the king's hands on 14 May 1461. His title of Lord Rivers is in this document quite ignored. It was but sixteen months since the time when, after being captured at Sandwich, he had been vituperated as a 'knave's son' by Edward himself (then earl of March), along with Warwick and Salisbury. But on 12 July he receives a pardon as 'Richard Wydeville, knight, of Ryvers,' and on the 23rd of the same month his son has the same as 'Anthony Wydeville, knight, Lord Scales.' On 10 Dec. 'Richard Wydewyll, Lord Rivers, and Jaquetta, duchess of Bedford, his wife,' receive a 'grant and confirmation' at great length of the dower of the latter; and on 1 March 1463 (p. 568) Rivers's name appears for the first time on the commission of the peace for Northamptonshire, in which it was not included even in October 1462. But his son Anthony, Lord Scales, obtained an important grant on 27 May 1462. It was on 1 May 1464 that the king was secretly married to Rivers's daughter, and of course the references to him and to his son, Lord Scales, increase both in number and importance. But they are really by no means so considerable as one might very well have expected.

The references under 'Nevill, Richard' to the great earl of Warwick are more fruitful, but we cannot afford space to dwell upon them. A few of the more important are known already from having been printed by the indefatigable Rymer, who, indeed, went all through these rolls and published everything that was of most striking and obvious value. But the multitude and importance of the things that he did not publish, bearing alike on Warwick, the king-maker, and on many other subjects, could only be shown by writing anew the history of the period, which some one will have to do by-and-by. How can one speak, except in a general way, of the commissions of array in this volume (specially interesting in each case as regards date and area), of the commissions to take masters and mariners for ships, of the commissions to get the men of Devonshire to supply and rig out ships at their own expense for service against the king's enemies? But one of the most highly characteristic things, as giving us on a small scale quite a picture of the period, is a commission, issued 20 Oct. 1461 to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and

twelve other persons, including the sheriff of Norfolk, to oust John and William Knyvet from the possession of Bokenham Castle, and take it into the king's hands. Quite a little history is recited in this commission, showing that the castle was taken into the hands of King Henry VI by virtue of an inquisition taken on Thursday before All Saints 1460; but the Knyvets entered on it before the 17 Nov., and when King Edward sent only nine commissioners with the escheator to take it back from them they only succeeded in entering the outer ward, where they found the drawbridge raised, when John Knyvet's wife, Alice,

appeared in a little tower over the inner fort of the bridge, keeping the castle with slings, *paveises*, fagots, timber, and other armaments of war, and assisted by William Toby, of Old Bokenham, *gentilman*, and others to the number of fifty persons, armed with swords, *glayves*, bows and arrows, and addressed them as follows: 'Maister Twyer, ye be a justice of the pees, and I require you to kepe the pees, for I woll nott leve the possession of this castell to dye therefore, and if ye begyn to breke the peas or make any warre to gete the place of me I shall defende me, for lever I had in suche wyse to dye than to be slayne when my husbond cometh home, for he charget me to kepe it.'

The royal force had to retire before the lady.

JAMES GAIRDNER.

Sir Walter Raleigh: the British Dominion of the West. By MARTIN A. S. HUME. (London: Fisher Unwin. 1897.)

THIS little volume, which is the first of a series to be called 'Builders of Greater Britain,' is distinctly disappointing. Major Hume is well known as a careful and painstaking writer; possessing, too, an unusual familiarity with the Spanish state papers; but it cannot be said that there is evidence here of either the care, the painstaking, or the familiarity. If Raleigh was a builder of Greater Britain, Major Hume has not shown it; and in what he has written he seems to have put together the material readiest to hand, and to have repeated the traditional stories without judgment or discrimination. The appearance, at least, of this is aggravated by the plan of the work, which does not admit of any references; otherwise a reference should certainly have been given in support of the statements that Raleigh 'accompanied the expedition' to Portugal in 1589 (p. 99), that Drake 'was supported by Raleigh,' (p. 100) and in concert with Drake 'scoured the seas in search of prizes' (p. 101.) They are virtually—by silence—contradicted by the reports in the English state papers, and it seems scarcely probable that they are categorically proved by the Spanish. Again, such a phrase as, 'I have transcripts of original documents in my possession which prove absolutely that this—the implication of Raleigh in the main plot—was untrue' (p. 260), is much too vague to be accepted by accurate students of history. It is very possible that Raleigh was entirely innocent of the treason laid to his charge, but it is difficult to imagine what these documents can be which absolutely prove this. For a careful and scholarly biography of Raleigh there was and is still room; but we have had enough of mere popular stories, such as Major Hume has apparently aimed at producing.

J. K. LAUGHTON.

A Benedictine Martyr in England: being the Life and Times of the Venerable Servant of God Dom John Roberts, O.S.B. By DOM BEDE CAMM, O.S.B. (London: Bliss, Sands & Co. 1897.)

JOHN ROBERTS, the subject of this memoir, was the pioneer, representative and protomartyr of the Benedictine revival in England in the beginning of the seventeenth century. After several imprisonments he was executed in 1610, for the 'treason' of coming as a Roman priest, ordained abroad, to exercise the functions of his order in England. He left behind him no writings; and very little is known of his life and labours, beyond the particulars of his trial and execution recorded by Challoner, and more recently by Father Pollen, S.J., in his 'Acts of English Martyrs hitherto unpublished,' 1891. Father Roberts was never suspected of any kind of political disloyalty, and he was one of those who refused King James's oath of allegiance simply because it was forbidden by the pope, although, apparently, he did not hold with the pope that the oath contained anything 'contrary to the faith.' Dom Bede Camm, with much painstaking research among inedited documents at Valladolid and elsewhere, has gathered some fresh information regarding the martyr's early career, and cleared up some doubtful points of interest. His book, however, shows irritating faults of style, incidental to the attempt to combine popular hagiological sentiment with historical inquiry. The reader is continually called upon to reflect how the martyr 'must have' explored these ruins or trod that road, or what legends he 'must have' known by heart; and the author knows intuitively when his hero turned pale, shed tears, and so forth. But this and other unnecessary padding do not seriously detract from the merits of the biography.

The main interest of the life lies in its connexion with the important movement in the seminaries of Valladolid and Rome, and in the English mission, which took place mainly between 1599 and 1603, a movement which was the immediate outcome of the dissensions between the Jesuits and seculars, and which, although productive at first of fresh discords, eventually resulted in something like equilibrium between the ecclesiastical forces; and to this subject further attention has been lately drawn by a moderate and careful article in *The Month* by Father Pollen, entitled 'The Rise of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation.'

The conflict, as a thing of the past, should be as dead as the Wars of the Roses. The old sore is touched tenderly and respectfully by both writers. Dom Camm is throughout studiously polite to the members of the once rival order, though an eager expression of gratitude to the fathers may be almost mistaken for irony. 'Here,' he exclaims, 'we must express our joy to see no less than three prominent Jesuit fathers extolling the virtues and heroic constancy of our martyr.' The facts are these. Disgust with college mutinies, Wisbech stirs, the archpriest controversy, and political party strife, drove a number of seminarists—earnest and devout, said the Benedictines; turbulent and seditious, said the Jesuits—to seek peace in the neutral ground of foreign Benedictine monasteries, with or without hope of afterwards taking part in the English mission. In 1599 the exodus from Valladolid had the appearance of an epidemic. In three years twenty students had joined the Spanish

monastery of San Benito, and many more were to follow. To the Jesuits the novel movement was naturally a severe blow. It threatened to empty their colleges, to cast a slur upon their management, and destroy their prestige. Father Creswell, the superior at Valladolid, lost his temper. The motives of the would-be Benedictines were called in question, their vocations were discredited, and their characters assailed. Scenes of violence were said to have occurred within the college walls. There were appeals to ecclesiastical authority, protests and conferences, until the Jesuits were constrained to let the men go in peace. Father Pollen upon this matter justly remarks that the Jesuit superiors of the Roman and Spanish seminaries were responsible for the supply of missionaries to England, and this defection of their scholars to an order which seemed ill-adapted for, or rather positively prohibitive of, such missionary work in England, would be fatal to the object for which the colleges were founded, and to which the scholars individually were pledged. The explanation is well grounded, though it does not quite cover the opposition apparently made by the society to attempts on the part of the Benedictines to remove the objection in question by sending their English subjects upon the mission. Further, a little later, at the end of 1602, the monks did in fact obtain the papal sanction for their joining the mission, and early in the following year the young Benedictines were flocking into England and showing no signs of unfitness for their work; yet, when Father Roberts and others began to set up a monastery and college of their order at Douai, the opposition was renewed with acrimony. If the Jesuits were not at the bottom of this opposition, as has been alleged, their subservient instrument, Dr. Worthington, was; and the mouthpiece of the complainants was Father Parsons, who in 1608 drew up the memorial (printed in the *ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW*, October 1889), in which he insisted that most of these Benedictines were actuated by hatred of the society of Jesus, that they were in league with the appellants, were suspected of clandestine dealings with the archbishop of Canterbury, and had tolerated, or were lukewarm in opposition to, the new oath of allegiance. They were accused of misconduct and discord at Valladolid, and it was natural to suppose that they would introduce similar disorders into the seminary of Douai. Father Creswell at the same time wrote to Worthington the angry letter which has often been quoted. The real gravamen was the alleged alliance between the Benedictines and the appellants, and it is certainly significant that Father Roberts, on reaching London in April 1603, at once had an interview with Bluet, who had just returned from Rome, and with Francis Barneby, both leaders among the appellants and noted for their hostility to the Jesuits. On the other hand, a mutual determination to eschew politics, and to resist or disclose any attempted plots against the state, may have been the main bond of union between the two parties. Peace was made between the monks and the Jesuits by papal decrees at the end of 1608 and beginning of 1609; and about the same time (May 1609) the archpriest and his secular clergy on their side rid themselves finally of the rule, or interpretation of the rule, which subjected them unduly to Jesuit influence.

It is impossible for the apologists of the society to maintain that the

Jesuit leaders were not actuated throughout all these controversies by a desire to gain the supreme control over the affairs of the mission. Father Pollen, indeed, wins an easy victory over such writers as Mr. Taunton, who wish to prove that the Jesuits openly avowed such a policy. This they certainly did not. But the aim and the policy were nevertheless there, manifest in every public act of the fathers and their patrons. It is impossible, for example, to minimise the importance of the clause in Cajetan's instructions bidding the archpriest in matters of greater importance take counsel of the Jesuit superior. Colleton's analysis of this fateful clause was justified by events: by the decision of the papal brief, by Parsons's resistance, by Birkhead's admissions, and by the long struggle (1598-1609) of which it was the occasion. Father Pollen regards the contention that the Jesuits even desired to monopolise or govern the mission as a 'formidable indictment.' But why? So rational a desire may seem, rather, the best justification of their proceedings. If the Jesuits had not this aim, they would have been devoid of zeal for their church's cause, as well as wanting in the ordinary attributes of human nature. The seminarists were maintaining a guerilla warfare without organisation, and without commanding officers of any kind upon the spot. When Parsons and Campion entered upon the campaign they stood head and shoulders above their comrades; and Parsons at once, without any commission, but naturally, by force of his superior gifts, took a decided lead. For such work the Jesuits were, by their institute, specially fitted. They had, in fact, given to a large number of the missionaries all such training as they possessed. Garnet is said to have let slip the speech that he saw no reason why the Jesuits might not govern the secular priests in England as they had governed the seminarists at Rome. In this connexion it may be remarked that Father Camm, adopting a popular exaggeration, speaks of 'the best students' of Oxford 'constantly leaving and slipping over to Douai and Rheims, where Allen was a tremendous attraction.' This is a great mistake. The best men—Sanders, Stapleton, Allen himself, and a dozen others like them—went into exile at Louvain and elsewhere in the earlier days of Elizabeth; but how many men among Allen's scholars at Douai or Rheims had made a name at the English universities, or in any sense can fairly be described as the 'best students' from Oxford? Parsons, in an ill humour, could sneer at the ablest of his clerical adversaries as having been mostly serving-men, soldiers, and wanderers, who would never have been able to write books if they had not been taught by the Jesuits. It was another matter when jealousies were once aroused and the quarrel had begun. The secular clergy had the law and equity on their side, and they fought for their independence; but it may be a question whether it would not have been better for the common cause had they from the first elected the Jesuits, or submitted to them as their leaders. They would at least have given Protestant England more trouble and the Roman church more glory. Parsons, on the other hand, did not know when he was beaten. When away from the scene of action he may have been ill informed; and he held in too little esteem the forces which were gathering against him. The supremacy which he could not gain by consent or by fair means he tried to secure at times by stratagem and intrigues, or by sheer bullying. These evil methods served to

damage his cause, and, standing out as they do in disproportionate relief in his eventful and many-sided life, have unduly compromised his character. When will an adequate biography of this really great, and in some respects misunderstood, man be attempted? Father Pollen's announcement that he intends to print the several autobiographical memoirs of Parsons preserved at Stonyhurst is a step in the right direction, and will at least be gratifying news to all students of Elizabethan church history.

T. G. LAW.

Old Virginia and her Neighbours. By JOHN FISKE. 2 vols. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1897.)

THIS book seems to me to show a decided improvement on any of Mr. Fiske's earlier work. It is marked by the same sobriety and thoughtfulness, while there is a distinct advance in research and in style. Mr. Fiske is not, and does not claim to be, a great historian. He does not impress the reader with that undefinable sense of originality, weight, and power which marks first-class historical work. But his work is nearly or quite as good as it can be while falling short of that standard. He tells his tale clearly and honestly, never becoming dull, and never sliding into exaggeration or paradox.

Virginia itself occupies the greater part of Mr. Fiske's book; the other southern colonies, Maryland and the Carolinas, are more shortly dealt with. In the early period of Virginian history Mr. Fiske is travelling over ground which has been already occupied by various marked and laborious specialists. He fully recognises the debt that he owes to Mr. Neil's monographs on early Virginian history, and even more to that invaluable mine of information, Mr. Brown's 'Genesis of the United States.' In the later part of his book Mr. Fiske is thrown more upon his own resources, and he there shows a capacity for dealing in a clear and business-like fashion with original authorities. On one point Mr. Fiske has broken away from the views of recent writers and resorted to an earlier and more picturesque tradition. The rescue of John Smith by the Indian princess Pocahontas when on the point of execution has been treated by almost every recent writer as an invention. At the same time there have been wide differences of opinion as to the amount of blame attaching to Smith for his share in the concoction of the story. Mr. Fiske takes up the attitude of an anti-iconoclast. I cannot say that he has convinced me, though I fully admit that he has weakened the position taken up by Smith's assailants. No one can say that the question is more than one of probability either way. Mr. Fiske has, I think, shown that the presumption against Smith is not as strong as recent writers have supposed. The main features of the case may be shortly stated thus: In 1608 Smith wrote a pamphlet, in which he described his captivity by the Indians and the princely treatment which he received from the native chief Powhatan. No mention is made of Pocahontas, and the story, as we have it, is quite inconsistent with the view that Smith's life was in any danger. Four years later Smith wrote another pamphlet, in which he specially refers to Pocahontas and to her friendly dealings with the English settlers, but says not one word about her great and crowning service. In 1624 Smith published his 'General History,' and here for the first

time comes the full story of his danger and escape. Mr. Fiske points out that the incident is also alluded to in a letter written by Smith to Queen Anne of Denmark in 1616. There Smith says of Pocahontas, 'She hazarded the beating out of her own brains to save mine.' Mr. Fiske candidly admits that this letter did not appear till 1624, and that 'Smith's detractors may urge that the letter is trumped up and was never sent to Queen Anne.' Mr. Fiske's answer to that supposition is, 'Why did not some enemy or hostile critic of Smith in 1624 call attention to so flagrant a fraud?' How do we know that no one did so? And if no one did, how many of Smith's readers would have known whether he had written to the queen and what his letter contained? Mr. Fiske forgets that his hero did not live in the days of magazines and critical newspapers, of minute and detailed historical controversy.

The real difficulty in accepting Smith's later and more romantic story is its inconsistency with his own earlier statement. Mr. Fiske meets this by pointing out that Smith's first narrative, the 'True Relation,' published in 1608, was tampered with by an editor in England. 'Something more was by him written, which being (as I thought) fit to be private I would not adventure to make it public.' Mr. Fiske thinks that the omitted portion might have included Smith's account of his captivity and peril, and that the editor may have hesitated to publish a story likely to deter emigrants. Mr. Fiske, as it seems to me, overlooks the fact that the account of Smith's captivity in the 'True Relation' as it stands not merely omits the story of the rescue but is absolutely irreconcilable with it. The editor must, if Mr. Fiske's theory be true, have taken out a whole piece of Smith's story and set in a substituted piece of his own, harmonising with Smith's work in substance and form. It would certainly be the most skilful piece of literary 'imping' that I have ever come upon. Mr. Fiske further argues from the fact that George Percy, one of the first party of settlers, in 1625 published a pamphlet intended to contradict it and discredit Smith's 'General History,' and that he makes no reference to the Pocahontas incident. 'If,' says Mr. Fiske, 'Smith had not told his comrades of the Pocahontas incident as soon as he had escaped from Powhatan's clutches . . . Percy could not have failed to know the fact, and would certainly have used it as a weapon.' The value of this argument is impaired, if not destroyed, by the fact that Percy's pamphlet is entitled 'A Trewe Relacyon of the Proceedings and Ocurrentes of Momente which have happened in Virginia from the Tyme Sir Thomas Gates was shipwrackte upon the Bermudas, An. 1609, untill my Departure out of the Country, which was in Anno 1612.' Smith was taken prisoner in 1608, and it seems to me that the words which I have italicised supply an ample explanation of Percy's silence.

Putting the case into forensic form, I should say that if Powhatan was tried for the attempted murder of Smith I should unhesitatingly give a verdict of not guilty; if Smith was tried for libelling Powhatan I might, with a good deal of doubt, find 'not proven.' But though I differ from Mr. Fiske's conclusion I fully admit that he has shown that the case for Smith is 'arguable,' and he has also shown by his treatment of the subject that he clearly understands the nature of historical evidence.

J. A. DOYLE.

Falklands. By the Author of the 'Life of Sir Kenelm Digby,' &c. (London: Longmans. 1897.)

THIS curiously named book contains lives of Henry Cary, 1st viscount Falkland, and of his more famous son Lucius, the second viscount, with biographies of Elizabeth, the wife of the first, and Lettice, the wife of the second. It is illustrated by admirable portraits of all four, and by views of Burford Priory and the church of Great Tew. The author confesses that his purpose in writing was chiefly to amuse himself, and that his work is rather a general review of the subject than a definitive book upon it. The result is an agreeable compilation, bringing together many interesting facts about the Cary family, but not possessing much historical value. There are some odd mistakes. Atherton Moor is described as being 'near Bedford,' possibly a misprint for Bradford (p. 169); and Harry Marten is confused with his respectable father, Sir Henry (p. 186). There are also strange omissions. The account given of the brothers and sisters of Lucius Cary is rather inadequate, and Patrick Cary deserved a longer notice (p. 92). Some account of Lucius Cary's descendants should also have been given, especially as the article in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' makes no mention of them. Lucius, third viscount, was born in 1632, educated at Christ Church, and died in 1649. He was succeeded by his brother Henry who represented the county of Oxford in Richard Cromwell's parliament, and in that called in 1661, and died in April 1663. The author attributes to the third viscount a story which Aubrey tells of the fourth (p. 186), and might have mentioned his play, 'The Marriage Night,' which is reprinted in the fifteenth volume of Mr. Hazlitt's edition of 'Dodsley's Old Plays.' In the account given of Lettice, the wife of Lucius Cary, the author (pp. 56, 101) makes too much of her austerity and devotional practices as a possible cause of friction between herself and her husband, and an obstruction to his liberal hospitalities to the wits of the period. He attributes to her married life some of the practices which her biographer expressly describes as part of the 'more strict course of life' which she took to in her widowhood. The account of her famous husband adds nothing material to the biographies given by Lady Theresa Lewis in her 'Lives of the Contemporaries of Lord Clarendon,' and to Mr. Gardiner's article in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' It is worth noting that Dr. John Earle wrote 'A Discourse in Memory of my Lord Falkland,' mentioned by Clarendon in a letter dated 16 March, 1647, which seems to be lost, but may yet, perhaps, be discovered in some library. Considering the amount of manuscript materials for the history of the seventeenth century published during the last few years, and the many collections of family correspondence calendared by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, it is surprising that so few of Falkland's letters are in existence. Two, however, appear in a recently published volume of the 'Calendar of Domestic State Papers,'¹ which also contains a couple by his mother.

C. H. FIRTH.

¹ Addenda, 1625-1649, pp. 88, 473.

Two Discourses of the Navy, 1638 and 1659. By JOHN HOLLOND. Also
A Discourse of the Navy, 1660. By SIR ROBERT SLYNGESBIE.
 Edited by J. R. TANNER, M.A. (Navy Records Society. 1896.)

THIS is a valuable contribution to that fuller knowledge of the English navy in the seventeenth century which has recently been opened up to us. As testimony all the three discourses have the advantage of being written not by mere spectators and theorists, but by officials in the naval service. Hollond, as Mr. Tanner tells us in his introduction, was first clerk, then paymaster, and finally commissioner, his naval career lasting from 1624 to 1652, when he was discharged from office, and retired to the business of a timber merchant, which would seem to have always had a share of his interests. Slingsby was a comptroller and the son of a comptroller. In the case of Hollond it was not only the *routine* of ordinary service that qualified him to be a naval critic. From the scanty materials for his biography Mr. Tanner has extracted one or two facts which have an important bearing on the value of his writings. While paymaster in 1636 Hollond was put on his defence in the course of Northumberland's inquiry into naval abuses, and was found guilty of the malpractices of pocketing large sums as commission on wages stopped for the benefit of creditors (Introd. pp. xiii-xvi); and, either as defendant or practical reformer of abuses, he seems to have been prominent during the whole of his official connexion with the navy.

His two 'Discourses,' appearing respectively in 1638 and 1659, have each a significant historical background. The first belongs to the period of naval resuscitation which followed the apathy of the reign of James I and the failures at sea during Charles I's early years. The second was written at the close of the Protectorate, when the navy had gained not only the strength which comes of good administration, but the glory which comes from success at sea. Whatever may be thought of the motives of Hollond's criticism, his object in both the 'Discourses' is eminently practical. Though the ground tone of both the 'Discourses' is royalist, Hollond wisely considers the claims of rhetoric appeased by one sonorous sentence at the outset of his 'Discourse.'

As for honour, who knows not (who knows anything) that in all records of late times and actions chronicled to the everlasting fame and renown of this kingdom, still the naval part is the thread that runs through the whole woof, the burden of the song, the scope of the text . . . that whereby our ever blessed Charles . . . hath . . . quelled foreign insolencies, regained our almost lost power and honours, silenced home-bred malcontents, but also settled his kingdoms in peace, commerce, and plenty, the common attendants of so wise and honourable a government?

Both 'Discourses' aim at, if they do not always perfectly attain to, a praiseworthy clearness; though the style, especially in the earlier 'Discourse,' is often turbid, the structure is definite and the arrangement good; and in both the main lines of argument are the same. In respect of plan the first is a kind of outline sketch of the second, though in treatment the two differ widely. In both the chief topics are four—wages, victuals, stores, and administration. In the second 'Discourse' interesting chapters are added on freight and certificates. To wages Hollond devotes 52 pages out of

103 in the first 'Discourse,' and 27 out of 209 in the second. Wages are either according to a fixed rate or the amount is regulated by discretion. The management of rated wages, Hollond maintains, is full of abuses. The ships in harbour are carelessly and unsuitably manned, and so the money of the state is wasted; in many cases wages are regularly paid in spite of non-attendance. In connexion with wages paid during service at sea Hollond inveighs against unreasonable and vexatious impressment (pp. 20-22), with its consequence, inequitable promotion (pp. 22-25). He also condemns the curious and long-lived fraud of 'dead pays,' according to which extra money was drawn in the name of fictitious persons for the behoof of others. In the nature of the case 'discretionary wages' were liable to more numerous and greater abuses. For example, the ordinary wages of the multifarious labour on the fabrics of vessels in port was computed by the master shipwrights, as the parties best able to judge of the value of the labour; the computation was made under the nominal supervision of the officers; and the amount paid in each case was supposed to be carefully 'pricked' by the clerk of the check. But the officers were careless; the work of checking was often entrusted to boys or labourers; and so there was much waste of money. The remedies Hollond proposes are, generally, firmer authority on the part of the officers, and, specifically, payment by day's wages rather than by 'the old and blind way of contracts' (p. 41), for which preference he gives many reasons. In this connexion Hollond touches on purveyance, and condemns that particular form of it embodied in 'the king's merchant,' *i.e.* the permanent contractor for supplies to the navy. In the second 'Discourse' some further abuses are noted, *e.g.* the detention of wages in order to secure service (p. 128), the vicarious reception of wages, the private trading of 'generals' and captains.

On victuals Hollond has hardly anything to say in his first 'Discourse.' In the second (pp. 153-186) he deals with the subject at length, putting forward a strong case in favour of victualling by the state rather than by private contract. Here he is able to point his moral by a reference to the recent experience of the latter method from 1650 to 1654, which was certainly, as Mr. Oppenheim has shown, attended by many abuses. On this matter Hollond is eloquent. The system of victualling by contract is condemned, he says, by many voices.

Yea, there is one thing speaks yet louder than all these, that yet cannot speak at all—I mean the blood of those hundreds, I might say thousands, of men that in behalf of their country went cheerfully, and did valiantly, and might have done so still had they not been pinched by shortness, and as good as poisoned by stench of decayed, unwholesome, and ill-cured beef, pork, beer, bread, fish, &c., insomuch that it was much disputed by men of good knowledge and judgment . . . whether the sword of the Dutch or the want and badness of provisions did most execution upon our men in the late wars (p. 157).

Where contracts are indispensable, as in the case of service abroad, they must be very carefully looked after by the state, and the contractors chosen with the utmost care. The plan of victualling during service by the officers in command comes in for severe condemnation (pp. 169-172). As regards stores, the contrast between state provision and provision by private contract emerges again. In the second 'Discourse' stores are

treated of in detail under the headings of hemp, cordage, timber, and iron, &c., a chapter being given to each. The great source of abuse, whether deficiency in quality or waste of quantity, is the system of monopoly and private contract. And the only true remedy is the purchase by the state of the best materials on the best terms in the open market, without regard to the interests of any private individual whatever. To the question of free trade in naval materials a special chapter is devoted in the second 'Discourse.' Under the admiralty commissioners the evils of monopoly are not so crying as under government by the lord high admiral. But the commissioners open too narrow a field to competition.

When they shall first design the men that shall serve the state, and then, to colour their design with a specious pretence of a free market, by competition or papers with one or two more that will rather lose the service than anger a commissioner . . . I say when things are thus, whatsoever is pretended, this is no free market (p. 282).

From details of management the reader turns with interest to what Hollond, writing in a great age of naval reconstruction, has to say about improvements in naval government in general. In the first 'Discourse' he points out the evils of over-centralisation. 'How is it possible,' he asks, 'for a principal officer living at London to act the general duty of an officer, and the particular duty of such an officer in the king's yard at Portsmouth, Deptford, Chatham, and Woolwich, at one and the same time, the service often so requiring it?' A commissioner ought to be stationed at each yard, with the powers of a principal officer there. For such appointments Hollond considers clerks the most suitable people, as being greatly superior to the only other possible candidates, shipwrights and seamen. In the second 'Discourse,' written when the admiralty was in commission, Hollond's criticisms on the government are more formidable. He had himself been a naval commissioner, and the prevalent jealousy between the navy commissioners and the admiralty is reflected in what he says. He complains of the interference of the admiralty committee with the commissioners in the discharge of the special responsibilities of the latter, and in cases where they had no knowledge to qualify them to interfere. Out of the arrogant and ignorant meddling of the admiralty came the victualling contract of 1650, to which Hollond recurs with fresh bitterness (pp. 295-299). Another gross abuse in government was the accumulation of dissimilar offices in the hands of officers; and it was an extension of the same abuse that officers were allowed to be merchants as well. As to the freighting of merchant ships, Hollond condemns the poor quality of the vessels transferred from the mercantile marine to the navy, and the length of time they were often at sea beyond that for which they were hired. What made the scandal worse was the fact that many owners of such vessels were themselves in the naval service. This was another instance of the evil effects of the absence of free trade in naval matters. On the whole it would be better to employ the ships of 'strangers,' on whose doings the state could look with wholly disinterested eyes. The system of certificates, by which good quality, whether of materials or services, was supposed to be secured, was turned, by the too ready granting of such guarantees, into a system of falsification (pp. 273-4). A much better system, one which would at least improve the value of the

certificates, would be the administration of an oath to every official, 'from a commissioner to a porter of the gates.' Such oaths, as Mr. Tanner reminds us in a note, were not unknown in practice.

Slingsby's treatise is short and slight, and has small literary merit. It describes and condemns the commission of 1618, by which 'the navy was in effect taken to farm by the merchants' (p. 335). Then the commission of 1628 receives some unfavourable comment; there were attempts at economy, which had little result. Slingsby's proposal now is that the lord high admiral (the duke of York) should frame general instructions on the model of Northumberland's in 1640. Such instructions were actually issued in 1662, and remained in force for more than a hundred years. Various abuses are afterwards dealt with.

Mr. Tanner's editorial work is very well done; he has, by careful collation of manuscripts, striven to present a correct and self-consistent text; and his introduction and notes are valuable and interesting. In an appendix he prints the testimony in support of Northumberland's charges in the inquiry of 1636, and the answers of various incriminated officials, including Hollond himself.

DAVID WATSON RANNIE.

Der Grosse Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg. Von MARTIN PHILIPPSON. I. Teil: 1640 bis 1660. (Berlin: Siegfried Cronbach. 1897.)

THE most recent production of Dr. Philippson's versatile pen is unlikely to expose him to so many angry cavils as his account of the decay of the monarchy of Frederick the Great in the nerveless hands of his successor. This time it is the foundations of the Prussian monarchy which he has essayed to trace, an undertaking by no means devoid of difficulty, but sure of the sympathies of criticism at home. Dr. Philippson, among whose shortcomings as an historian want of frankness has never found a place, makes no pretence of interpreting the political action of the great elector as having been mainly carried on from the point of view of German national patriotism. But he is successful in showing, without resort to exaggeration or paradox, that considerations of this description were not foreign to Frederick William's mind; and the conjecture seems on the whole safe that 'his German heart felt most at ease when the advantage of his own state coincided with the interests of the wider Fatherland.' At all events he was alive to the uses to which it was possible to put such remains of the national sentiment in question as lingered among the people at large. In 1658, at the critical moment of the self-willed rupture by Charles X of the peace of the north, which a few months earlier had seemed to be at last secured at Roeskilde, the elector caused a pamphlet to be put forth under the direction of Schwerin, one of the worthiest though not perhaps one of the ablest of his ministers, in the form of an appeal to an imaginary 'honest German,' likely to be filled with indignation by the thought that Rhine, Weser, Elbe, and Oder were no longer aught but the captives of foreign nations; and the opportuneness of the address was shown by its running through seven German editions, as well as being translated into French and English. We may not be very profoundly impressed by the generalisation which

Dr. Philippson seeks to establish on so early an occasion as the young elector's rejection, at the time of the Westphalian peace negotiations, of the overtures for a French alliance; but we feel bound to concede the cogency of the argument that without the strong arm and equally strong will which Frederick William was the first of the Hohenzollerns to bring to bear upon the complications of European affairs, Ducal Prussia would have become a prey to one of the contending powers—Poland or Sweden, or perhaps Russia. Not only would such a result have involved the loss to Germany of one more of the Baltic lands colonised and christianised by her efforts, but the foundations would have been removed on which the future Prussian monarchy was to rise into being and its later services to the reunion of the German nation to be rendered possible. This achievement on the part of the great elector is the more remarkable when we take into account the aversion to his rule entertained by the estates and inhabitants of the Duchy. He was unacceptable to them, not only on account of the never-ending sacrifices entailed by his wars with Poles and Swedes, but *a priori* by reason of his profession of the Calvinistic form of faith. It was an irony of fate that Frederick William should have to suffer from this prejudice, when in truth, though deeply religious in feeling, he was himself strongly opposed to all narrow confessionalism. I may take this opportunity of observing that the elector's biographer satisfactorily corrects the notion that his consort, Louisa Henrietta of Orange, was merely a 'beautiful soul' of restricted sympathies.

Dr. Philippson, who has judged well in concluding the time to have come for a modern monograph on the life and work of the great elector, while the publication of the documentary materials is still in progress, and has been completed only with regard to certain very limited aspects of the subject, hopes to bring his present work to a close in a second volume. But it is obvious that for this there remains over the most interesting, if not the most difficult, part of his theme. The first volume carries the story no further than the peace of Oliva in 1660, and the concluding summary of the elector's system of government, and of the relations to it of his own and other leading personalities, moves more or less within the same limits. This cannot be pronounced an altogether convenient arrangement, inasmuch as, both of his religious and of his colonial policy, for instance, some of the most notable developments belong to the latter part of his reign. I may observe in passing that among the leading personalities in question, Waldeck is in this volume made to suffer for the perhaps unduly exalted estimate of his statesmanship which has been elsewhere elaborated, but of which, in view of his ultimate abandonment of the Brandenburg for the Swedish service, a repetition was of course not to be looked for here. The singularly complex political activity of this cosmopolitan statesman is a subject which cannot be fitly treated in passing; but it may, perhaps, be worth while to note that, on Dr. Philippson's own showing, to him was due the idea of constituting the attainment of the sovereignty over Ducal Prussia the main purpose of Brandenburg's action in connexion with the Suedo-Polish war.

At the close of the struggle, as Dr. Philippson points out in the most

important passage of this volume (where he judiciously balances the disappointments and the compensations contained in the settlement of the peace of Oliva), Brandenburg was left isolated, and the arrogance of Sweden unchastised, though not wholly unchecked ; but the Duke of Prussia was no longer the vassal of a foreign crown, and his policy no longer needed to subserve any interests save his own. The sagacity and resolution by means of which Frederick William had achieved this preliminary result are exhibited without prolixity, but with sufficient distinctness, in the present volume. We see Frederick William in the first decade of his reign, in face of difficulties enhanced by allurements from beyond the Rhine, securing to Brandenburg, in the peace of Westphalia, conditions more favourable than he could have expected, or than seem altogether compatible with the essential weakness of his position. Yet, strangely enough, he was thoroughly dissatisfied with the result ; for his heart was set on his birthright—*i.e.* on the whole of Pomerania—and as late as January 1649, he would have given up to the Swedes Magdeburg, Halberstadt and Minden, if they would have made over to him Anterior Pomerania and its seaboard. In the vigour with which, though to no immediate purpose, he asserted himself in the Rhenish duchies, both before and after the peace of Westphalia, we recognise the same determined spirit, maintained in the face of a jealous imperial authority and an unconcealed Dutch indifference or ill-will. But the most prolonged and exacting test of Frederick William's capabilities as a politician, so far as the earlier half of his reign is concerned, is of course to be sought in his management of his affairs throughout the Polish and Danish wars stirred up by the ambition of Charles X of Sweden. Dr. Philippon's sketch of the designs, more extraordinary even than the deeds, of this great warrior king—hardly inferior in the audacity of his genius to his predecessor Gustavus, or to his successor and namesake—is clear and forcible, and attention may be directed to the illustrations which it furnishes of the connexion between these designs and the aggressive policy of the governments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell. Frederick William's policy in these wars followed the dictates of an intelligent self-interest which shrank from no tergiversation or breach of faith ; and his desertion of Sweden in the treaty of Wehlau can hardly find an excuse in the suggestion of his present biographer that he had not quite made up his mind whether to carry it out. Compared with this extraordinary instance of political 'cynicism,' his admirable diplomacy on the occasion of the imperial election of 1658 sinks into insignificance, though it succeeded in playing off France against Austria, and bringing about a capitulation entirely to the advantage of the elector's particular interests. With regard to the general character of his political dealings, we may or may not accept Dr. Philippon's candid concession that 'the standard of ordinary morality is not to be applied to his conduct ;' but he is certainly not far from the mark in observing that 'without a price Frederick William sacrificed himself for nobody.'

I have not adverted to the record of Frederick William's earlier achievements in war, to be found in this volume, as well as in Pufendorf and other earlier authorities ; but I need hardly say that Dr. Philippon makes no attempt to connect them with the modern popular development

of the Prussian military system. While he shows how thorough was the change effected by the son of the unlucky George William in the condition of the forces commanded by him as imperial 'generalissimus,' and how the Brandenburg army which mustered in 1655, and gained its first laurels in the following year in the three days' battle of Warsaw, was in truth the Prussian army in germ, he leaves his readers in no doubt as to the elements of which it was composed and the management which it required. Perhaps, however, it was after all not essentially different in composition from the soldiery which conquered and held that Silesia which already a century earlier Mazarin had dangled before the eyes of the youthful elector Frederick William. An aspect of his administrative system which seems more modern is the consideration shown by him for the lowest class of his subjects in the matter of the incidence of taxation. This was a by no means solitary instance of his superiority to the society by which he was surrounded, and with which, intelligent and resolute as he was, he had to content himself with establishing a sort of administrative compromise. The recess of the Diet of 1653 is termed by Dr. Philippon the 'Magna Carta' of the Brandenburg nobility, but a 'Magna Carta' of servitude for the rest of the population. In return, the elector secured the maintenance of a standing army and a lasting system of pecuniary contributions; and these, as his biographer says, were to become the true bases of his power and of that of his state.

A. W. WARD.

Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1671-72. Edited by F. N. BLACKBURNE DANIEL. (London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1897.)

THE papers for 1671-73 are very numerous; 'in fact,' says Mr. Daniel, 'there are as many papers in the three years 1671, 1672, and 1673 as in the eleven remaining years of the reign.' This volume covers the period December 1671 to 17 May, 1672. The three principal events of that period were the beginning of the war with the United Provinces, the indulgence to the nonconformists, and the stop of the exchequer. As the volume stops short before the battle of Southwold Bay, the attack by Sir Robert Holmes on the Dutch Smyrna fleet, before war was actually declared, is the only naval battle recorded. In May the English and French fleets joined, and their movements are narrated at length. The French men-of-war, it is observed, were well manned, but their guns were smaller and lighter than those of the English. 'They generally carry their guns low, much lower than our ships. Their ships are in proportion shorter than ours, so that their ports are thicker together. They are sharper ships than ours under water, and draw a far greater quantity of water than ours in proportion.' On 6 March, the day after orders had been issued to seize Dutch ships, secretary Williamson notes that the first debates and conferences about the indulgence took place. Nine days later the Declaration itself was passed and published. On certain conditions protestant nonconformists were allowed to meet for public worship, and three forms of licenses were accordingly issued. The first was to a teacher of a particular congregation, with a further license to teach in any other licensed place. The second was a general license to teach in any licensed place. The third was a license for a place. When the

licenses which fall within the sphere of later volumes are calendared, Mr. Daniel promises to give in the preface of one of these volumes a note on the geographical distribution of the persons and places licensed, and the numbers of each denomination. This will be a very useful contribution to the history of nonconformity in England. On the third important event of the period, the stop of the exchequer payments, these papers give very little information. Mr. Daniel thinks that the suspension in June 1671 of all payments from the treasury in Ireland may have suggested a similar suspension in England, just as the Declaration of Indulgence had been preceded in 1669 by a measure of toleration in Scotland.

Of miscellaneous papers there are a few relating to Scotland and the American colonies, and a larger number relating to Irish history. The most important event of these months in Ireland was the permission to the Roman Catholics to own lands in corporations, and the re-admission of those formerly freemen or inhabitants of corporate towns. There are in this volume a number of papers concerning university affairs; those dealing with the history of the University Press and the internal dissensions of Magdalen College deserve to be collected and published by the Oxford Historical Society. A letter mentioning Dryden, a petition on behalf of Richard Blackmore, and Bunyan's application for a license to preach, seem to be the only documents illustrating literary history.

C. H. FIRTH.

Louisbourg in 1745. The anonymous 'Lettre d'un habitant de Louisbourg.' Edited, with an English translation, by GEORGE M. WRONG, M.A. (Toronto. 1897.)

'THE present narrative,' says Professor Wrong in his preface, 'is the only unofficial account of the siege from the French standpoint that we possess.' It is the writing, clear and critical, of an eyewitness of the memorable siege and capture of Louisbourg in 1745, by the New England levies under Pepperell, aided by Imperial ships under Admiral Warren. The writer is unknown, the printer and the place of publication are also unknown, for the statement on the title-page that the pamphlet was published at Quebec by William the Sincere at the Sign of Truth is, as the editor points out, obviously misleading.

By the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the French lost Newfoundland for colonising purposes; they lost also Acadia; but they kept Cape Breton Island, which they styled Isle Royale, and Prince Edward Island, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Cape Breton was of the greatest importance to France for two reasons which can be given in the writer's own words. 'We used it only,' he says, 'to provide a place for the settlements which we were giving up (in Newfoundland),' but the second and main reason was, 'It was necessary that we should retain a position that would make us at all times masters of the entrance to the river which leads to New France.' To keep command of the St. Lawrence was indispensable to France if she was to hold Canada, and at the mouth of its estuary was the island of Cape Breton—the King's island. 'We gave it then the name Isle Royale, and the town built there was called Louisbourg.' It is matter of history what value the French attached to this stronghold, and

what sums they expended on its fortifications and batteries. No wonder that the New Englanders regarded it as a standing menace to their lives and liberties. Twice it was taken, once with English unwisdom it was given back; the second time, Wolfe had a share in its capture, which was a prelude to the taking of Quebec and the conquest of all Canada. It is with the first siege, and the first success of the English, that this pamphlet is concerned, and no better recital could be desired. The writer is unsparing in his criticisms of his countrymen; he comments on the incapacity of the French governor, the trading ventures of the officers of the king's ships to the detriment of the public service, the confusion and indecision which prevailed, and especially the want of ammunition. 'Negligence and fatuity,' he says, 'conspired to make us lose our unhappy island.' He is almost equally hard on the English, and especially on the colonists, unable to understand the principles of liberty and self-government, which gave force and life to the communities of New England. 'These singular people have a system of laws and of protection, peculiar to themselves, and their governor carries himself like a monarch;' and again, in commenting with exaggeration on the alleged want of co-operation between the colonial levies and the imperial squadron, he says, 'In fact, one could never have told that these troops belonged to the same nation, and obeyed the same prince. Only the English are capable of such oddities, which, nevertheless, form a part of that precious liberty of which they show themselves so jealous.' Of Pepperell, the New England commander, he writes, 'What could we expect from a man who, it is said, is the son of a shoemaker at Boston?'—a remark characteristic of a Frenchman of the old régime before the sons of shoemakers and the like led the armies of France to victory, in the days of the Revolution. One passage in the story mentions the presence of Swiss mercenaries in the Louisbourg garrison, who mutinied against their officers; and in another place, the author lays stress upon the affection of the Indians for the French, and their hatred for the English—a point which has been noted in many other books. The first taking of Louisbourg was mainly due to the spirit and enterprise of English colonists: that is, for English readers, the chief point of interest in the narrative. Its subsequent restoration to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was one of many blunders in the colonial history of Great Britain. The work was undone, to be afterwards done over again, and the colonists were made to feel that the sacrifices which they had made, and the successes which they had achieved, were, for the time, all in vain. It would have been better for all sides if Louisbourg, when once taken, had been permanently kept.

The pamphlet under review is well written, well edited and translated, and thoroughly satisfactory in all respects.

C. P. LUCAS.

Pickle the Spy; or, the Incognito of Prince Charles. By ANDREW LANG.
(London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1897.)

THE story here told is one of almost unredeemed squalor and pettiness. After 1746 the Stuart cause was desperate, and the characters who fill these pages were conspirators without a particle of moral or other influence to back them up. 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' had sunk into a drunken

debauchee, who added to these vices avarice and base ingratitude to those who served him best. His sole importance was as a pawn which might be used by foreign powers in their diplomatic or military struggles with England. So much was known long ago; what Mr. Lang does is to prove that the spy known as Pickle, who revealed Prince Charles's schemes and movements to the English government, was Alastair Ruadh Macdonnell, 'young Glengarry,' a jacobite of hitherto unsuspected loyalty. The squalid story of Glengarry's treachery is the main topic of this book, and with it there is interwoven fresh information on the young pretender's secret movements on the continent, his relations with Clementina Walkinshaw, and his futile plots against the house of Hanover. Perhaps naturally Mr. Lang exaggerates the importance of Pickle's part and his own discovery. 'But for him,' he writes (p. 315), 'there might have been another highland rising, and more fire and bloodshed. But for him the royal family might have perished in a nocturnal brawl.' It is far more probable that none of these things would have happened, and that the English government estimated Pickle's services at their true value when it refused to pay him anything for them. The book is, however, the outcome of considerable research, which is no small virtue in an age of manuals and series based on second or third hand information. Mr. Lang has searched, either himself or by others, the Stuart papers at Windsor, and the even more important Pelham papers which were acquired by the trustees of the British Museum some years back (Addit. MSS. 32686-33066). He has also had the advantage of consulting many valuable manuscripts in private hands. The result is that no small portion of this book embodies new information. We could have wished that Mr. Lang had been as painstaking in the arrangement and composition of his book as he has been in collecting materials, and that it had been characterised by more of Mr. Lang's habitual literary skill. As it is, the narrative and argument are often difficult to follow, and its obscurity is the chief defect of the book. The contemptuous allusions to Carlyle (pp. 195-7) might have been spared, and so might the vague reference (p. 108) to 'Brit. Mus. Additional MSS.,' considering that there are some thirty-five thousand volumes of such manuscripts. No one will grudge Mr. Lang the satisfaction of describing the young pretender first as prince of Wales and then as king, but surely it is a contradiction in terms to speak of Great Britain and Ireland as 'the elector's domains' (p. 199); if George II was only elector, Great Britain and Ireland were not his domains. Mr. Lang is correct in suggesting that Father Routh, to whom Montesquieu confessed, 'must have been connected with Colonel Routh, an Irish jacobite in French service' (p. 87). The name was originally Rothe, and the colonel was Charles Edward Rothe (1710-66), who served with distinction at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and was father-in-law of General Arthur Dillon. Both he and the jesuit father came of the same family as David Rothe, the famous bishop of Ossory. But the peer whom Mr. Lang describes (p. 287) as 'Lord Clare (comte de Thomond, of the house of Macnamara)' was Charles O'Brien, sixth viscount Clare (1699-1761), who assumed the title comte de Thomond on the death of Henry O'Brien, eighth earl of Thomond, in 1741. 'Sir James Harrison' (p. 183) should surely be 'Sir James Harrington,' and 'Alexr. Jackson' on p. 188 'Alexr. Jeanson.' The *format*

of the book leaves nothing to be desired, and the portraits of Pickle and of Prince Charles are excellent specimens of Messrs. Walker and Boutall's art.

A. F. POLLARD.

Joseph II et la liberté de l'Escaut.—La France et l'Europe.

Par F. MAGNETTE. (Brussels: Hayez. 1897.)

THE sub-title of this interesting study, though to my mind not very appropriate to the general results put forth in it, illustrates the point of view from which the author has in the main preferred to treat his subject. He has evidently not desired to enter closely into its preliminary history, or to examine very minutely the effect of the closing of the Scheldt upon the trade and prosperity of the Austrian Netherlands at large. He mentions by the way one curious project which shows how the visit of Joseph II to Antwerp in 1781 had agitated the public mind with regard to the opening of the river, and which ingeniously proposed to avail itself of the circumstance that Russia was not a guarantor of the treaty of Münster, by despatching vessels direct from Riga to Antwerp. The scheme came to nothing, like that of the English merchants mentioned in Mr. Gardiner's last volume, who, but for Oliver Cromwell, would, on the strength of a general freedom of trade clause in the Anglo-Dutch peace of April 1654, have sent cargoes direct up the Scheldt. Dr. Magnette does not think it worth while to refute the paradox which appears now and then in the course of the Josephine negotiations—that the opening of the Scheldt would prove of slight commercial benefit to Belgium at large. Absurd as the assertion was, its significance lies in the unmistakable fact that the whole question was for Austria a matter of dignity rather than of interest. It was so described by Kaunitz, who on this, as on several other occasions, had found himself obliged to follow a line of policy which he had at the outset disapproved; and it was so treated by Joseph himself, who (it must not be forgotten) was all along meditating the exchange of the very country whose chief inlet he could not bear to see closed against his flag. It is impossible to deny that the standing insult of the Münster clause was monstrous in itself, more uniquely so than even the stipulations of the Barrier Treaty, by which the master of the Austrian Netherlands was bound to the same neighbour. Whether or not Dr. Magnette is warranted in his concluding argument, that a different course of procedure might have resulted in the attainment by the emperor of his purpose—at least, so far as the satisfaction of his honour was concerned—it is certain that his fatal haste never revenged itself upon him so swiftly and so completely. The story, which a short time ago was again succinctly told by Dr. J. F. Bright, is worth reading once more in Dr. Magnette's ample and lucid exposition, enriched as it is by many new documentary references.

The special purpose of this essay is, however, to delineate the relation towards the sudden action of Joseph, and towards his almost equally speedy collapse, of the other great powers, and of France in particular, to whom that collapse was primarily due. Possibly a little more than justice is done to the effect of the action of France by the method of this essay, which considers the policy of the several powers *seriatim*; there can, however, be no doubt but that, of the emperor's many miscalculations,

his mistaken expectation of the support of Lewis XVI was the most serious. Kaunitz, the real author of the Austro-French alliance, foresaw that in this matter the contingent advantages which would result to France from the opening of the Scheldt would disappear before the determination to remain on good terms with the Dutch, instead of throwing them into the arms of Great Britain. Yet such was the self-delusion of the emperor—for which neither his sister nor any one else but he can be held responsible—that he actually devised the plan of inducing the French government to present his *ultimatum* to the United Provinces as a demand proceeding from itself. And when this request had been declined, and his *ultimatum* to the Dutch had been followed by the open defiance of 8 Oct. 1784 (the *Guerre de la Marmite*), and by threats of an immediate Austrian invasion of the Provinces, it required a declaration of singular distinctness to open the emperor's eyes. Then, however, they were opened completely. The question of the Scheldt as such had suddenly come to an end, and he fell back upon the other grievances rehearsed in the *Tableau* originally presented to the States. The treaty of Fontainebleau, which barely saved Joseph's honour, measured the extent of the support of France, without whose friendly pressure the States-General might have stood out against its insignificant concessions in the matter of the navigation of the Scheldt *at a distance from the sea*, as they had against the original amount of the money compensation for the claim on Maestricht.

The chapters in this essay on the policy of Great Britain and Prussia are of secondary, but by no means vanishing, interest. Both powers, from reasons of their own, preserved a neutrality, seasoned in the former case by an element of benevolence towards the United Provinces, in the latter by one of vigilant distrust of the emperor. His expectations could not have run strongly in the direction of either; but he must have been sorely disappointed by the caution—for inaction it cannot be properly called—of his Russian ally. Catharine II's representatives to the States-General arrived when all was over. The isolation of Joseph II had thus been practically complete, and there was not a link wanting in the chain of his miscalculations. For a quarrel just in its foundations, and in its issues apparently advantageous to everyone but his adversary, he had chosen his time and methods with unexampled infelicity; and he might count himself fortunate if the power which had settled the terms of his retreat—for such it was in everything except form—should favour the wider scheme by whose success he still hoped to cover his humiliating failure.

A. W. WARD.

Procès-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale. Publiés et annotés par M. J. GUILLAUME. Tome III. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1897.)

THE third volume of the minutes of the committee of public instruction, published by the French government, will be gratefully welcomed by students of the revolution. It contains the proceedings of the committee between 23 November 1793 and 19 March 1794, amply illustrated by explanatory notes, documents, and extracts from the debates of the convention. There were scenes of comedy, even of farce, as well as of tragedy, in the drama of the revolution, and the comic aspect prevails in the volume

before us. Here we find a vivid picture of the inane sentimentalities, the preposterous affectations, the ignorant pedantry, the futile verbosity of a time when folly was epidemic, and imbecility the outward sign of political orthodoxy. It was the mark of a patriot to be as rude and s'ovenly in mind as in manners and person, and never before did men cast such shame on themselves by the indescribable folly of their utterances. The functions of the committee of public instruction, besides their primary duty of devising a system of national education, included the organisation of the public museums, libraries and galleries, the regulation of the republican calendar, of weights and measures, and of public festivals and holidays, the censorship and correction of educational manuals, and the compilation of that record of the heroic deeds of the founders of the republic which was to be read in the schools as a primer of democratic virtue. The empty schemes of every idiot, from cures for ringworm to methods for ensuring the permanent extirpation of the last relics of fanaticism and superstition, were therefore submitted for the approbation of the committee. The members received rhymed versions of the declaration of rights, absurd and ungrammatical rhapsodies—Rousseau travestied in the jargon of the day, with a gravity which would have been impossible had not the countrymen of Molière and Rabelais lost all sense of the ridiculous. The fooling is often admirable, and would be altogether delightful, because so unconscious, were it not for the lurid background of the stage on which it was enacted. We cannot forget the charnel pits of Lyons, what hideous burden the Loire was rolling to the sea, the tumbrils clattering with their load of victims through adjacent streets.

Even the most foolish fanatics, when brought face to face with practical problems, must recognise the necessity of setting some bounds to their folly, and not all the members of the committee of public instruction were like Anacharsis Clootz, both foolish and fanatical. Some were experts in the matters with which they had to deal. David appeared to be, and perhaps was, a rabid Jacobin, but he certainly was a conscientious artist. The men to whom at his persuasion the committee entrusted the care of the public galleries were the most competent who could be found; among them were Fragonard, perhaps the best French painter living, and Picault, a man in great répute as a skilful restorer of damaged works of art (p. 188). David speaks with just indignation of the irreparable mischief already done by ignorant and reckless restoration.

You could not [he says, p. 276] bear to look at that famous picture by Raphael, which a barbarous and clumsy hand has not feared to profane. It has lost, by being completely painted over, the sublime colouring that distinguished it from other paintings, not only of the same school, but of the same master. The 'Antiope' is irrerecognisable, the glaze, the half-tones, all that is peculiar to Correggio, and in which he excels the greatest artists, is gone. The 'Virgin' of Guido has been not cleaned but scrubbed. . . . The 'Port of Messina,' that masterpiece of harmony, where the sun of Claude Lorraine dazzled our eyes, is reduced to a dull brick colour, and all the magical charm characteristic of the painter has disappeared. . . . These barbarians have thought even Vernet old enough to spoil.

And so on with excellent sense and feeling. Yet this report of David's begins and ends with the usual nonsensical cant. As in the convention itself, so in the committees, the most reasonable proposal could only win acceptance by the folly of the language in which it was clothed, and the extravagance of the arguments by which it was supported. Grégoire, an honest man and a courageous, as he showed by wearing his clerical dress when to be suspected of 'fanaticism' was a capital crime, protested against the flood of pamphlets (p. 260), 'the infamous coarseness of whose style is only rivalled by that of their sentiments,' and against 'the fashion of filthy talk even in the mouths of women,' declaring that such degradation of language, of taste and morals, 'was counter-revolutionary, since it discredited the republic;' yet while he lamented the prevalent 'vandalism' (a word he first coined), he felt obliged to allow that the convention did well to obliterate the 'fine verses' inscribed over the gate of the arsenal 'because they were defiled with mythology, and henceforth poetry ought to rest satisfied with the riches of nature,' and above all 'because they were disgraced by flattery of the tyrant Henry IV.'

The account of education, primary and secondary, under the old monarchy, given by M. Taine in his well-known book, is too favourable and inconsistent with what he says elsewhere of the absolute ignorance of the peasantry and the miserable teaching of the colleges.¹ But whether efficient or not the old system had been entirely swept away by the revolution. What was to take its place? This was the question that the committee of public instruction was expected to answer, and to answer in a way harmonising with the gospel of J. J. Rousseau and the glosses of his followers. The master had laid down that education must be public and common to all: that it must change men's nature and substitute love of the community for love of self. 'You have,' said Chénier, 'given the people laws; you must now give them manners. You must apply to the whole nation the education devised by Rousseau for his "Émile."' All Frenchmen, Robespierre insisted, must have the same public education. The training of the young must not be trusted to the pride, the folly and the prejudices of individuals. 'No private teaching,' cried Danton; 'children must be nurtured with the milk of democracy in the common schools.' The educational system must be one and indivisible like the republic.

But if the same education must be given to all, since the resources and capacity of the state would at the best suffice to bestow the first rudiments of knowledge on all its children, it would seem to follow that there must be no secondary education whatever, either public or private; otherwise the uniformity would be marred, an aristocracy of culture and knowledge would be created. Yet few even of the most extreme democrats had, like Saint-Just, the courage and consistency to wish that all art, science, and literature should be banished from the state. If then a privileged minority was to receive more elaborate education, should this training be given by the state or left to private initiative? If the former course were chosen, if, as Condorcet had proposed and even Robespierre seemed to wish, a complete and centralised scheme were adopted, like that which

¹ Cf. *Régime Moderne*, ii. 213, and *Ancien Régime*, pp. 425, 489.

Napoleon was to realise, it was objected that such an organised teaching body would constitute 'a hierarchy more dangerous than that recently overthrown by the reason of the nation.' If, on the other hand, the matter were left to individual enterprise, what security was there that purity of principles, and love of equality, the republican virtue which was the basis of the state, would not be sacrificed? This dilemma perplexed the committee. The practical difficulties, which were really more insuperable, were met with careless optimism. However modest the educational course, even if it was confined, as the committee proposed (p. 58), to reading, writing and arithmetic, to the study of the rights of man in verse or prose, and of manuals of republican heroism, it would be found difficult to secure 80,000 competent teachers. The remuneration offered—1,000 to 2,400 livres, paid in assignats, daily more worthless—would hardly attract any but those who had failed in other crafts, while those who had previously been employed in teaching were certain to be rejected as tainted with reaction or superstition. Yet comfort was found in the conviction that patriotism, rather than any vain science, was the chief qualification of an instructor of youth, and that the all-important principles of the true 'philosophy' which now illuminated France were self-evident axioms, certain to win acceptance, however rude the pædagogic art by which they were impressed on the rising generation.

The scheme contained in this volume (p. 57, cf. p. 416), which the committee finally laid before the convention, although inconsistent and impracticable, and shirking the solution of every difficulty, was framed with some skill to avoid offence to the prejudices of the legislature. Any one might open a school if supplied with a certificate of *civisme*, signed by half the members of their district or of the council of their commune, and by two members of the vigilance committee of their section or place of abode. All classes must at all times be open to the public, and all schools be subject to the inspection of all parents, guardians, municipal authorities, and citizens generally. The teachers of primary schools were to be paid by the state proportionately to the number of their pupils. As for secondary education, what teaching could be more profitable than frequent attendance at the meetings of popular societies, civic games, military manœuvres, local and national festivals? and this was a culture not exclusive and aristocratic, but within the reach of all. Moreover, the museums, libraries and galleries of the state would be open to every citizen. Teachers would be provided of those arts and sciences which are necessary to society, such as medicine, engineering military and civil, astronomy and navigation; and rewards, for which all citizens might compete, bestowed for exceptional proficiency in other pursuits. The principle of equal opportunity to all members of society would be thus maintained. A member of the committee, Michel Edme Petit, vainly demonstrated to the convention the futility of this scheme: not the least cogent of his objections was that it would leave two-thirds of the villages of France without schools of any kind. To this it was replied that the founders of liberty did not need the assistance of a teacher to communicate to their children the sacred enthusiasm with which they were inspired. A sound-
ing platitude was as good as an argument at a time when the tyrannical

predominance which words are apt to exercise over things in the minds of Frenchmen was truly marvellous.

This volume abundantly explains the failure of the convention to provide a system of public education, and also how it came that, although they were not without good intentions, the committee of public instruction accomplished but little in the minor departments of their activity. Something no doubt was done to preserve the museums and collections which had belonged to the crown, and to check the total dispersion or the destruction of the works of art and libraries of religious houses, churches, and *ci-devant* nobles. But the tyrannous energy of the rulers of the state was directed to other ends, and the ignorance and rapacity of their agents, the disobedience of local bodies and the violence of the mob, too often defeated the good intentions of the committee.

It would be ungrateful not to acknowledge the reader's obligations to M. Guillaume, the editor of this publication. In the introduction to the present volume he explains the methods, composition, and subdivision of the committee, and summarises, perhaps somewhat partially, the results of their labours. In the appendices he finds room for a most amusing 'Discourse on Education,' composed by Thérésia Cabarrus, *ci-devant* countess of Fontenay and future M^{de} Tallien, which was read at the national feast by which the patriots of Bordeaux celebrated the capture of Toulon. She is all for an education Spartan in austerity and in republican simplicity, yet full of tender consideration for the sweet sensibilities of youth. *Sybarites étrangers, que votre mollesse fatale ne reparaisse plus dans l'enceinte régénérée de ma patrie ; que des vêtements simples et modestes habituent la jeunesse à fuir le luxe comme l'ennemi des mœurs et de la dignité républicaine.* This is delightful from the lady who was soon, in Coan dress with sandals on her feet and rings on her toes, to set the fashion to the *merveilleuses* of the directory. P. F. WILLERT.

The Trial of Lord Cochrane before Lord Ellenborough. By J. B. ATLAY ; with a preface by E. D. LAW. (London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 1897.)

AT the beginning of the year 1814, Lord Cochrane was one of the most conspicuous figures in London society. His naval exploits were known to all his countrymen ; he sat in the house of commons as radical member for Westminster ; and he was associated with his uncle Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, and with a certain Mr. Butt, in large speculations on the Stock Exchange. On Saturday, February 19, the accounts of these three gentlemen were in a very critical state. If the public funds fell three-eighths, they were ruined ; on the other hand, a rise of one or more would enable them to clear out at a profit.

At one on the morning of Monday the 21st, a gentleman, dressed in a grey overcoat and a red uniform, knocked at the door of the Ship inn at Dover. He asked for pen and ink, and despatched a letter to the port admiral at Deal, informing him that Bonaparte was dead, that the allies were in Paris, and that peace was certain. The letter was signed 'R. du Bourg, lieut.-colonel and aide-de-camp to Lord Cathcart.' Having despatched this missive, the gentleman set out for London in a post-chaise. He spoke of the great news to several persons in the course of his journey ; at an early hour it was reported in the city that Bonaparte

was dead; stocks rose, and the brokers who represented Lord Cochrane and his associates sold out at a considerable profit. Du Bourg himself did not appear in the city; on arriving in London he entered a hackney coach and was driven to Lord Cochrane's house in Green Street. Lord Cochrane was out, but on receiving a note from du Bourg he went home at once, and conversed with his visitor for some time. The military gentleman put off his uniform; Lord Cochrane lent him a black coat and a hat, and he left Green Street in civilian attire.

Du Bourg was in fact de Berenger, a debtor residing within the rules of the King's Bench, known to and employed by Lord Cochrane and his uncle. When the Stock Exchange took steps to prosecute the authors of the fraud, de Berenger left London. He was arrested at Leith, and the bank notes in his desk were traced to the possession of Lord Cochrane and his friends.

Besides the main plot of which de Berenger was the agent, there was also a subsidiary plot, designed to subserve the same purpose. About noon on that critical 21st of February, a carriage came over London Bridge and passed through the city. The horses were decorated with laurels, and in the carriage were three persons, dressed as French officers, who distributed little bills inscribed *Vive le Roi! Vivent les Bourbons!* The stocks, which had already begun to fall, at once took an upward turn.

On April 27 an indictment for conspiracy was preferred at the Old Bailey against de Berenger, Lord Cochrane, Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, Mr. Butt, and the four persons engaged in the subsidiary plot. All the defendants were found guilty, and sentenced accordingly. Lord Cochrane was sentenced to pay a fine of 1,000*l.*, to be imprisoned for twelve months, and to stand in the pillory. Lord Cochrane was spared the disgrace of the pillory; his fine was paid by subscription. He employed the first few months of his imprisonment in the composition of a letter to the lord chief justice, and to the end of his long life he continued to protest against his conviction and sentence. His protest has not been without effect; we are safe in saying that the majority of those who have read the story of his trial have retained the impression that Lord Cochrane had no guilty knowledge of the plot in which he was implicated, and that Lord Ellenborough was unfairly biassed against him. The object of the volume now before us is to prove that this popular belief is unfounded. Mr. Edward Law has brought together all the materials for a vindication of his grandfather, the chief justice, and Mr. Atlay has woven the materials into a connected argument.

So far as Lord Ellenborough is concerned, the argument is, happily, conclusive. The summing up, here given in full, shows clearly enough that the judge thought the defendants guilty, and did his best to get them all convicted; but the points he made were perfectly fair, and they were put to the jury without malice or bitterness. The suggestion of political prejudice appears to be wholly unfounded; it is very improbable that Lord Ellenborough would go out of his way to oblige the government of the day by securing the conviction of a radical member of parliament.

The question, whether Lord Cochrane was guilty or not guilty, is less easy to answer. Brougham, who was one of the counsel for the defence, gave some support to the theory that his distinguished client was in-

volved in a conspiracy of which he had no guilty knowledge; but Mr. Atlay makes out a strong case for upholding the verdict of the jury. We all know that innocent men sometimes damage themselves by reckless attempts to discredit the prosecution; but the misrepresentations here brought home to Lord Cochrane are so serious as to make the hypothesis of his innocence almost untenable. If there is still a defence to be made for him, we may hope that some competent advocate will be found to enter the lists with Mr. Atlay; in the meantime we acquiesce reluctantly in the opinion that in this case justice was not mistaken.

T. RALEIGH.

Ein Dezennium preussischer Orientpolitik zur Zeit des Zaren Nikolaus (1821–1830); Beiträge zur Geschichte der auswärtigen Beziehungen Preussens unter dem Ministerium des Grafen Christian Günther von Bernstorff. Von KARL RINGHOFFER. (Berlin: Friedrich Luckhardt. 1897.)

DR. RINGHOFFER justly claims for his exhaustive study of Prussian foreign policy, during the eastern crisis of the twenties, the merit of 'actuality.' The late war between Greece and Turkey, and the diplomatic action which immediately preceded and followed it, have undoubtedly invested his narrative with a political as well as historical interest. But we cannot agree with him that the policy of Count von Bernstorff during the Greek war of independence and the Russo-Turkish war of 1828–29 was 'the pattern' of Germany's eastern policy in our own time, or that Frederick William III's foreign secretary was guided by 'the same spirit as Prince Bismarck and his successors in office down to the present hour.' For it is generally admitted that Prince Bismarck's part of 'the honest broker,' at the Berlin congress, which more nearly approached to the position of Count von Bernstorff on his very much smaller stage, is totally distinct from the line adopted by William II during the late crisis in the East.

The author, who is an Austrian by birth, but a devoted Prussian by sentiment, aims at controverting 'the old prejudice, that the Prussian state lacked during the second decade of this century a powerful initiative in the conduct of foreign affairs,' and that it took its external policy now from Metternich and now from the tsar. The Austrian statesman was, through all those years, the consistent supporter of the established order in the East, while Alexander I, towards the close of his reign, and Nicholas I were disposed to intervene on behalf of the Greeks. Prussia, whose influence at that period in the councils of Europe the author patriotically exaggerates, had vague sympathies with the Greek cause, and both her king and his foreign minister, to a certain extent, shared these phil-Hellenic feelings of the people. But, as the Prussian government showed when it declined to accept the French and Russian invitations for joint action in 1827, neither its material interests in the East were sufficient to necessitate, nor its material resources at home sufficient to render effective, any armed intervention. Even in 1897 the German empire sent only one man-of-war to Crete; in 1827 Prussia would have had difficulty in raising a single ship. The time at which the Prussian foreign office was most active was on the eve of the peace of

Adrianople, when, as the least biased of advisers, it really played much the same rôle as that of the German chancellor at the Berlin congress half a century later. But if Prussia was a less important factor in the eastern crisis of the twenties than the author would have us believe, no one can deny that her position between Russia and Austria, her old comrades of the Holy Alliance, was very difficult, and that Count von Bernstorff, though no Bismarck, merits more recognition for his skill than he either claimed for himself or has received from his critics.

Dr. Ringhoffer deserves praise for what has been, as he says, 'a labour of years.' His book is an interesting, if rather dull, contribution to the literature of the Eastern question, and his collection of documents will be found useful by historians. The book contains rather a formidable list of errata, and in its perusal we have found several more, such as the transposition of *ersten* and *letzten* in the first lines of the preface, and *fremdem* for *fremden* on p. 4. The place mentioned on p. 174 should be Kustendji.

W. MILLER.

The War of Greek Independence : 1821-1833. By W. ALISON PHILLIPS, M.A. (London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 1897.)

A CAREFUL examination of both the facts and the opinions expressed in Mr. Phillips's pages leads one to the conclusion that the author has not exposed himself to the charge of partisanship. Above all else, his book is characterised by common sense, and he knows too much of human nature to suppose that all ancient Greeks were heroes and sages, and that all modern Greeks were cutthroats and savages. He makes due allowance also for the obvious fact, which some critics overlook, that Christian races for centuries under the rule of the Turk cannot be blamed for sharing on their emancipation some of the vices of slaves. The difference between the Montenegrins, who have never bowed the neck to the Turk, and their fellow Serbs of Servia sufficiently illustrates this point. It is interesting to observe that Mr. Phillips inclines, against Fallmerayer, to the belief in the continuity of the Greek race. It has always seemed incredible to me that any one who has observed the modern Athenians, both physically and mentally, could doubt their right to be regarded as the descendants of the average Athenians, whom Aristophanes satirised and Thucydides and St. Paul described, due allowance being made for the vicissitudes of the people during the centuries that have elapsed since those days. And Mr. Stillman, who has had more practical experience of the modern Greeks than almost any contemporary writer, has pointed out in an essay that the Homeric Odysseus 'of many wiles' is a common type among the islanders of our own time. Mr. Phillips bases his narrative on such recognised authorities as Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Prokesch-Osten, Gordon, and Finlay (but why not on Mr. Tozer's edition of the last historian?) A much less trustworthy guide is M. Lemaitre, whose book is avowedly an attempt to blacken the oriental Christians, and, in Mr. Phillips's own words, 'can only sometimes be taken seriously.' It is only fair to add that the author uses it with considerable reserve. Following these lines, he rapidly describes the principal events of the war down to the arrival of King Otho in Greece, giving character sketches of important persons, such as Miaoulis, whose disinterestedness he justly praises; Kolettis, whom he regards as a combination of eastern cunning and

western statesmanship; Alexander Mavrocordatos, with 'his spectacles and his plump little figure;' Odysseus, 'Homeric in his personality as in his name;' and Capodistrias, whose failure he attributes, like that of Metternich, to lack of sentiment. In his account of the diplomatic negotiations he brings out very clearly the great central fact of Russian policy in the Near East, viz. the reluctance of the Tsars 'to see any really powerful state established on the ruins of the Ottoman empire.' Similarly one cannot help agreeing that the true policy for Great Britain after Navarino would have been to follow up the blow. Moreover, had Palmerston's unofficial scheme for including Crete with Greece been carried out, the late war might have been avoided. But the mistakes of diplomacy in the Eastern question, as shown in the Danubian principalities, in the attempted separation of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, and in Greece, have not only caused many difficulties, but have, so far as Great Britain is concerned, retarded the formation of strong Balkan states, which, as history shows, would be more independent of Russian influence the stronger they were. Some of these valuable lessons may be learned from this book, the conclusion of which is that, even after the late war, 'the future of the East lies not with the Turks' but with the Christians of the Balkan peninsula.

W. MILLER.

Essai d'une Notice Bibliographique sur la Question d'Orient. Orient Européen, 1821-97. Par GEORGES BENGESCO, ministre plénipotentiaire de Roumanie à Bruxelles. (Bruxelles: Lacomblez. 1897.)

M. GEORGES BENGESCO, who is well known for his work on the bibliography of Voltaire and on the history of Roumania, has furnished in the volume before us a valuable guide for students of the Eastern question from the first Greek insurrection of 1821 to the present day. He restricts himself as a rule to books published in France and Belgium; but within these limits he traverses a field of wide interest—the liberation of Greece, the question of the Danubian principalities, the Crimean war, the treaty of Paris, the affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Serbo-Turkish war, quickly succeeded by the Russo-Roumano-Turkish war of 1877-78, the treaty of Berlin, the constitution of the Bulgarian principality, the proposed autonomy of Crete. M. Bengesco has left out of view the African and Asiatic sides of the Eastern question, except that he includes, first, the rivalry of Mahmud and Mehemet Ali, with the numerous discussions raised in the law courts and in the press by the quadruple alliance; and secondly, the affairs of Armenia, which have so painfully excited the civilised world in recent years. The book contains also notices of some literature concerning Poland, the question of nationalities in Hungary, Pan-slavism, and the Franco-Russian alliance. The titles are arranged chronologically, and there is an excellent index of names.

EUGÈNE HUBERT.

Cambridge described and illustrated: being a Short History of the Town and University. By THOMAS DINHAM ATKINSON; with an Introduction by JOHN WILLIS CLARK, M.A., F.S.A., Registrar of the University. (London: Macmillan & Co. Cambridge: Macmillan & Bowes. 1897.)

THIS handsome and attractive volume will be gladly welcomed by visitors to Cambridge who desire to have ready to hand a well-condensed authori-

tative guide to the buildings most worth seeing in the town or the university. It is in fact a handbook in the form of that kind of literature which is usually found on the drawing-room table, while whatever of the historic element it contains relates quite as much to the town and county as to the university. Mr. Atkinson, indeed, frankly admits in his preface that his work is 'not the result of any great amount of original research,' and that his 'account of the university is taken, by the kind permission of Mr. J. W. Clark, from Messrs. Willis and Clark's *Architectural History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge*.' While in a footnote to the chapter entitled 'The University,' he again says: 'Almost the whole of this chapter is taken, nearly word for word, from the Introduction to Willis and Clark' (p. 242).

Thus distinctly forewarned, the reader will not be disappointed to find that out of the 501 pages which make up the text of the entire volume no fewer than 237 are appropriated to the town, although he may find it somewhat less easy to understand how it comes about that while Mr. Clark, in his introduction, insists, with perfect justice, on the 'fact which is so often forgotten, that the history of the university and the history of the town are really inseparable from each other' (p. xxiii), Mr. Atkinson, in his actual treatment, keeps them altogether distinct. To some, indeed, it may perhaps appear that, in his anxiety to do full justice to the town, he has occasionally done so at the expense of the university. It is not quite what a Cambridge student would look for, to find that in the brief account of the latter we have nothing whatever about the hospital of St. John the Evangelist, although, as the late professor Babington observes in his account of that ancient institution, the college 'is as completely a continuation of the much older community . . . as are our present municipal corporations of those which existed in the Middle Ages' (Introd. p. i). The hospital was, in fact, affiliated to the university long before St. John's College was founded, but it is only in connexion with the town that we here learn anything of its history. So, again, the Perse Grammar School, founded by a fellow of Caius College and having its place in the 'University Calendar,' is relegated to the same division, and along with it the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, to which originally none but members of the university were admitted; while, most remarkable of all, we find under the same head a long account of the fate of John Hullier, a scholar and conduct of King's College, who was burnt to death on Jesus Green as a heretic in the reign of queen Mary. This barbarous sentence was carried out under the auspices of the university authorities, and Mr. Atkinson can hardly have been misled by the fact that poor Hullier was handed over to the mayor, as representing the secular power, to be dealt with. Perhaps, however, the author, who, although not a member of the university, has, I feel assured, its reputation much at heart, was anxious to relieve it of the odium attaching to this repulsive example of a bygone fanaticism. But, in so brief an outline, it might have been well, along with Fuller, to pass over the event with briefest notice, or at least to quote what that writer records to the 'deserved praise' of Dr. Perne (the kindly hearted master of Peterhouse), 'that he quenched the fire of persecution (or rather suffered it not to be kindled) in Cambridge, saving many from the stake by his moderation' ('Hist. of Univ. of Cambridge,' p. 251). Most readers

would certainly have preferred to the gruesome details here reproduced from Fox's martyrology to find something, for example, about Hobson the carrier and Milton's epitaph upon him. But although Hobson's house is referred to, we hear nothing about the man himself or his mode of conducting business.

The chief interest of the volume—apart from Mr. Clark's very able preface—lies in the illustrations and the text elucidatory of them; and if the plates by John le Keux are already familiar to all students of Cambridge history, being now half a century old, they are nevertheless admirable of their kind, and seem, in a measure, to harmonise with that air of antiquity which still pervades the greater part of our university buildings and a portion of those of the town. Fuller, in his masterly sketch, distinguishes between 'the Ἀκαδημία ἔμψυχος, the living, consisting of students,' and 'the ἄψυχος, the dead university, as composed of lands, libraries, and buildings.' As regards the past studies of the university, Mr. Clark plainly tells the reader he must look elsewhere; as for the books which were studied, there is nothing save a brief notice of the buildings devoted to their reception; as for the minds fashioned under the manifold influences of a university, we miss, it is true, the long lists so laboriously collected by Cooper for his 'Memorials,' but on the other hand we have to thank Mr. Atkinson for the excellent lists of portraits appended to the account of each college, which he has been at much pains to collect, greatly to the enrichment of his volume.

J. BASS MULLINGER.

A History of Pembroke College, Oxford, anciently Broadgates Hall. By DOUGLAS MACLEANE, M.A., sometime Fellow, Rector of Codford St. Peter. (Oxford Historical Society.) (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1897.)

MR. MACLEANE remarks, with some satisfaction, in his preface that he has been able to do in a single volume for Pembroke what could hardly have been done for one of the older and greater foundations. Yet the number of important names that can be attributed to this college turns out to be so large that one doubts if the historian's task was exceptionally easy. Certainly Mr. Maclean's work as an *Athenae Lateportenses et Pembrochiana* leaves nothing to be desired; and it is perhaps no fault of his if it is not very easy to pick out a continuous narrative of the history of the college from the masses of biography with which it is overlaid.

There seems to be no reason for Mr. Maclean's statement (p. 31) that the halls were, 'unlike the colleges . . . distinctly teaching institutions.' Indeed, he virtually contradicts the assertion in the next sentence. But he shows that Broadgates (together with some neighbouring halls, which it afterwards absorbed) was closely connected with an ancient law school, which had its seat in a chamber over the south aisle (Ducklington's chantry) of St. Aldate's church. The law school afterwards served as a library, and the aisle as a chapel for Pembroke College, until after Johnson's undergraduate days. The hall continued a resort of students of 'the Imperial laws' long enough to give a legal training to some of the principal personages of the Reformation period, including Bishop Bonner himself, and the much-hated Dr. Story. Under Elizabeth the study of the civil law almost died out, and the jurists were succeeded by men of

letters, of whom Broadgates can boast such distinguished alumni as George Peele and Francis Beaumont.

The story of the foundation of the college is interesting. The bald narrative of the University Calendar suggests that King James issued at once a charter for the new foundation, and a command to Thomas Tesdale and Richard Wightwick to pay for it. But Mr. Maclean shows how the king's claim to be the founder of the college may very probably be vindicated. Tesdale's endowment was already in existence, and his friend Wightwick's addition to it in preparation; but both benefactions were intended for Balliol, and that college had not only accepted Tesdale's gift, but had prepared for an increase in its numbers by the purchase of 'Caesar's buildings.' Tesdale and Wightwick were both of Balliol; Archbishop Abbott, the principal trustee of the new endowment, had been master there; and the governors of Roysse's school, at Abingdon, with which the new foundation was closely connected, could alone scarcely have procured what they seem to have wanted—a college to themselves—if the king had not seen and seized the opportunity for adding his name (cheaply, it is true) to the list of Oxford founders. The least deserving person connected with the foundation seems to be the *hero eponymus* of the college, the earl of Pembroke, and one rather grudges that his portrait, rather than Tesdale's, should adorn Mr. Maclean's title-page.

Though the most distinguished alumni of Pembroke—Johnson, Shennstone, Blackstone—came from elsewhere, the close connexion with Abingdon was justified by the good average of the scholars whom the school furnished to the college for some 150 years. Then came the decay of the school, and the discontent of the college with the close system. To the original foundation had been added, with others, Charles I's Channel Island benefaction, and the Townsend foundation, restricted to certain schools in Gloucestershire, which, together with the Gloucester canonry attached by Queen Anne to the mastership, had set up a rather close connexion with that county, to which the college owes George Whitefield, the late dean of Canterbury, and the present master. At last came the mastership of Dr. Jeune, who had the satisfaction of seeing most of these restrictions removed, though not altogether in the way he desired; but he had his way, one cannot but regret, in parting with the advowson of St. Aldate's. What, by the way, does Mr. Maclean mean by telling us that in this transaction 'he was influenced partly by dislike of the ringing of the bell at seven o'clock, his dinner hour'? (p. 467). This requires explanation, and so does Mr. Maclean's use of the word 'clerisy,' which seems to be used in one sense on p. 69 and in another on p. 451. In any case it would be better not to use such a word at all. But there is little indeed to find fault with in Mr. Maclean's book. Only there are many more errata than are set right on p. xvi. Most of them are easily corrected by the reader, but 'Turks' for 'Greeks' (p. 69), 'bench' for 'wench' (p. 107), 'solemn' for 'solid' (p. 135), 'post-Reformation' for 'post-Restoration' (p. 285), 'St. Helen's' for 'St. Helier's' (p. 388), 'Harnett' (abp.) for 'Harsnett' (p. 476), are mistakes of a rather irritating character; it is doubtless also by a mere slip that St. Peter-in-the-East is mentioned instead of St. Mildred as the ancient parish church of Exeter College (p. 25).

S. G. HAMILTON.

L'Ancienne Genève : l'Art et les Monuments. Par J. MAYOR. I. II.
(Genève : C. Eggimann et C^{ie}. 1897.)

THESE numbers begin a series of photographic plates illustrative of old Geneva and its archæological curiosities, of which unfortunately there are very few at the present day, and M. Mayor thinks that, owing to its continual sieges and exposed position, the town can never have been remarkable for architecture. In other countries, however, insecurity did not discourage fine building; and, though Geneva was much coveted, on account of its bridge over the Rhone, the old plans reproduced in this collection bear witness to the strength of its fortifications. On three sides the town was protected by the lake, the Rhone, and the Arve, while the hill on which the cathedral is built strengthened the defences on the fourth side. Perhaps more has been destroyed than M. Mayor is ready to admit. At any rate the old streets are threatened with destruction in the future, and it is well that this work has been undertaken. Its success will depend on the finish and accuracy of the plates, and so far they have been very well done. The first plates are reproductions of old views and plans of the town, and the most elaborate of these, that dated 1655, gives a very clear view of the fortifications both by land and lake. The defences of the harbour occupy approximately the line now followed by the Pont du Mont Blanc. Not much attention is paid to the surrounding scenery in these old views, though what is probably intended for the 'Voiron' is very prominent in one of them, and none have been taken from the right bank of the Rhone; thus we have not the opportunity of seeing an early example of that distant view of Mont Blanc so familiar in photographs of to-day. The editor has given in the introduction an interesting sketch of the topography of Geneva in early times. F. URQUHART.

Catalogue of the Collection of Arabic Coins preserved in the Khedivial Library at Cairo. By STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M.A. (London : Bernard Quaritch. 1897.)

THE collection of coins preserved in the Khedivial library is, in the main, that brought together by the late Rogers Bey during the many years that he lived at Cairo in the service of the Khedive Isma'il. For the issues of the various Egyptian and other north African dynasties, it stands unrivalled, and the present work by the author of the many catalogues of oriental coins in the British Museum at length places its treasures within the reach of scholars. Mr. Lane-Poole has here been rather more generous in notes respecting the mint-cities than he was in the British Museum catalogues. This is a decided improvement, for the student who seeks his information in these lists is unlikely to be as well informed as their compiler. The Arabs have a habit of applying the name of the province or country to its chief town, and this is no difficulty so long as the capital remains unchanged—Misr (Egypt) as a mint-city being evidently either Cairo or its predecessor Fustât, according to the date of issue. When, however, the names of Adharbayjân and Armenia are found on the coins, it is not so clear what place was the mint-city; and the reader will be grateful for the notes which tell him that, for instance, in the former province either

Ardabil or Marāgha was the chief town, while of Armenia, the capital city was in turn Dabil, Khilāt, and Tiflis. Al-Furāt, *i.e.* the Euphrates, for a mint-city, would appear of doubtful import, for there were perhaps a hundred towns along the course of the great river, any one of which might be the mint-city indicated. Under these circumstances Mr. Lane-Poole might with advantage have added somewhat to his note giving the reason why the town opposite Ubulla—presumably that known as 'Askar Abu-Ja'far—should be the particular place on the Euphrates that alone bore its name. Valuable as the Moslem coins are for fixing dates in history and the true spelling of names—and they are in some early cases the only really contemporary evidence extant—they have to be used with due caution, as will be seen by examining the gold dinar, no. 956 in the present collection, of the Fatimid caliph Mu'izz. This coin is dated 341 A.H. and purports to have been struck in Misr—presumably Fustāt, then the capital of Egypt—though that country only came into the power of the Fatimids seventeen years after the date mentioned.

This catalogue, like all others that Mr. Lane-Poole has published, is amply provided with indexes of persons and of places, also with prefatory lists of caliphs and princes; further, notes at the foot of the page supply the needful historical information for understanding the import of the coins. So much is indeed provided that we shall venture to ask for a little more: this would not perceptibly increase the size of the volume, and would greatly add to the usefulness of these catalogues for historical students ignorant of eastern languages. The inscriptions on the coins are often remarkably pertinent to the occasion of their issue: *e.g.* in this collection, no. 246, the dirham of the revolutionary issue of Abu Muslim, and the dinar, no. 957, of the Fatimid caliph Mu'izz. In the latter case, the author states in a note that a duplicate of this remarkable coin is preserved in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, and he adds the reading of the obscure marginal inscription according to the version of Baron von Tiesenhäusen, which differs notably from what Mr. Lane-Poole himself would read. Our petition is that in this and all other cases a translation be supplied of these curious texts. Even when only tentative, a translation is valuable, and in cases where the reading has been finally settled by some competent authority it will save the reader much search to be told what may be the true import attaching to the words. Where doubt still exists, it is by no means unimportant to know what are the points that such scholars as Baron von Tiesenhäusen and the author of the present catalogue are unable to clear up.

GUY LE STRANGE.

Mr. Henry K. Beauchamp's new translation of the Abbé Dubois' *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press) forms a valuable addition to Anglo-Indian literature. Hitherto the Abbé Dubois' work has been known in England only through the imperfect edition of 1817 (not 1816), the manuscript of which was purchased from him by the Madras government in 1807. Mr. Beauchamp now gives us an excellent translation from the later French manuscript, which the abbé himself corrected and amplified during his later life. The chief interest of the book lies in the minute descriptions, from personal knowledge, of the inner life, customs, and religious feeling of the people of southern India a century ago. During

thirty-one years, from 1792 onwards, the Abbé Dubois adopted the dress, lived in the villages, and shared the life of the Hindus; to use his own words, 'living like them and becoming all but a Hindu myself.' All castes welcomed him and imparted to him curiously frank details respecting their customs and creeds. He was present at the burning of widows, and describes, from eye-witnesses, the cremation of a prince with two of his wives joining hands on the flaming pile over the corpse of their husband. The abbé contrasts the false idea of the wealth of India with 'the real condition of its inhabitants.' In his opinion India was one of 'the poorest and most wretched of all the civilised countries of the world.' He attributes this mainly to the rapidly increasing population, and to the decrease in the demand for hand labour. 'The question is,' he says, 'will a government which is rightly determined to be neither unjust nor oppressive be able always to find within the borders of this immense empire means sufficient to enable it to meet the heavy expenses of its administration?' thus summing up what has become the great problem of British administration in India. The Abbé Dubois derived his knowledge of ancient India mainly through the Tamil, before the great revival of Sanskrit literature, and in matters touching the canonical faith or law of Hinduism his work belongs to the pre-scientific period. We notice this, perhaps, most in the appendices; nor do the editorial notes, at other places admirable, here assist us much. For example, appendix i, *The Jains*, and appendix v, *Remarks on the Origin of the famous Temple of Jagannath*, are interesting not as representing the facts but as showing the views held on these subjects by an intelligent inquirer a hundred years ago.

Mr. Arthur Hassall's *Handbook of European History* (476-1871), *chronologically arranged*. (London: Macmillan. 1897) is a foreign 'Acland and Ransome' with the merits and defects of such chronological skeletons of history. Arranged in four columns under the rubrics (from 848 A.D.) of Germany, Eastern and Southern Europe, England, and France, it will be a useful book of reference, embodying much more information than the well-known epitome of Ploetz, though it will hardly supersede it. Mr. Hassall makes it easier to find what was happening at a particular date; but to take a rapid glance at the history of a single country in any period, or to discover the date of an event, one will still have to go to his German predecessor, with his sectional arrangement and admirable index. In a compilation so packed with facts and dates mistakes will creep in, and in this respect we are afraid Mr. Hassall, must yield the palm for accuracy to Ploetz. A few errors have been corrected in the reissue which has already been called for. But too many still remain. It is disquieting to find Robert Bruce's death and the battle of Lose Coat Field antedated a year, and the starting-point of the French revolutionary calendar wholly omitted. Sometimes two dates are given for the same event, and the student is left to make his choice. Ethelfrith becomes king of Northumbria in 593, but he also unites Bernicia and Deira into the kingdom of Northumbria in 606; Richard, king of the Romans, dies in 1271 according to one column, in 1272 according to another; Clement V settles at Avignon in 1305, and also in

1809; the council of Clermont is referred to both 1094 and 1095, with the statement that *Gregory VII* summoned Philip of France before the council of Piacenza sandwiched between. It is even more bewildering to learn that Henry IV entered Rome in 1083, supported by the Countess Matilda and the Normans. Nor is Mr. Hassall more at home in medieval pedigrees. Theodohad the Ostrogoth (disguised as Theodobat) is made grandson (instead of cousin) of Amalasintha; we hear of the emperor Lothair II, and his son Louis II, king of Italy; the emperor Henry II figures as a descendant of Otto I. Of course 'the end of the world was expected' in 1000. Forms like Count *Guelph*, Boleslav *Chrobry*, *Lusitania* (for Lusatia), diet of *Moncaglia*, battle of *Haltin* (*i.e.* Hittin), and *Roveroy* (for Rouvrai) are not calculated to inspire confidence, and Mr. Hassall will do wisely to submit the medieval part of his work to a severe revision at the first opportunity. J. T.

The *Sacramentarium Leonianum* edited by the Rev. C. L. Feltoe (Cambridge: University Press, 1896) supplies the first critical text of the famous Verona MS. since the *editio princeps* of Bianchini (1735), there being no evidence that the later editors, Muratori and the Ballerini, ever examined the original. Considering that it was written in the early part of the seventh century, Mr. Feltoe has done well to reproduce the text as exactly as possible, though he has properly disregarded the punctuation of the manuscript. He may even be thought over-scrupulous when he prints what are plainly alternative readings side by side, one of them in parentheses, instead of placing the rejected word in a footnote; but his justification lies in the doubt which often arises as to which reading is meant to be superseded. He is sparing of emendations, and sometimes reserves these for footnotes when they appear obviously correct; but there are many corrupt places, here indicated by obeli, in which no certain emendation can be suggested. The notes on the matter of the work are unfortunately printed at the end of the volume. They form an important contribution to the comparative study of liturgies, since Mr. Feltoe cites parallels from a large number of sources. They illustrate more fully than has previously been attempted the heterogeneous and disorderly character of the collection, of which the Leonine origin is maintained by no scholar, and which the present editor is inclined to attribute to a date just subsequent to Gregory the Great. Either the compiler of the book must have been exceptionally careless in the arrangement of his materials (and this seems to be the true explanation), or else the same prayers were considered available for a variety of special occasions to a greater extent than is generally allowed. The historical student will also note that the days on which particular saints were commemorated were still, as appears from the evidence of this sacramentary, by no means uniformly fixed.

The supplementary volume of the *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis haereticæ pravitatis Neerlandicae*, edited by Professor Paul Fredericq and his pupils in the university of Ghent (Tweede Deel. Gent: Vuylsteke, 1896), should have been noticed by us earlier. Though it contains but few documents absolutely unprinted before, it gives us better and more complete texts of some of them; and it is a great advantage to the

student to be placed in possession of an entire series of materials for the history of the inquisition for a definite region. It must at the same time be admitted that the Netherlands, during the period dealt with, present but few features of homogeneity. To the student, indeed, of the earlier history of the modern kingdoms of the Netherlands and of Belgium a real unity of interest may exist; but to others the book offers but a collection of documents for the history of heresy in certain dioceses or certain parts of dioceses, the population of which at a later date acquired the character of two nations. Professor Fredericq's first volume was noticed in this Review in 1892 (vol. vii. 351).

Mr. Hubert Hall's *Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer* was certainly worth republishing (see *ante*, vol. vii. 754-756, 1892), but we regret that it should have been allowed to appear without correction (London: Elliot Stock, 1898) after a lapse of seven years, during which the author's special studies must have shown him that the work stands greatly in need of revision, not perhaps less for the loose style in which it is written than for the particular facts it recounts. The growing practice of issuing unaltered reprints of books by living writers is one which calls for protest in the interest of scholarly work; but the publisher is in this instance to be commended for his express statement of the nature of the reprint.

There is now every reason to hope that Miss Annie Hamilton's translation of Ferdinand Gregorovius's *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* will not, as so many translations, remain a magnificent torso. The two parts of volume v. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1897) carry the reader through the thirteenth century and conclude with the 'Babylonian Exile.' They comprise perhaps the most interesting portion of Gregorovius's book. As the volumes can be purchased separately, these two parts may well be given to upper boys at schools who have a taste for history, and will unquestionably be of great service to historical students at the universities, who have proved deaf to recommendations of the German original. E. A.

Mr. Frank Horridge's *Lives of Great Italians* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1897) deals with Dante, Petrarch, Carmagnola, Machiavelli, Michel Angelo, Galileo, Goldoni, Alfieri, Cavour, and Victor Emanuel. A book of 472 pages of such lives can scarcely be called a contribution to history, but it will doubtless give pleasure to busy men and women and to young readers. The author would perhaps have done better service if he had omitted the greater luminaries, of whom there are English biographies at once substantial and accessible. A series of short biographies of the lesser Italian lights, corresponding to those of Carmagnola, Goldoni, and Alfieri, would be of more general value than summaries of the vast literature on Dante, Michel Angelo, and Machiavelli. The book would have been improved by a brief bibliography at the head of each chapter.

As the first volume of Mr. Macray's *Register of the Members of Magdalen College, Oxford*, has already been reviewed in these pages, we need do no more than heartily thank him for its successor (New Series,

Vol. ii. London: Frowde, 1897), which continues his extracts from the Registers and Lives of Fellows in the scholarly and interesting way which we expect from him. Has not Mr. Macray at last discovered the origin of the term *Collections*, of which more than one—so far as we know purely conjectural—explanation is current? Under 1566 we read: ‘Item, sutche as be appoynted to certayne owers yn the Lybrarye schall ynstede thereof be appoyntyd to reade certayne treatysys of the doctors, and, reducyng the same to common plaecys, monythly brynge theyre *collecytons* to the Presidente to be perusyd.’ It is true that these hours in library may have been imposed by way of punishment, but what more likely than that a similar examination of notebooks may have grown into a *viva voce* examination in certain books by the head of the college—the form which the terminal “Collections” retained within living memory? H. R.

M. Ernest Gossart’s *Notes pour servir a l’Histoire du Règne de Charles-Quint* (Bruxelles: Hayez, 1897) relates to the early years and political apprenticeship of Charles V., to the projects for the surrender of the Netherlands, and to the emperor’s abdication and later life. A useful note will be found on his several wills, codicils, and instructions to his successor, numbering fifteen in all. In an appendix is printed a valuable paper of advice addressed by Gattinara to the emperor at the close of 1523, with the comments of the several councillors at a somewhat later date. In this Gattinara insists, *inter alia*, on the immediate investiture of Francesco Sforza with the duchy of Milan, as essential to the emperor’s reputation for good faith, and to his security against a Franco-Italian combination.

The *Index of Wills in the York Registry*, of which we have noticed previous volumes (*ante*, vol. ix. 185, xi. 606), has now been continued on the same model from 1585 to 1594 (Yorkshire Archæological Society, Record series, xxii. 1897).

Apart from the interest attaching to the suggested identification of Mary Fitton with the dark lady of Shakespeare’s sonnets, which, by the way, obtains no fresh support from it, Lady Newdigate-Newdegate’s little book, entitled *Gossip from a Muniment Room* (London: David Nutt, 1897), is chiefly valuable as showing how much may be made of the contents of family papers. The letters here printed deal almost exclusively with the private concerns of the Fitton circle, and are, for the most part, addressed to a gentle and much beloved Anne, who married John Newdigate of Arbury in Warwickshire in 1587. Among her correspondents are Arabella Stuart, Sir William Knollys, comptroller of the Queen’s household, Admiral Sir Richard Leveson, and old Sir Fulke Greville, the father of Sidney’s friend, who in his few letters appears in a very charming aspect. Lady Newdigate has done her editing with taste and care, and her commentary is sufficient and accurate. Though little of public importance is to be gleaned from the volume, it is interesting to notice that Anne, who married at twelve, was maintained by her father with her husband of sixteen for nine years after the marriage, together with a maid and two men for their service; and that she was left sole executrix of her husband’s will, and obtained the wardship of her son.

The curious phrase 'our catholic and protestant religion' occurs in her will, which is dated 1610. A few fine family portraits are reproduced, and the one said to represent Mary Fitton is described as showing a fair complexion and grey eyes.

Mr. R. Nisbet Bain has apparently been led on by his studies in Swedish history to undertake the story of the Russian empire; and in his *Pupils of Peter the Great* (Westminster: A. Constable & Co., 1897) we have, if the promise of the preface is fulfilled, but the beginning of a history of Russia in the eighteenth century. Regarded as an introduction to the more important periods of Russian history, the book is acceptable; but in itself it is somewhat disappointing. The title would lead us to expect a unity in the period which is quite lacking in the performance: whatever lessons Peter may have taught his 'pupils' does not manifestly appear in these pages. Here and there are peculiarities of expression, some of which are doubtless due to the printer, some perhaps to the original authorities, but one or two certainly want further explanation, specially the statement at the foot of p. 226 that 'the combined forces of France and Savoy had occupied Sardinia.' This and the sketch of western politics on p. 92 lead us to suppose that Mr. Bain relies mainly for general European history on books which are not the most recent. But these are matters which can easily be remedied, and we are thankful to the author for having given us, in brief, an account of the 'sub-Petrine period of Russian history' for which the materials are to be sought mainly in languages not generally accessible.

A. J. E.

Beat Ludwig Muralt's *Lettres sur les Anglais et les Français*, originally published in 1725, describe the impressions of English national life formed during a visit in 1694. As the author was a very acute and intelligent observer and a fresh and independent thinker, they are of singular value. His criticisms on Ben Jonson and Shadwell and his reference to Shakespeare show his interest in English literature, but his attention was chiefly attracted by English society and character. Sorbière, Misson, and other seventeenth-century visitors to England, were much inferior to Muralt, though they are far more often quoted in English books. He anticipated Voltaire as an interpreter of English ideas to Europe. As Sainte-Beuve says, Muralt *a dit le premier bien des choses qu'on a répétées depuis avec moins de netteté et de franchise*. The two editions of the English translation of the letters show the interest with which they were read in this country. The new edition by Otto von Greyerz (Bern: Steiger, 1897) contains a good introduction and notes, and is very well printed. A few allusions seem to have baffled the editor. The bishop referred to on p. 79 is Thomas Sprat, bishop of Rochester, and the conspirator, Robert Young (see Macaulay's 'History,' ch. xviii.). The pamphlet quoted on p. 81 is Moses Pitt's *Cry of the Oppressed*, a portion of which is reprinted in Dr. Jessopp's *Economy of the Fleet*, 1879.

C. H. F.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have issued a fifth and revised edition of Mr. T. Rice Holmes's well-known and excellent *History of the Indian Mutiny* (London and New York, 1898).

From Messrs. George Bell & Sons we have a reprint of the late Mr. George Hooper's *Campaign of Sedan*, with a new index (London, 1897).

The work entitled *London Signs and Inscriptions*, by Philip Norman, F.S.A. (London: Elliot Stock, 1897), is not a new book; it is not really even a new edition. Its original date of 1893 remains appended to the introduction by Mr. H. B. Wheatley, but the opening sentence has undergone a slight alteration. In 1893 it began: 'I have been asked to write a short introduction to this volume of the Camden Library.' It now stands in the following involved and far from ingenuous form: 'I have been asked to write a short introduction to this volume of the series in which it appears.' Instead of being a volume of the 'Camden Library,' it is now, according to the lettering on the back, a volume of the 'Antiquary's Library.' The title-page originally stated the book to be 'illustrated by the author and others;' it is now 'with many illustrations.' As no new matter seems to have been added, it will be enough to recall the fact that the book, on its first appearance, was noticed in this Review, October 1893 (vol. viii. pp. 810, 811.)

In *By-ways of History, or Studies in the Social Life and Rural Economy of the Olden Time* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1897), Dr. James Colville has collected a number of articles which he has contributed to various Scotch newspapers and magazines. They deal exclusively with Scottish subjects, and may be classed under the heads of archæology and of political and social history. It is under the last head that he succeeds in being most interesting and instructive. In such papers as 'Lowland Scotland in the Time of Burns,' and 'Town Life in the Eighteenth Century,' he has brought together a series of interesting facts which are not to be found elsewhere in the same space, and which he has presented in a clear and attractive style. Other papers in Dr. Colville's volume do not possess a similar value. That on 'The Bruce and Bannockburn' tells the old threadbare story, and makes no reference to the various narratives to be found in the English chronicles now accessible in the Rolls Series. Nor in his account of 'The Complaynt of Scotland' does Dr. Colville throw any fresh light on the political and literary problems which that curious pamphlet suggests. Many statements throughout the book seem to call for reconsideration. In view of what James IV did for Scotland it is singularly inapt to speak of that king as 'the Scottish Cœur de Lion' (p. 103). Cardinal Wolsey was not alive when James V married Mary of Lorraine (p. 105); and to say that 'the Scottish Reformation was a social and economic much more than a religious revolution' is a paradox which has not even the merit of ingenuity. Taken as a whole, however, Dr. Colville's volume will be found pleasant reading by all Scotsmen interested in a popular presentation of their national history.

Mr. James Bryce's *Impressions of South Africa* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1897) is mainly what its title suggests, a record of travels in South Africa. Part ii., however, is entitled 'History,' and contains a short account of South African history, both native and European. It

is chiefly based, as Mr. Bryce tells us in the preface, on the diligent and careful treatises of Mr. Theal, on Mr. Cloete's lectures, and on Mr. Lucas's lucid and judicious historical geography. The historical sketch is clear, interesting, and well suited to convey a general idea of South African history to the English reader. In chapter ix. Mr. Bryce discusses the curious problem of the Zimbabwe ruins, and alludes to the evidence of the Egyptian monuments and the Book of Kings that there was some trade between South-East Africa and the Red Sea in very remote times. To this may be added that it is clear from the Greek geographies that the coast was fairly well known, at least as far south as Zanzibar, about the end of the first century of our era. The author of the 'Periplus' (who was a Greek merchant settled at Berenice, in South Egypt), it will be remembered, gives information as to the African coast which is, comparatively speaking, full and accurate. Mr. Bryce, however, though he seems to lean to the belief that the Zimbabwe ruins were erected by people who came from the Red Sea, does not commit himself to any definite expression of opinion.

H. L.

Mr. H. B. Wheatley's *Historical Portraits, some Notes on the painted Portraits of celebrated Characters of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: George Bell & Sons. 1897), gives a popular sketch of an important subject, and should serve to rouse interest in a branch of inquiry too long neglected by historical students. The injury done to the valuable portrait of Richard II behind a choir stall in Westminster Abbey, which in 1742 was 'much defaced by the backs of those that fill that stall,' suggests how much we have lost by the indifference of the past. The volume contains a brief catalogue of the chief portrait painters who worked in England from Holbein downwards—among whom, by the way, John Linnell, the friend of Blake, might have been included,—some account of early portrait collections, and interesting information as to portraits of celebrated persons. Among portraits of sovereigns the fine head of Henry V at Queen's College, Oxford, should have been mentioned, and the half-length portrait of Mary I in the university galleries of the same place deserves to be better known. The illustrations are well reproduced. Lord Ellenborough's view in the House of Lords debate upon the proposed formation of a national portrait gallery in 1856 (p. 129), that the management should 'studiously and carefully endeavour to secure the exclusion of all unworthy persons,' would not be accepted by the present trustees.

Notices of Periodicals

[Contributions to these Notices, whether regular or occasional, are invited. They should be drawn up on the pattern of those printed below, and addressed to Mr. R. L. Poole, at Oxford, by the first week in March, June, September, and December.]

The commencement of the Annals of Flodoard: by C. COUDERC [who argues against P. Lauer's contention that they originally began in 893, and sees no reason for believing that the preserved text, which starts in 917 (=919), is incomplete. He takes the Greek numeration in the manuscripts to indicate (as indeed was hinted in this Review, above, p. 196) merely the years of the chronicler's own life].—Bibl. École Chartes, lviii. 5, 6.

Report on researches in France and Belgium chiefly for materials for the 'Epistolae' section of the 'Monum. Germ. hist.:' by K. HAMPE [who prints Carolingian exorcisms and formulae for ordeals; fragments of petitions from abbat Erluin I of Gembloux to the imperial court, 962-987; a letter of Paschal II, 1112, to the monastery of Morigny (by the help of which the writer arrives at the conclusion that the second book of the 'Chronicon Mauriniaciense' is the work of abbat Thomas mentioned in the bull); an unpublished report on the treaty of Adrianople between Frederick I and Isaac Angelos, 1190; some unpublished passages (fabulous) from the chronicle of Johannes Codagnellus; notes on letters relating to Charles IV's second visit to Rome, 1369; a necrology of the monastery of Harsefeld (Rosenfeld) near Stade, c. 1575].—N. Arch. xxiii. 2.

The sources of Kædrenus: by K. PRAECHTER [who shows that he knew Theophanes not directly, but through the anonymous chronicle contained in the Paris MS. Gr. 1712, and illustrates in detail the composition of his work].—SB. Akad. Wiss. München (phil.-hist. Cl.) 1897. ii. 1.

The canonical collections attributed to Ivo of Chartres: by P. FOURNIER. VI: The first Châlons collection [a compilation from those of Chartres, made probably between 1130 and 1140]. VII: The second Châlons collection [chiefly from the 'Tripartita' and the second edition of the 'Panormia' (in ten parts), composed a few years after the first Châlons collection. The writer adds remarks on various letters and books of Sentences of the twelfth century containing quotations from the collections bearing the name of Ivo of Chartres].—Bibl. École Chartes, lviii. 5, 6.

On a French abridgment of the universal chronicle of Robert of St. Marianus at Auxerre: by L. DELISLE [with large excerpts].—Bibl. École Chartes, lviii. 5, 6.

The date of the papal letter to the German electors [preserved without address, and printed in Bodmann's 'Cod. epist. Rudolphi I,' p. 305]: by G. SIEVERS [who assigns it to the time after 1257, probably to the pontificate of Clement IV].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xix. 1.

Reports on travels chiefly in search of imperial constitutions and ordines: by J. SCHWALM. II: documents [1313-1345, those for 1314 being specially abundant. Some relate to the English alliance of 1337-1339].—N. Arch. xxiii. 2.

Letter of Louis XI to the town of Bern [1468]: printed by G. TOBLER.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1897. 5.

Documents concerning a project for an alliance between Strassburg and Bern [1497]: printed by G. TOBLER.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1897. 5.

- A letter of Sebastian Franck the chronicler to a correspondent at Bern* [1529]: printed by A. FLURL.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1897. 5.
- Unpublished letters relating to the siege and destruction of San Sebastian* [by D. José Ygnacio de Sagasti, a leading inhabitant]: printed by P. M. DE SORALUCE. [They bear witness to the brutality of the Anglo-Portuguese troops.]—Boletín R. Acad. Hist. xxxi. 5.
- Letter of Knut Bildt to Metternich* [24 April 1813, laying before him the views of the king of Sweden]: by A. BEER.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xix. 1.
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- The beginnings of socialism in Europe*: by R. POHLMANN II. [down to the fourth century B.C.].—Hist. Zft. lxxx. 2.
- The Greeks in India*: by E. GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.—Bull. Acad. Belg. 1897. 5.
- St. Jerome and the see of Rome*: by J. CHAPMAN.—Dublin Rev. N.S. 25. Jan.
- The history of West-Gothic legislation* [an elaborate dissertation]: by K. ZEUMER. I.—N. Arch. xxiii. 2.
- St. Ouen before his episcopate*: by E. VACANDARD.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiii. 1. Jan.
- The origin of the Rumanians*: by L. RÁTHY [who considers that their ancestors came from central Italy, which region they must have left not long before the seventh or eighth century of our era; and appeals to the evidence of their language. According to G. Weigand, 'c'est en tout cas une erreur de croire que la langue roumaine a pris naissance en Dacie et la langue aromine en Mésie, car il est absolument impossible que le latin vulgaire du troisième siècle après J.-C. ait pu ressembler au roumain à un point tel que, à travers une période de quinze siècles, les deux idiomes aient présenté une similitude d'autant plus surprenante qu'ils sont géographiquement séparés par une grande distance'].—Revue d'Orient et de Hongrie, 1897.
- Pippin's promise at Kiersy*: by E. SACKUR [who maintains that this involved a definite territorial cession and included the Exarchate, and seeks to explain the boundary laid down].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xix. 1.
- An obscure period in the life of Hildebrand*: by A. VIAZIGIN.—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. Feb.
- Contributions to the history of Egypt from Jewish sources*: by D. KAUFMANN [based upon materials in a Hebrew chronicle in the cathedral library at Toledo and fragments in the Geniza of Cairo, published by A. Neubauer].—Zft. deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellsch. li. 3.
- Ivo of Chartres and the canon law*: by P. FOURNIER. I.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiii. 1. Jan.
- The life of medieval students as illustrated by their letters*: by C. H. HASKINS.—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 2.
- Alexander IV and the double election of 1257*: by H. OTTO.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xix. 1.
- Sylvestre Budes and the Bretons in Italy*: by L. MIROT. I: Down to their departure for Italy [1376]. II: The campaign in Romagna and in the march of Ancono down to the sack of Cesena [June 1376–Jan. 1377].—Bibl. École Chartes, lviii 5, 6.
- The spirit of reform before Luther*: by M. J. GAUFRÈS [on the third volume of F. ROCQUAIN'S work].—Bull. Hist. Protest. Franç. xlvii. 1. Jan.
- The remains of Hindu civilisation in Java*: by J. LECLERQ.—Bull. Acad. Belg. 1897. 7, 12.
- Hans Schlitte* [in Russia and elsewhere] from papers in the Vienna archives.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiii. 1. Jan.
- St. Francis de Sales as a preacher*: by H. B. MACKAY. III.—Dublin Rev. N.S. 25. Jan.
- The debt of the Stuarts to the house of Orange* [for the dowry of Mary, daughter of Charles I, and for loans during the civil war]: by J. A. WORP. [It was not settled until 1679].—Bijdr. vaderl. Gesch. en Oudheidk. 3rd ser. x. 2.
- The relations between Sweden and Russia in the second half of the seventeenth century* [1648–1700]: by G. FORSTEN.—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. Feb.

- The mediation between the crowns of France and Spain proposed by the United Netherlands in 1650*: by R. FRUIN.—Bijdr. vaderl. Gesch. en Oudheidk. 3rd ser. x. 2.
- The adventures of the marquis de Langalerie [1661-1717]*: by A. DE BOISLISLE. I. Rev. hist. lxvi. 1, 2. Jan., March.
- Russia and France in the first half of the eighteenth century, continued*.—Russk. Starina. Dec.—Jan.
- The controversy on the origin of the seven years' war*: by J. WEISS. II.—Hist. Jahrb. xviii. 4 (continued from 2).
- Gibbon at Lausanne* [in connexion with Meredith Read's 'Studies']—Quart. Rev. 373. Jan.
- The relations between Russia and France a hundred years ago*: by V. TIMIRIAZEV. Istorich. Viestnik. Dec.
- The French clergy in Germany during the revolution*: by V. PIERRE.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiii. 1. Jan.
- Valmy and Auerstädt* [on the later life of Charles William Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick].—Edinb. Rev. 383. Jan. (continued from 381).
- The tragi-comedy of Bayonne in the year 1808, concluded*: by N. SCHILDER.—Istorich. Viestnik. Dec.
- Russia and Germany at the time of the Crimean war*.—Russk. Starina. Jan.
- The fifth army corps in Italy in 1859*: by baron R. DU CASSE. I.—Rev. hist. lxvi. 2. March.

France

- The site of the battle of the Campus Vogladensis*: by A. F. LIÈVRE [who contends that it was ten or eleven miles from Poitiers in the direction of Paris, and identifies the place (confessedly without any evidence as to name) with St. Cyr].—Rev. hist. lxvi. 1. Jan.
- The management of hospitals (Maisons-Dieu) in the middle ages*: by L. LE GRAND. Rev. Quest. hist. lxiii. 1. Jan.
- The French navy at the siege of Calais [1346-1347]*: by C. DE LA RONCIÈRE [with notices to 1350].—Bibl. École Chartes, lviii. 5, 6.
- Notes and documents on the reformation in Brie [1518-1776]*: by N. WEISS, with illustrations.—Bull. Hist. Protest. Franç. xlvi. 12. Dec., xlvii. 1. Jan.
- The religious opinions of Margaret of Navarre, illustrated from her poems*: by A. LEFRANC. VII.—Bull. Hist. Protest. Franç. xlvii. 2. Feb.
- Notes and documents on the reformation in Auvergne [1535-1671]*: by H. HAUSER. Bull. Hist. Protest. Franç. xlvii. 2. Feb.
- The reformed church at Mâcon [established 1561-2]*: by H. V. AUBERT.—Bull. Hist. Protest. Franç. xlvii. 1. Jan.
- Letter of Odet de Lanoue to Henry IV [26 June 1596, on the condition of the protestants in France]*: printed by N. WEISS.—Bull. Hist. Protest. Franç. xlvii. 2. Feb.
- The beginnings of the 'affair of Brittany' [1763-1764]*: by M. MARION.—Rev. hist. lxvi. 1. Jan.
- Rabaut de Saint-Etienne and the brothers Bertin [1792]*: by A. LODS.—Bull. Hist. Protest. Franç. xlvii. 2. Feb.
- The antecedents of Napoleon's second marriage*: by A. BECKER, with documents.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xix. 1.
- Memoir of Argout [formerly minister of finance under Thiers] on Thiers and the parliamentary situation in 1839*: printed by G. MONOD.—Rev. hist. lxvi. 2. March.

Germany and Austria-Hungary

- An account of the invention of the body of St. Philip of Zell [985-6]*: reprinted by F. FALK [from an unknown and apparently unique text of 1516].—N. Arch. xxiii. 2.
- Contributions to the social history of Bohemia*: by J. PEISER [concluding his criticism of J. Lippert's reconstruction of early Slavonic society].—Zft. Social-Wirtschaftsgesch. v. 4.
- Recent literature on the history of German towns*: by K. UHLIRZ. VI.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xix. 1.

- An unknown account of the taxes of the royal cities in the time of Frederick II:* by J. SCHWALM [who prints the text, with a facsimile, from the original in the Munich archives (formerly at Innsbruck) and fixes its date to 1241].—N. Arch. xxiii. 2.
- The date of the landfriedens of duke Ottokar for Austria:* by A. DOPSCH [not later than 1254].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xix. 1.
- The date of composition of the chronicle of Fürstenfeld:* by B. SEPP [not later than 1326].—N. Arch. xxiii. 2.
- Population statistics of the middle ages:* by A. TILLE [criticising Bretholz's article in vol. v. 2].—Zft. Social-Wirtschaftsgesch. v. 4.
- Adolf von Breithart, chancellor at Mainz [†1491]:* by F. W. E. ROTH.—Hist. Jahrb. xviii. 4.
- The Dominican Wigand Wirt and his controversies [with Trithemius, Sebastian Brant, and others]:* by F. LAUCHERT.—Hist. Jahrb. xviii. 4.
- An account-book of a German commercial house in the sixteenth century:* by J. HARTUNG [statistics from one of the books of the firm of Haug, Langenauer, & Link, of Augsburg, 1532–1562].—Zft. Social-Wirtschaftsgesch. vi. 1.
- Petrus Faber [Faure], the first Jesuit in Germany [1540–1544]:* by B. DUHR, with documents.—Hist. Jahrb. xviii. 4.
- Eight letters of Wenzel Jamnitzer [1545–1546]:* printed by A. MÜLLER.—Hist. Jahrb. xviii. 4.
- The forgeries of Chrysostomus Hanthaler [1690–1754]:* by M. TANGL [concerning Lillienfeld, &c.].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xix. 1.
- Municipal government of the Kleinstädte and its reform in the eighteenth century:* by E. OTTO.—Zft. Social-Wirtschaftsgesch. v. 4.
- The Prussian campaign of 1758:* by H. TUTTLE. II. [on Zorndorf and the operations succeeding it].—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 2.
- The assumption of the title 'Emperor of Austria':* by E. ΝΑΟΥ [proving, partly by unpublished documentary evidence, that the change in the title did not alter the constitutions of the various countries over which the emperor ruled. Hungary was reassured on this point by a special imperial patent].—Értek. a társ. tud. Kör. xii. 2.
- Two memoirs of Stein on the German constitution [1813]:* printed by B. GEBHARDT.—Hist. Zft. lxxx. 2.
- Princess Elise Radziwil and prince William [afterwards emperor] in 1824:* by T. SCHIEMANN [with letters].—Hist. Zft. lxxx. 2.
- A contribution to the history of the normal working day:* by H. SCHUMACHER-ZARCHLIN [who gives an account of the Mecklenburg legislation which he helped to carry and of its results from 1848 to 1865].—Zft. Social-Wirtschaftsgesch. vi. 1.
- Alfred von Arneht [† 30 July 1897]:* by E. WERTHEIMER.—Rev. hist. lxvi. 1. Jan.—By H. VON ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST.—D. Zft. Gesch.-Wiss. ii. Mb.
- Jakob Burckhardt [† 8 Aug. 1897]:* by C. SUTTER.—D. Zft. Gesch.-Wiss. ii. Mb.
- Wilhelm Wattenbach [† 20 Sept. 1897]:* by E. DÜMLER.—N. Arch. xxiii. 2.—By G. SEELIGER.—D. Zft. Gesch.-Wiss. ii. Mb.

Great Britain and Ireland

- David, earl of Huntingdon:* by R. AITKEN.—Scott. Rev. 61. Jan.
- English biblical criticism in the thirteenth century:* by F. A. GASQUET [on the work for the emendation of the Vulgate text performed by English scholars from Stephen Langton to William de Mara and Roger Bacon. The writer chiefly summarises S. Berger's conclusions; H. Denifle's monograph (Arch. für Liter.-und Kirchengesch. des Mittelalters, iv., 1888) is not referred to].—Dublin Rev. N.S. 25. Jan.
- The internal order of an English monastery.*—Church Qu. Rev. 90. Jan.
- Ecclesiastical law in England.*—Church Qu. Rev. 90. Jan.
- Contributions towards a life of father Henry Garnet, S. J.:* by J. GERARD [with letters and other materials from the manuscripts at Stonyhurst].—Month, 403–406. Jan.–April.
- George Villiers, second duke of Buckingham [1627–1687, partly from his unpublished commonplace book.]*—Quart. Rev. 373. Jan.

- The Harley papers* [chiefly dealing with the period from 1643 to 1710].—Edinb. Rev. 383. Jan.
- Hanoverian letters before Culloden*: by A. H. MILLAR [unpublished correspondence addressed to lord advocate William Grant of Prestongrange in 1746].—Scott. Rev. 61. Jan.
- Nelson* [on captain Mahan's Life].—Quart. Rev. 373. Jan.
- Ireland in 1798*.—Quart. Rev. 373. Jan.
- Edward Bouverie Pusey in his later years* [1860-1882].—Church Qu. Rev. 90. Jan.
- An historical account of the Beresford family*: by C. E. de la Poer Beresford.—Genealog. Mag. 11. March.
- Oxfordshire village feasts* [on May day, at Whitsun tide, and at the Lamb ale]: by P. MANNING.—Folklore, viii. 4. Dec.
- The arms of the royal and parliamentary burghs of Scotland* [a review of the book by lord Bute and others].—Scott. Rev. 61. Jan.

Italy

- Publications on medieval Italian history*: by C. CIPOLLA, continued.—N. Arch. Ven. xiii. 2, xiv. 1.
- On the 'Chronicon Arabo-Siculum' (or 'Cronaca di Cambridge') and the two Greek texts of it at the Vatican and at Paris* [published by G. Cozza-Luzi]: by G. LA CORTE [who argues that the two Greek texts are by different writers but based on one original, and considers them to be derived, but not immediately, from the original of the Arabic chronicle and from another source now lost].—Arch. stor. Sicil. N.S. xxii. 1, 2.
- Notices relating to the ancient archives of Florence* [twelfth to fourteenth centuries]: by D. MARZI.—Arch. stor. Ital. 5th ser. xx.
- The Paduan chronicle of Bartolomeo Gatari* [who continued that of his father Galeazzo, and whose work was adapted and appropriated by his brother Andrea]: by A. MEDIN.—N. Arch. Ven. xiii. 2.
- Classified list of industrial utensils and tools, means of transport, and arms in use in southern Italy from the twelfth to the sixteenth century* [with 700 references]: by R. BEVERE.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxii. 4.
- Municipal ordinances concerning provisions in Sicily in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries*: by C. A. GARUFI, with documents.—Arch. stor. Sicil. N.S. xxii. 1, 2.
- The table expenses of the priors of Florence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*: by C. MAZZI [who gives an interesting introduction, followed by contemporary inventories of the household stock of the Signoria].—Arch. stor. Ital. 5th ser. xx.
- Innocent VI and Joanna I of Naples*; unpublished documents from the Vatican archives: printed by F. CERASOLI. III.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxii. 4.
- Marino Faliero*: by V. LAZZARINI. II.—N. Arch. Ven. xiii. 2.
- Three speeches of Lapo da Castiglionchio to Urban V* [during the Florentine embassy to Avignon]: by R. DAVIDSOHN.—Arch. stor. Ital. 5th ser. xx.
- The death and burial-place of Giangaleazzo Visconti*: by G. ROMANO [who rejects the hypothesis of P. Moiraghi that the duke was murdered and that he was not interred in the Certosa].—Arch. stor. Ital. 5th ser. xx.
- The Savonarola controversy*: by M. BROSCI [a critical review of P. Luotto's 'Il vero Savonarola e il Savonarola di L. Pastor. (Firenze, 1897)'].—D. Zft. Gesch.-Wiss. N. F. ii.
- Isabella del Balzo, queen of Naples* [wife of king Frederick], according to an unpublished contemporary poem: by B. CROCE.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxii. 4.
- Beltrame Sachia* [the story of the surprise of Marano from the Austrians by this adventurer with Venetian aid in 1542, its transference to Pietro Strozzi and Francis I, and its ultimate acquisition by Venice in 1543]: by G. COCO.—N. Arch. Ven. xiv. 1.
- Gleanings from Sicilian history*: by S. SALOMONE-MARINO [chiefly documents]. III: Donna Lucrezia Cicala. IV: Piracy in Sicily in 1573. V: Benedetto Maja

- and the duke of Mantua [1620]. VI: The 'Libro delle Finte Sorti.' VII: Francesco Pecunia. VIII: The capture of the Turkish galleon, the 'Grand Sultan' [1644]. IX: Folengo and Licco.—Arch. stor. Sicil. N.S. xxii. 1, 2.
- A contemporary narrative of the plague at Florence in 1630*: by D. CATELACCL.—Arch. stor. Ital. 5th ser. xx.
- The city of Aci (Jaci) during the dearth of 1671-1672 and in the rebellion of Messina and the war between the French and Spaniards [1674-1679]*: by V. RACITI-ROME0, with documents.—Arch. stor. Sicil. N.S. xxii. 1, 2.
- Freemasonry at Naples in the eighteenth century*: by M. D'AYALA. II.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxii. 4.
- The conclave of pope Ganganelli and the suppression of the Jesuits*: by G. SFORZA. I [from the unpublished despatches of the agents of Lucca, with interesting notices of the visit of Joseph II to Italy].—Arch. stor. Ital. 5th ser. xx.
- Protest of the citizens of Verona against the retention of Venetia by Austria [1859]*: printed by G. BERCHET.—N. Arch. Ven. xiii. 2.

Netherlands and Belgium

- The tributarii or ecclesiastical serfs in Belgium*: by L. VANDER KINDERE [analysing the composite elements of their condition].—Bull. Acad. Belg. 1897. 8.
- The rule of the Beguins of Saint-Omer [1428]*: by P. FREDERICQ.—Bull. Acad. Belg. 1897. 7.
- A protest against the surrender of the temporal power of the bishop of Utrecht to Charles V in 1527*: printed by G. BRON. [This document in the Vatican archives, which bears the absurd title of 'Discorso latino dell' imperatore Carlo alla santità di Paolo III,' is here attributed to Albert Pigge or Pighius, a former pupil of Adrian VI and afterwards protonotary apostolic].—Bijdr. vaderl. Gesch. en Oudheidk. 3rd ser. x. 2.
- On the history of church property in Utrecht after the reformation [1580-1707]*: by J. ACQUOY.—Arch. Nederl. Kerkgesch. vi. 4.
- On the 'Mémoires de Hollande' [1650]*: by P. J. BLOK [who describes the contents and attributes the origin of the work to some one at the court of William II of Orange].—Bijdr. vaderl. Gesch. en Oudheidk. 3rd ser. x. 2.
- Georgius Hornius [1620-1670] and his 'Kerkelijcke Historie.'* by J. J. PRINS and H. C. ROGGE.—Arch. Nederl. Kerkgesch. vi. 4.
- Bibliography of Dutch church history [1896, 1897]*.—Arch. Nederl. Kerkgesch. vi. 4.

Russia

- Sketches of Russian criminal law according to Russkaia Pravda*: by J. ROZHKOV [from the Russian code of the eleventh century], concluded.—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. Dec.
- The relations between Moscow and Novgorod in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*: by M. POMIALOVSKI.—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. Jan.
- The burial-place of the Shuiskis at Warsaw [including the tomb of the tsar Basil Shuiski, who was carried captive thither at the beginning of the seventeenth century]*.—Istorich. Viestnik. Dec.
- The two affiancées of Peter II.* 1. *The princess M. Menshikova* [afterwards exiled to Siberia with her father]. 2. *The princess E. Dolgorukaia*: by V. MIKHNEVICH.—Istorich. Viestnik. Jan., Feb.
- The codification of the Russian law in the reign of Catherine II*: by A. LAPPO-DANILEVSKI.—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. Dec.
- Instructions for the grand duchess Maria Feodorovna, 1776 [rules of conduct drawn up by the emperor Paul for the benefit of his wife]*.—Russk. Starina. Feb.
- The centenary of the birth of the grand duke Michael [the youngest brother of Nicholas; he died in 1849]*: by N. BOZHERANOV.—Russk. Starina. Feb.
- Alexander I and his period.* II: [1811-1815]: by V. TIMIRIAZEV.—Istorich. Viestnik. Feb.
- Vilna in 1812 [from the account of an eyewitness]*.—Istorich. Viestnik. Dec.

- The return of Alexander I to Russia in 1814*: by A. BEZRODNI.—Russk. Starina. Jan.
- Contributions to the history of the reign of Nicholas I* [the address delivered by archbishop Filaret at the coronation, &c.].—Russk. Starina. Dec.
- The memoirs of baroness Fredericks* [dealing with the reign of Nicholas I].—Istoric Viestnik. Jan., Feb.
- Letters to Peter Yermolov* [the conqueror of the Caucasus].—Russk. Starina. Jan.
- The emperor Nicholas in the year 1832* [from the memoirs of count Benkendorf, giving accounts of Mehemet Ali and the Egyptian question].—Russk. Starina. Feb.

Switzerland

- Inventory of the reliques at the various altars in the church of Einsiedeln* [tenth to eleventh century]: printed by O. RINGHOLZ.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1898. 1.
- The interpretation of Frederick II's charter* [1218] for the 'monasterium et ecclesia in Turego': by G. MEYER VON KNONAU [who takes it to include the advocacy of the abbey of the Fraumünster as well as that of the canonical house of the Grossmünster].—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1897. 5.
- he oldest ordinance of the landgericht of Thurgau* [1406]: printed by R. HOPPELER.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1897. 5.
- The earliest records of Hasli*: by G. TOBLER. [They are contained in an 'urbar' known only from a modern transcript. From this are here printed (1) 'Ursprung wie sich der Krieg zwischen einer Landschaft Wallis und unsern gnädigen Herrn erhept hat,' 1419, and (2) 'Erneuerung unsers wahren ungezweifelten christlichen Glaubens und Ausrentung des Bapst und aller seiner Satzungen'].—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1897. 5.
- Vassnacht* (Shrove Tuesday) at Bern in 1465 [from an order of the town council]: by T. VON LIEBENAU.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1897. 5.
- On the history of the prohibition of unlicensed raising of troops for foreign powers* [1574]: by T. VON LIEBENAU.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1897. 5.
- The 'Grauw Püntner Krieg' of Bartholomäus Anhorn the elder* [1603-1640] and a document of 1640: by E. HÄFFTER.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1897. 5.

America and Colonies

- H. Harrisse's attack on the reputation of Sebastian Cabot*: by F. TARDUCCI [polemical].—N. Arch. Ven. xiv. 1.
- The proprietary province as a form of colonial government*. III: by H. L. OSGOOD. Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 2.
- The taxation of tea, 1767-1773* [an explanation of the effect of British legislation on the price of tea in America]: by M. FARRAND.—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 2.
- Tammany Hall and the Dorr rebellion*: by A. M. MOWRY.—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 2.
- Justin Winsor*: by E. CHANNING.—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 2.

List of Recent Historical Publications

I. GENERAL HISTORY

(Including works of miscellaneous contents)

- BLEIBTREU (C.) Zur Geschichte der Taktik und Strategie. Pp. 495. Berlin: Schall & Grund. 6 m.
- GROTEFEND (H.) Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit. II, 2: Ordenskalender, Heiligenverzeichnis. Nachträge zum Glossar. Pp. 210. Hanover: Hahn. 4to. 9 m.
- LEFÈVRE (A.) L'histoire; entretiens sur l'évolution historique. Pp. 693. Paris: Schleicher. 16mo. 6 f.
- MACRAY (W. D.) Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae partis quintae fasc. IV. Ed. by. Pp. 525. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 4to. 15/.
- POHLER (J.) Bibliotheca historico-militaris; systematische Uebersicht der Erscheinungen aller Sprachen auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte der Kriege und Kriegswissenschaft seit Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst bis zum Schluss des Jahres 1880. IV, 3, 4. Pp. 61-120. Leipzig: Lang. 6 m.
- POOLE (R. L.) Historical atlas of modern Europe from the decline of the Roman empire, comprising also maps of parts of Asia and of the New World connected with European history; ed. by. XV-XVII. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 4to. Each 3/6.
- RAPPOPORT (C.) Zur Charakteristik der Methode und Hauptrichtungen der Philosophie der Geschichte. Pp. 106. Bern: Siebert. 2-40 f.
- TREITSCHKE (H. von.) Politik: Vorlesungen, gehalten an der Universität zu Berlin. Hsg. von M. Cornicelius. I. Pp. 395. Leipzig: Hirzel. 8 m.

II. ORIENTAL HISTORY

- BERCHEM (M. van.) Epigraphie des assasins de Syrie. Pp. 53. Paris: Leroux.
- BUTCHER (E. L.) The story of the church of Egypt: being an outline of the history of the Egyptians under their successive masters, from the Roman conquest until now. 2 vol. Pp. 414, 456. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 16/.
- CHJUS (J. A. van der.) Nederlandsch-indisch Plakaatboek [1602-1811]. XVI: 1810-1811. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- EAST INDIA COMPANY, Letters received by the, from its servants in the east. II: 1613-1615. London: Low. 21/.
- HOLMES (T. R.) A history of the Indian mutiny and of the disturbances which accompanied it among the civil population. 5th ed., revised and enlarged. Pp. 659. London: Macmillan. 12/6.
- MACGOWEN (J.) A history of China from the earliest days down to the present. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co. 16/.
- PATTON (W. M.) Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the Miḥna; a biography of the imām including an account of the Moham-medan inquisition called the Miḥna [218-234 A.H.] Pp. 208. Leyden: Brill.
- RÖHRICHT (R.) Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem [1100-1291]. Pp. xxviii, 1105. Innsbruck: Wagner. 30 m.
- SAYCE (A. H.) The early history of the Hebrews. Pp. 508. London: Rivingtons. 8/6.
- SPECHT (E.) Etudes sur l'Asie centrale, d'après les historiens chinois. II: Les Indo-Scythes et l'époque du règne de Kanichka. Pp. 41-82. Paris: impr. nationale.

III. GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORY

- GRUEBER (H. A.) The story of the Greeks. Pp. 272. London: Heinemann. 3/6.
- HOLM (A.) The history of Greece from its commencement to the close of the independence of the Greek nation. Tr. by F. Clarke. IV: The Græco-Macedonian age, the period of the kings and the leagues, from the death of Alexander down to the incorporation of the last Macedonian monarchy in the Roman empire. Pp. 650. London: Macmillan. 7/6.
- LIMES, Der obergermanisch-raetische, des Römerreiches. Hsg. von O. von Sarwey und F. Hettner. VI-VIII. Heidelberg: Petters. 4to.
- PAUSANIAS's description of Greece. Tr. with commentary, by J. G. Fraser. 6 vols. London: Macmillan. 126/.
- VALLET (G.) Tableaux synoptiques contenant l'histoire du droit romain et les concordances avec l'histoire politique, des origines à Justinien. Paris: Larose. 2-50 f.

IV. ECCLESIASTICAL, MEDIEVAL, AND MODERN HISTORY

(For works relating to the history of FRANCE, GERMANY, GREAT BRITAIN, and ITALY, see the special sections below.)

- ACTA martyrum et sanctorum (Syriace) ed. P. Bedjan. VII: Paradisus patrum. Pp. 1019. Leipzig: Harrassowitz. 28 m.
- AMBROISE. L'estoire de la guerre sainte; histoire en vers de la troisième croisade [1190-1192]. Publ. et trad. par G. Paris. Pp. xc, 579. Paris: impr. nationale (Leroux). 4to.
- ANVILLE (J. d'). Études géographiques et historiques sur la Flandre maritime. Pp. 496. Dunkirk: impr. Chiroutre-Gauvry. 18mo.
- BELGIUM.—Biographie nationale publiée par l'Académie royale de Belgique. XIV, 2: *Mercy-Mallier*. Pp. 240. Brussels: Bruylant. 3 f.
- Inventaire des cartulaires conservés en Belgique ailleurs que dans les dépôts des archives de l'état. Pp. 66. Brussels: Hayez.
- BENGESCO (G.) Essai d'une notice bibliographique sur la question d'orient; Orient Européen 1821-1897. Pp. 327. Brussels: Lacombly. 15/.
- BERCHON (E.) Histoire du pape Clément V [1305-1314]. Pp. 216. Bordeaux: impr. Gounouilhou.
- BERNAERT (F.) Fastes militaires des Belges au service de la France [1789-1815]. Pp. 297. Brussels: Lamertin. 5 f.
- BERTIN (G.) La campagne de 1814 d'après des témoins oculaires. Paris: Flammarion. 6 f.
- BLADÉ (J. F.) Les comtes carolingiens de Bigorre et les premiers rois de Navarre. Pp. 141. Agen: impr. agenaise.
- BLOESCH (E.) Geschichte der schweizerisch-reformierten Kirchen. I. Pp. 1-80. Bern: Schmid & Francke.
- BONNEVILLE DE MARSANGY (L.) Le comte de Vergennes et son ambassade en Suède [1771-1774]. Pp. 468. Paris: Plon. 7-50 f.
- BOUTON (V.) Wapenboek, ou armorial de 1334 à 1372. III. Pp. 56. Paris: Barthe. 4to.
- BRUSTON (E.) Ignace d'Antioche; ses épîtres, sa vie, sa théologie: étude critique, suivie d'une traduction annotée. Paris: Fischbacher. 6 f.
- BUNSEN, Briefe an, von römischen Cardinälen und Prälaten, deutschen Bischöfen, und anderen Katholiken [1818-1837]. Hsg. von F. H. Reusch. Pp. xliii, 253. Leipzig: Jansa. 9 m.
- C. (J.) Etudes sur la campagne de 1796-1797 en Italie. Paris: Baudoin. 5 f.
- CARREZ (P. L.) Catalogi sociorum et officiorum provinciae Campaniae Societatis Jesu [1616-1662]. I. Pp. 198. Châlons: impr. Thouille.
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Errata in January number.

P. 138.—*In last line of verses quoted the comma after 'aert' should be omitted.*

P. 186.—*A space should have been left after the notice of W. Bright's 'Early English Church History,' since it is due to a different contributor from the author of the following notice, who signs with initials.*

THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

NO. LI.—JULY 1898

The Campaign of the Metaurus

IN England the battle of the Metaurus has attracted a much smaller amount of attention than have the other great battles of the second Punic war in Italy. This is doubtless owing to the scantiness of the topographical information which has reached us in our authorities for the battle, and in particular to the fragmentary state of the eleventh book of Polybius. Whether this be altogether a tribute to Polybius's power of description and topographical accuracy is not quite so evident. But on the Continent, in France, Germany, and especially in Italy, this battle is added to the number of the problems of the kind which harass the historian of the Carthaginian deeds in Italy. It is my purpose in this paper to point out what are the sites which contend for the honour of Hasdrubal's defeat, and what are the difficulties and assumptions involved by each. Inasmuch as the last decade of years has seen the controversy raging between German and Italian with a force unknown before, and as the storm has culminated in intensity in 1897, it may not be inappropriate for an English onlooker who has travelled up the river to describe the present position of the controversy.

I. AUTHORITIES—ANCIENT AND MODERN.

The ancient authors who describe or mention the battle are these: Polybius, xi. 1-3; Livy, xxvii. xliii-xlix.; Appian, 'Hannib.' 52; Frontinus, 'Strateg.' i. 1. 9, 2. 9, ii. 3. 8, 9. 2, iv. 7. 15; Florus, i. 22. 50; Dio-Zonaras, ix. 9; Ampelius, 'Lib. Mem.' 18. 12, 36. 3, 46. 6; Eutropius, iii. 18. 2; Valerius Maximus, vii. 4. 4.

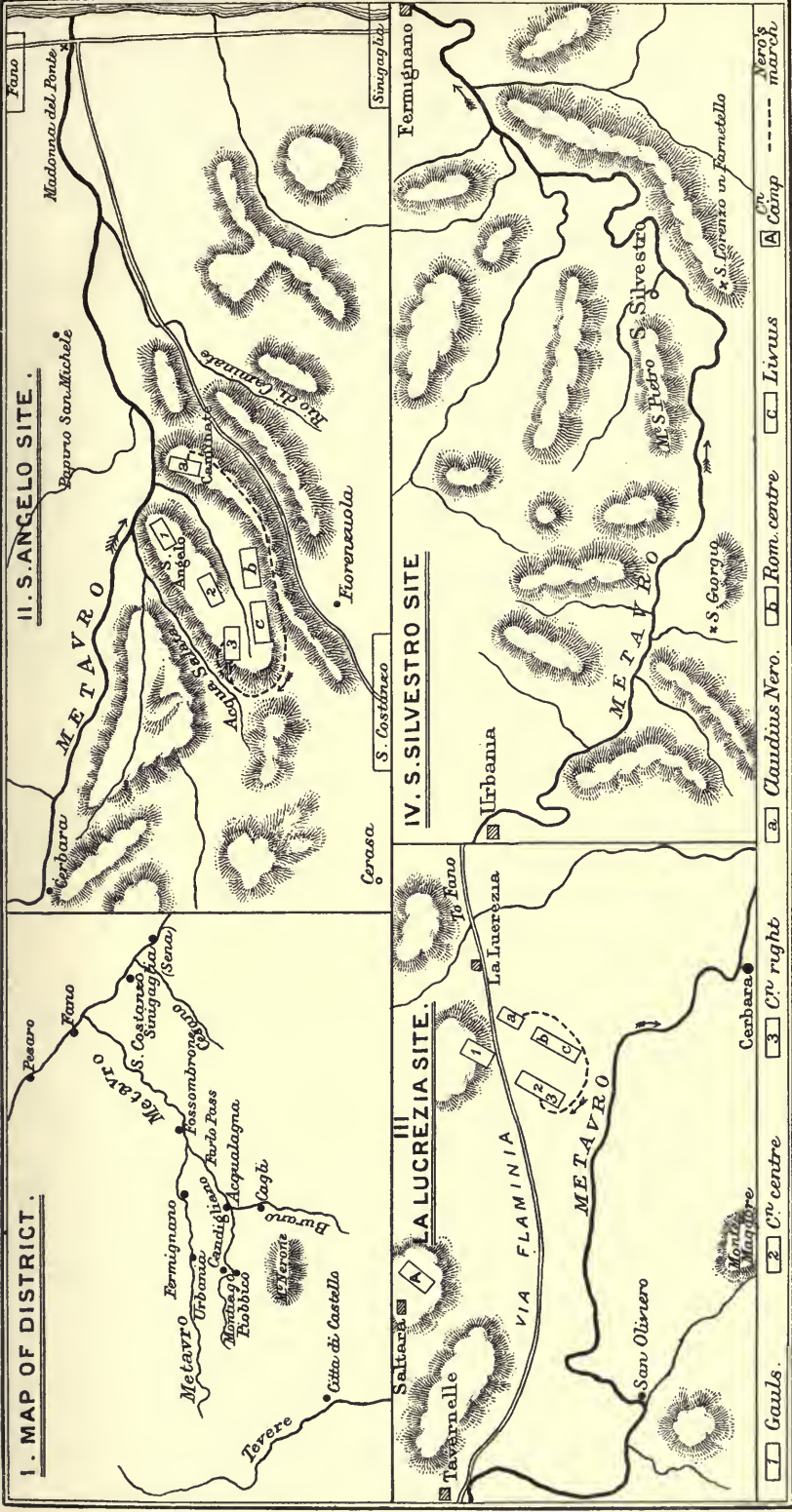
The most important are the three first named. A recent theory would distinguish two traditions of the battle among these: the one, the Roman, cognisant of Nero's famous march, represented by

Livy and his followers; the other, of Polybius and Appian, knowing nothing of the march. Now the reality of that march is, according as it is accepted or denied, one of the few important arguments used in the endeavour to determine one or other particular site. The would-be champion of one or other must make up his mind on this question, the solution of which depends largely upon the acceptance or rejection of the theory just mentioned. Before a description of the sites proposed, it will be necessary, therefore, to consider this question and this theory. But, as will be seen, even a conclusive answer to this preliminary question is not conclusive for the main controversy.

The battle was fought either on the left or on the right bank of the Metaurus. To accept one or other has been enough for most modern historians. Others have particularised more nearly. From their researches it results that three sites are left seriously contending, two on the left bank, viz. the S. Silvestro and the La Lucrezia site, and one on the right bank, viz. the S. Angelo site. Their position will be clear from the maps which accompany this paper.

The modern controversy may be represented chronologically as follows :

- | A.D. | | |
|------------|---|--|
| 1. 1613. | <i>Seb. Macci Durantino</i>
De Bello Asdrubalis, Bk. iii. pp. 34-56. Venice,
1613. Amusing and worthless. [Cf. Class.
Rev., February 1898, pp. 11-16.] | Many sites on
both banks. |
| 2. 1766. | <i>M. Joly de Maizeroy</i>
Cours de Tactique. Vol. i. pp. 403-408. Paris,
1766. | No topographical
details. |
| 3. 1802. | <i>F. W. von Bernewitz</i>
Leben des Hannibal. Vol. ii. pp. 197-204.
Pirna, 1802. | <i>Right Bank.</i>
No other topogra-
phical details. |
| 4. 1812. | <i>F. G. de Vaudoncourt</i>
Histoire des Campagnes d'Annibal en Italie.
Vol. iii. pp. 77-81. Pl. xxxiii. Milan, 1812. | <i>Right Bank.</i>
Site of La Lu-
crezia. |
| 5. 1840-1. | <i>T. Arnold</i>
Cf. his Second Punic War, ed. W. T. A.
Pp. 283-290, and note O. | <i>Right Bank.</i>
No other topogra-
phical details. |
| 6. 1855. | <i>H. G. Liddell</i>
History of Rome. Vol. i. pp. 393, 394. | <i>Right Bank.</i>
No other topogra-
phical details. |
| 7. 1871. | <i>W. Ihne</i>
History of Rome. Engl. ed. Vol. ii. pp. 388-
391. | <i>Right Bank.</i>
No other topogra-
phical details. |
| 8. 1881. | <i>Th. Mommsen</i>
Römische Geschichte. 7th edition. Vol. i.
pp. 647, 648. | <i>Left Bank.</i>
No other topogra-
phical details. |
| 9. 1884. | <i>J. de la Chauvelays</i>
L'Art Militaire chez les Romains. Pp. 217-222.
Paris, 1884. | No topographical
details. |



F. S. Welles

- A.D.
10. 1888. *F. Tarducci* *Left Bank.*
 Del Luogo dove fu sconfitto e morto Asdrubale. Site of S. Sil-
 Pp. 22. Roma, 1888. Estratto dalla Rivista vestro.
 militare Italiana. Ser. iii. xxxiii. Tom. ii.
 pp. 458-477.
11. 1889. *L. Cantarelli* *Left Bank.*
 Rivista storica Italiana. VI. fasc. 1, pp. 70-72. Site of S. Sil-
 A review of Tarducci's paper. vestro.
12. 1891. *Lieut.-Col. Hennébert* *Left Bank.*
 Histoire d'Annibal. Vol. iii. pp. 303-309. No other topogra-
 Paris, 1870-1891. phical details.
13. 1891. *T. A. Dodge* *Right Bank.*
 Hannibal, pp. 546-557. Plan, p. 554. Boston, All other topogr.
 1891. Map vague. No names given. details vague.
14. 1891. *G. Bossi* *Left Bank.*
 La Guerra Annibalica in Italia, in the Studi e Site of S. Sil-
 Documenti di Storia e Diritto. Vol. xii. vestro.
 pp. 77-106.
15. 1896. *W. W. How and H. D. Leigh* *Right Bank.*
 History of Rome, pp. 221-223. No other topogra-
 phical details.
16. 1897. *R. Oehler* *Right Bank.*
 Der letzte Feldzug des Barkiden Hasdrubal und Site of S. Angelo.
 die Schlacht am Metaurus. Pp. 82 and
 maps. Berlin, 1897.
17. 1897. *W. O'C. Morris* *Right Bank.*
 Hannibal, pp. 279-284. No map. No names. All other topogr.
 details vague.

Besides these works, all of which I have consulted, I must mention two others which I have been unable to see :

7a. 1866. *C. Marcolini.*

Lettera al S. Conte Canonico Don Alessandro Billi. Fano, 1866.

15a? 1895. *V. Pittaluga.*

A study of the question, discussed by Oehler in the Berl. philol. Wochenschrift. No. 9, Sp. 269, 1895.

The former suggests a second site on the right bank by Tombolina : the latter seems to be the originator of the S. Angelo site, and Oehler's treatise may well serve for both. Of the former Oehler says that *die Darstellung . . . entspricht nicht den Angaben des Polybios und Livius*. If this is the case or no it is impossible for me to say, as I was not able to obtain the letter. For the present paper, at least, Count Marcolini's site must be left out of account.

II. THE PRELIMINARY DATA IN OUR ANCIENT AUTHORITIES.

Before proceeding to describe and discuss the three contending sites of La Lucrezia and S. Silvestro on the left and S. Angelo on the right bank of the river Metaurus, it is essential to see exactly

what are the data given in our ancient authorities, which may be used in such a discussion, and how the controversy has arisen. The data are not many; and for the course of events which preceded the actual battle, which is naturally all-important in determining the main question of right or left bank, Polybius fails us altogether. It is in the main to Livy that we owe the controversy and the arguments used on both sides. From his account in book xxvii. I extract these topographical data :

(a) *Quum in Umbria se occursurum Hasdrubal fratri scribat* (xliii. 8).

(b) *Ad Senam castra alterius consulis erant, et quingentos ferme inde passus Hasdrubal aberat* (xlvi. 4).

(c) *Hasdrubal . . . suspicatus . . . id quod erat, receptui propere cecinit ac misit ad flumen unde aquabantur ubi et excipi aliqui possent et notari oculis* (xlvii. 2).

(d) *His anxius curis, exstinctis ignibus, vigilia prima dato signo ut taciti vasa colligerent, signa ferri iussit. In trepidatione et nocturno tumultu, duces, parum intente asservati, alter in destinatis iam ante animo latebris subsedit, alter per vada nota Metaurum flumen tranavit. Ita desertum ab ducibus agmen primo per agros palatur, fessique aliquot somno ac vigiliis sternunt corpora passim atque infrequentia relinquunt signa* (xlvii. 8, 9).

(e) *Hasdrubal, dum lux viam ostenderet, ripa fluminis signa ferri iubet, et per tortuosi amnis sinus flexusque quum errorem volvens haud multum processisset, ubi prima lux transitum opportunum ostendisset, transiturus erat, sed quum quantum a mari abscedebat tanto altioribus coercentibus amnem ripis, non inveniret vada, diem terendo spatium dedit ad insequendum sese hosti* (xlvii. 10, 11).

From this it appears, leaving (a) for the time on one side, that

1. The camps of Roman and Carthaginian lay at first about five hundred paces apart, near or at Sena (b).

2. A river (unnamed) was flowing close to both camps. Probably it separated them, for by advancing to this river the Carthaginians were able to see the Romans more closely (c).

3. When Hasdrubal decided to move his camp, his two guides escaped. One swam the river Metaurus by a ford and so got free (d).

4. Hasdrubal vainly searched for a ford over this river (the 'flumen' of § 10 must surely be that of § 9), advancing slowly up stream, but making little way, owing to the long windings of the stream whose course he followed (e).

Within this account it is urged there is a difficulty, an apparent inconsistency. From the Metaurus mouth to the city of Sena the distance measures some ten miles. Now presumably Hasdrubal's errant guide escaped over a river which was near at hand, and very probably this was the river which separated the camps. Whither should a deserter more naturally flee than to the enemy's camp which lay just across the river? The tone of the narrative and the

probabilities of the case require that this river over which he escaped should be near at hand, and *not* several miles away to the rear of both armies. But this river over which he escaped was, it is certain, the Metaurus. Therefore the camps lay near the Metaurus. Almost certainly this was the river *unde aquabantur*, and thus the Metaurus separated the hostile camps, Hasdrubal being on the left, the Romans on the right, bank. The unnamed river of (2) must be identified as a result of this guide difficulty with the river of (3), which is the Metaurus.

Yet the camps lay near Sena, some ten miles away, far south of the Metaurus. This is the difficulty which has caused, or ought to have caused, at least some considerable part of the whole controversy. If the camps lay by Sena, Hasdrubal retreated to the Metaurus and was caught on the right bank, being unable to cross the stream. If it be asked, 'How is this probable, seeing that he had just recently crossed it by a ford on his march south, and surely he would be able even in the absence of his guide to recross it?' it is answered that the river must have been in flood at the time. If, again, to this it be objected that his runaway guide *did* cross it, and how is this consistent with the suppositional flood, it is answered that though the guide knew the ford, yet even he had to *swim* across it, as Livy expressly says. And in any case the darkness may have made Hasdrubal miss it at first. Thus when day dawned he had wandered away from it, and continued his vain wanderings up stream, instead of returning to look for the ford he had crossed once, and thus knew already.

If, on the other hand, the camps lay on the Metaurus, then Hasdrubal, always hoping to force his way into Umbria to join his brother, as we are expressly told (*a*), intended to cross the river southwards, marching *not* by the coast road beyond Fano—which would have led him to Apulia—but up the Metaurus valley, and so across it into Umbria. He therefore advanced up stream, looking for a ford over the river which would lead him south into Umbria. His guides, however, deserted him, one swimming the river which lay close at hand, and thus escaping successfully. Thus Hasdrubal was overtaken and killed on the left bank. And if it be objected that in this case it is impossible to say the camps lay first *ad Senam*, it is answered that this is a mere geographically loose expression, denoting adequately the country of the Senonian Gauls. It is, of course, undeniable that *ad Senam* is definitely stated to be the city of Sena in later authors, viz. :

Eutropius, iii. 18. 2: *is* [*i.e.* Hasdrubal] *apud Senam Piceni civitatem in insidias compositas incidit.*

Appian, *loc cit.* : Καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν αὐτῷ περὶ πόλιν Σένας.

Dio-Zonaras, *loc. cit.* : ὅς [*i.e.* Livius] αὐτῷ [*i.e.* Hasdrubal] πρὸς τῇ Σένα τῇ πόλει ἀπήνησεν.

These, however, it is argued, have but imposed their own view of the situation upon what they found in Livy or Livy's sources. And against them we may set another of the same class, viz.:

Valerius Maximus, vii. 4. 4. : *Salinator in Umbria apud Metaurum flumen proximo die dimicaturus, summa cum dissimulatione Neronem castris noctu recepit* :

showing he believed the first camps to have been on the Metaurus. Yet it must be confessed that the strain put on the words *ad Senam* by this interpretation is very great.

According, therefore, as we feel (1) the Sena difficulty, or (2) the guide and river difficulty, we select one or other bank of the river on which to search for some appropriate site suitable to the description of the actual battle given in our authorities. But first it is important (III) to see the bearing on the question of one great and preliminary problem, and then (IV) to discover the requisites of the actual battle-field, as stated in our authorities, before proceeding finally (V) to describe and discuss the three sites chosen.

III. NERO'S MARCH.

Whether the Roman tale of Nero the consul's march of 'wondrous swiftness' (as Valerius Maximus says) from South Italy to join Livius the consul in North Italy be true or not, is itself a hotly disputed point. And it is nearly concerned with the Metaurus controversy. For if we allow some truth in the tale, it is evident that the more to the south Livius's camp lay, the less impossible would seem Nero's feat. Those who place the camps near Sena, and the battle therefore on the right bank of the river Metaurus, have less difficulty in accepting the tale of the march than those who place the camps on the Metaurus and the battle on the left bank. Similarly the higher up the river the battle is placed the greater grows the endurance with which we must needs endow, if we accept the tale, Nero's weary soldiery. The consequence of this is natural. Champions of the S. Silvestro site are wellnigh bound either to reject the whole tale as false, as a patriotic fairy tale, an invention (for obvious reasons) of the early principate,¹ and so forth, or at least to extend the limit of time and thereby destroy much of the marvel of the tale. In actual fact they are more inclined to choose the former alternative.

One order of the argument in this discussion it is surely most essential to avoid. We cannot be justified in arguing (as I fear both in this and other controversies those inquirers who love an *a priori* probable site in view of the appearance of the ground or local tradition do argue) *from* our battle site *to* the possibility of the march. We have not enough independent material for the choice of the site to allow

¹ Cf. Macaulay, *Life and Letters*, pp. 692, 693.

us to act thus. It is necessary to argue *from* the possibility of the march *to* the site.

This then is Livy's narrative of the march.²

The consuls of the year were C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius (xxxvi. 10). The danger threatening Rome was twofold: on the north Hasdrubal was expected to come down on Italy over the Alps; on the south Hannibal must be kept busily occupied in fighting, lest he should be able to force his way out of Bruttium and march north to join his brother (xxxviii. 6, 7). The senate allowed the consuls full discretion as to preparations against both these dangers.

Senatus liberam potestatem consulibus fecit et supplendi unde vellent, et eligendi de omnibus exercitibus, quos vellent, *permutandique, et ex provinciis, quo e re publica censerent esse, traducendi* (xxxviii. 9).

While the levy was in progress letters from L. Porcius, praetor in Gaul, increased the excitement. Hasdrubal had crossed the Alps. The Ligurians would join him unless attacked first. He would do his best to advance against the foe, but his army was but weak.

Hae litterae consules, raptim confecto dilectu, maturius quam constituerant exire in provincias coegerunt, ea mente ut uterque hostem in sua provincia contineret, neque coniungi aut conferre in unum vires pateretur (xxxix. 3).

Hence the consuls left the city, *velut in duo pariter bella*, Claudius Nero to face Hannibal; Livius, Hasdrubal (xl. 1. 10, xlvi. 4). Before Nero's arrival Hannibal had been harassed by two Roman armies in South Italy under C. Hostilius Tubulus and Q. Claudius, now propraetor (xl. 10. 11; cf. xxi. 6). When the consul Claudius Nero arrived to take command, he found Hannibal had emerged from Bruttium and was encamped outside Grumentum. Here he inflicted a severe defeat on the Carthaginian. The latter retired northwards into Apulia, but was overtaken by Claudius Nero and again defeated near Venusia. He retired therefore to Metapontum; but, reinforced there by Hanno, returned to Venusia and thence marched yet further north to Canusium, Nero clinging close to him all the time (xlii.).

Meanwhile Hasdrubal was wasting precious time in a vain attempt to take Placentia (xxxix. 10-12). Desisting at last from this siege, he then sent six horsemen with letters to Hannibal. These made their way safely down through the heart of Italy, it seems, to Metapontum. Finding Hannibal had left that city, they attempted to follow him, but missed their way, and, captured close to Tarentum by a body of Roman scouts, were carried off to the propraetor Q. Claudius. He sent them and their letters on to the

² The Livy references are throughout to chapter and section; the book is always xxvii.

consul Claudius Nero under convoy of two Samnite troops of horse (xliii. 1-5). Nero on reading the letters took instant decision. This was not the time for a general to observe strictly the limits of the province assigned him by the senate. He sent Hasdrubal's letters on to the senate at Rome, and explained at the same time his own plan. Hasdrubal had written to his brother he would meet him in Umbria: *Quum in Umbria se occursurum Hasdrubal fratri scribat*. The senate therefore must recall the legion then at Capua to Rome, hold a levy in Rome, and post this city army at Narnia to face the foe (xliii. 5-9). This order they obeyed (cf. l. 6).

Haec Senatu scripta. Praemissi item per agrum Larinatem, Marrucinum, Frentanum, Praetuttianum qua exercitum ducturus erat, ut omnes ex agris urbibusque commeatus paratos militi ad vescendum in viam deferrent, equos iumenta que alia producerent, ut vehiculorum fessis copia esset (xliii. 10).

This done, Nero next selected from his whole army six thousand foot and a thousand horse, the flower of the whole, and left his camp at Canusium secretly by night with these, already warned to be in marching order. In charge of the camp he left the legate Q. Cadius. His own troops were at first told it was intended to march on the nearest Punic city in Lucania. But Nero led them straight for Picenum, and as soon as he was at a safe distance from the enemy's camp revealed his real purpose to them (xliii. 11, 12, xlv. 1-9).

Then they hurried north *quantis maximis itineribus* to join Nero's colleague Livius (xliii. 12), carrying scarcely anything but their weapons (xlvi. 2). The peasants hailed them as deliverers.

Invitare inde pro se quisque et offerre et fatigare precibus ut quae ipsis iumentisque usui essent ab se potissimum sumerent; benigne omnia cumulata dare. Modestia certare milites, ne quid ultra usum necessarium sumerent; nihil morari, nec abscedere ab signis, nec subsistere nisi cibum capientes; die ac noctu ire; vix quod satis ad naturale desiderium corporum esset quieti dare (xlv. 10, 11).

Messengers were sent on before the main body to warn Livius of his colleague's approach. By their means it was decided it was better for Nero to enter his colleague's camp, then pitched *ad Senam* opposite Hasdrubal, secretly under cover of darkness (xlv. 12). *Itaque, quum iam appropinquaret, tectus montibus substitit Nero, ne ante noctem castra ingrederetur* (xlvi. 4). At night the troops entered Livius's camp unobserved by the foe. A council of war was held next day, at which the praetor L. Porcius Licinus was present. He had spent the time before Livius's arrival in harassing Hasdrubal's advance, and was now encamped beside the consular army. It was decided to give immediate battle (xlvi. 5-12). This Hasdrubal, discovering Nero's arrival, declined, and the following night retreated. The next day the Romans pursued after him and

overtook him. He was defeated and slain (47-49). Among the victors there was no delay: *Nero ea nocte quae secuta est pugnam profectus citatiore quam inde venerat agmine, die sexto ad stativa sua atque ad hostem pervenit* (l. 1). Hannibal had never known of Nero's absence, and the head of his brother Hasdrubal hurled into the middle of the Punic outposts gave him the first news of the battle of the Metaurus, which was the Fate of Carthage (l. 11, 12).

The tale of the march is given besides by Frontinus, Valerius Maximus, and Zonaras. Frontinus³ gives no hint of the time taken in the march. Claudius takes with him 10,000 men, and meets his colleague in *Umbria occultatis itineribus*. Valerius Maximus (vii. 4. 4) speaks only of how *Nero . . . ad opem collegae ferendam per longum iter celeritate mira tetendit. Salinator in Umbria apud Metaurum flumen proximo die dimicaturus summa cum dissimulatione Neronem castris noctu recepit*. Zonaras (ix. 9) gives a fair summary, but with no marks of time:

Καὶ ὁ Νέρων . . . εἰσας μὴ τὸν Λιούιον ὁ Ἀσδρούβας τῷ πλήθει καταβίασθαι, μέγα πρᾶγμα ἐτόλμησε. Καὶ κυτέλιπε μὲν μοῖραν ἐκεῖ ἀποχωρῶσαν εἰργειν τὸν Ἀννίβαν, εἴ πη κινήθει, ἐντειλάμενος πάντα ποιεῖν ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς νομίζοιτο ἐνδημῆν, τὸ δὲ καθαρῶτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολέξας ὤρμησεν ὡς πόλει τινὶ πλησιοχώρῳ προσμίζων, οὐδ' ἤδει τις τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἠπειχθη ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν, καὶ ἀφίκετο νυκτὸς πρὸς τὸν συνύρχοντα, καὶ ἐν τῇ ταφρείᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ κατεσκήνωσε.

The attitude to the question of Polybius and Appian is discussed later. Thus the dispute really rages round Livy's tale alone.

In Livy's account, then, we see that the only hint as to the time taken on the march is contained in the words *die sexto*. As Nero left to march back in the night, it is possible surely to count the day after the battle as the first of the six days. One day is spent in the battle. The day before in the camps *ad Senam*. As Nero's march back was even swifter than his march north, it is fair to allow seven days, but no more, for this last. He begins this on the night before the first of the seven days, and arrives *ad Senam* before nightfall on the seventh.

Taking then, as is only fair for the argument's sake, the greatest length of time justified by the words of the Livian narrative, we arrive at these results:

1. March from Canusium to join } Livy's camp }	7 nights and 7 days.
2. Rest in camp	2 nights and 1 day.
3. Pursuit and battle	1 day.
4. March from battlefield to Canu- } sium }	6 nights and 6 days.

Total from Canusium to Canusium . 15 nights and 15 days.

³ *Strateg.* i. 1. 9.

The distances are these :

From Canusium to the River Cesano . . .	about 233½	English miles.
„ Canusium to Sena Gallica . . .	230	„ „
„ the Cesano to the Metaurus . . .	7½	„ „
„ Canusium to the Metaurus . . .	241	„ „
„ Fano to La Lucrezia . . .	6	„ „
„ Metaurus mouth to S. Angelo . . .	4	„ „
„ Fano to S. Silvestro . . .	28	„ „

The distances therefore of the three sites are :

From Canusium to S. Angelo site and back . . .	490	English miles.
„ „ „ La Lucrezia „ „ . . .	495	„ „
„ „ „ S. Silvestro „ „ . . .	540	„ „

From these tables it appears that on the easiest supposition (that of the camps on the Cesano and the S. Angelo site) Nero's troops marched over 230 miles in seven nights and days. Any site on the left bank involves an addition of about eight miles to be accomplished in the same time.

Also the return march

From S. Angelo site involves	245	miles in 6 days and nights.
„ La Lucrezia „ „	248	„ „ „
„ S. Silvestro „ „	270	„ „ „

It may doubtless be argued that the tale of the return march in quicker time may easily be rejected, while we yet retain a belief in the week's march north. The addition is so picturesque a touch, and so easily devised. But even if we allow this, it is clear that a site on the left bank as far up as S. Silvestro involves practically either the rejection of the whole tale, or of the 'week's march' at least. If we may retain Livy's whole story, it by itself almost compels us to reject the S. Silvestro site, and implies a slight preference for the right bank over the left bank generally.

What then is urged against Livy's whole story? Bossi, Oehler, and Pittaluga combine to represent it as an annalistic invention—a mere patriotic flourish. The reasons for this are, in the main, the improbabilities they discover in Livy's account. To this Bossi adds the argument that there is another and a better tradition of the events of this year which knows nothing of the march, and is represented in our authorities by Polybius and Appian.

A. *Improbabilities in Livy's Account.*

These are the improbabilities which have been discovered in Livy's account of the march :

1. Livius would already be well informed of Hasdrubal's movements and intentions, and would inform both the senate and his colleague concerning them. The tale of the intercepted messengers is therefore unnecessary.

2. Nero's advice to the senate on reading Hasdrubal's letters

is, if true, quite gratuitous. Therefore it is untrue. *O sî! Il Senato aveva proprio bisogno di saperli da Nerone i provvedimenti ch' esso doveva adottare, esso che da Roma vegliava al generale andamento della guerra.*

3. Nero need never have told the senate at all of his intention to join his colleague. For in anticipation of some such necessity the senate at the beginning of the consular year had already given him express permission to do so—as Livy (xxxviii. 9) says.

4. Hasdrubal left Placentia before sending the messengers. These wandered as far as Tarentum, were captured and sent to Canusium. Then Nero sends his message to the senate, and begins his march. He finds Hasdrubal arrived, perhaps as far as Sena, but certainly no further. There was no time sufficient, therefore, for all these intermediate events.

5. It is impossible that Hasdrubal's messengers could have reached safely as far as Tarentum. They must have been captured by the enemy long before.

These five arguments are in the main worthless, and do but cumber the ground. Thus it may be urged that the principles of criticism implied in nos. 1 and 5 would go far to destroy any historical narrative at all, no matter how good its authority. With regard to the others, no. 2 is similarly futile. Nero, according to the story, gave first two pieces of news to the senate, viz. that Hasdrubal meant to join Hannibal in Umbria, and that he intended himself to hurry north. He added a most important piece of advice, that the senate should therefore not rely wholly on the consular armies, but constitute a second line of defence at Narnia. How is any single item of all this gratuitous? Could the senate in virtue of its 'general supervision of the war' therefore read the mind and discover the intentions of both the leader of the foe in N. Italy and of their own consul in the south? To no. 3 there are two obvious answers. In the first place Livy's words, *Senatus liberam potestatem consulibus fecit et supplendi unde vellent et eligendi de omnibus exercitibus quos vellent, permutandique, et ex provinciis, quo e republica censerent esse, traducendi*, apply clearly to the original levy of the legions. And even if they may also be understood to apply to the transfer of troops at any time during the consular year from the one *provincia* to the other, this is a very different thing from the self-transferring of one consul from his *provincia* to that of his colleague. And in the second place, even granting what seems to me unlikely, viz. that Livy's words do imply this last permission, even so surely there was the greatest need, the most stringent military necessity, for Nero to inform the senate of his purpose at that particular time, when he had determined it was necessary to make use of the permission once granted him in general terms by

that body. The time argument (4) is worthy of its predecessors. To it we may reply first that Nero's urgent haste was caused precisely by the knowledge of the exigencies of time; and secondly, that the time intervening between Hasdrubal's march from Placentia and Nero's arrival in his colleague's camp was sufficient for the events narrated by Livy as having taken place in the interim. For we know that Hasdrubal's march south was continually harassed, and therefore delayed, by skirmishes with the praetor L. Porcius Licinus, who

*per loca alta ducendo exercitum, quum modo insideret angustos saltus, ut transitum clauderet, modo ab latere aut ab tergo carperet agmen, ludificatus hostem omnibus artibus belli fuerat.*⁴

Then, finally, the way was barred by the consul Livius, and we are expressly told that the two armies lay over against one another waiting many days before Nero's arrival. For Livius

*αὐτῷ [i.e. Hasdrubal] πρὸς τῇ Σείρα τῇ πόλει ἀπήντησεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἰς χεῖρας εὐθὺς ἦλθον. ἐπὶ πολλὰς δὲ ἡμέρας κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ Ἀπορόβας τὴν μάχην κατήπειξεν, ἡσύχαζε δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀναμένων.*⁵

Time, then, there was ample for the intervening events. These objections to Livy's narrative may lightly be disregarded. So also another objection is small and trifling indeed, viz.:

6. The districts mentioned in c. xliii.—10 are arranged out of order. Instead of *per agrum Larinatem, Marrucinum, Frentanum, Praetuttianum*, the due order from S. to N. is Larinum, Frentani, Marrucini, Praetuttii. Surely such an argument *ἀπηληγηκυίας ἐστὶ ψυχῆς*.

The ground is now cleared of the useless weeds of a luxuriant scepticism. There remains the one very real difficulty of Livy's account:

7. The march as described is of impossible rapidity. Choosing the site which makes the lowest estimate possible, we are told that an army of 6,000 foot and 1,000 horse marched 230 odd miles in 7 days and nights. It is perfectly true that no measure was left undevised to assist them. They carried no impedimenta save their arms only. The way was prepared before them. Food was brought down to the roadside. Horses and cattle in relays were ready to help the weary. The men were the very flower of the Roman army chosen to face a Hannibal. The country through which they marched was not only friendly but enthusiastic in their cause, and the people poured down to encourage and exhort. The men knew well the overwhelming importance of their mission and the need for haste. The road was a great main thoroughfare, level, for the most part of it lay by the seashore, and running straight without windings—no small encouragement to the temper and

⁴ Livy, xlvii, 6.

⁵ Zonaras, ix. 9.

therefore speed of any hurried traveller, as every pedestrian knows. But when all is said and done, it is argued that no army under the most favourable conditions (which must be in this case conceded) could as a matter of physical possibility march 230 miles in 7 days and 7 nights, or an average of 33 miles in the twenty-four hours for a week.

Thus Bossi points out that the modern soldier under great pressure marches at most thirty kilometres (=19 English miles) a day. Caesar in 58 B.C. for all his urgent need of haste took four weeks marching from Aquileia to Lyons, a distance of about 600 kilometres, making an average of 20 to 25 kilometres per day (about 14 English miles). Vegetius (i. 9) says that the soldiers of the empire in extraordinary marches could accomplish 24 miles a day (=about 22 English). No theory of degeneration can explain the discrepancy of these statistics with the 33 miles a day of Nero's republican troops. If the march actually did take place, Nero must have taken a month's absence from S. Italy at least. Hannibal therefore must needs have discovered his absence and marched north to meet his brother. *Tutte queste inverisimiglianze da me notate nel racconto liviano mi fanno ritenere impossibile la marcia di Nerone da Canusio al Metauro.* Pittaluga and Oehler agree at least in this. Blüme⁶ is invoked as witness to the position that no troops can march for consecutive days more than three to four German miles (=14 to 18½ English) without undue fatigue. Night-marching too is wellnigh fatal to their discipline and temper. It is essential that every three marching days be followed by one day of rest. Thus Nero's force must have taken at least 15 days, though in the very best of health and spirits, to accomplish the 230 miles, viz. 12 marching days of 19 miles each with three intervening days of rest. We seem reduced to one of two alternatives. Either the whole tale of the march is a fiction, or the tale of 7 days and 7 nights at least is hopelessly inaccurate. And if we are inclined to choose the latter and believe that Nero made the best speed he could, though this did not even approximate to that of Livy's account, then it is all the harder to explain Hannibal's long-continued inactivity and negligence. And of course in this case the whole question of the march can throw no light on the site controversy. This, however, is in this connexion of no importance.

Never, I suppose, will this question of the possibility of 33 miles a day for 7 days in 207 B.C. be settled beyond dispute. For myself I cannot feel the improbability of the tale so deeply. It is true that it is hard to discover in records ancient or modern a greater or even an equal feat of marching, and that this march is indubitably the 'best on record' if we consider not only the number

⁶ *Strategie* (2. Aufl., Berlin, 1886), pp. 81 sq.

of miles accomplished per day, but also the number of days of continuous marching. But the discrepancy between this and other marches does not seem to me sufficiently great, bearing in mind all the noteworthy circumstances of the case, to justify us in pleading the *a priori* argument of physical impossibility. The following are the best marching feats of other armies. I owe them (with the exception of the last-named of the 'ancient marches') to Colonel Dodge's useful appendices to his *Lives of Caesar and Gustavus Adolphus*.

Ancient Marches.

Event	No. of Troops	Miles	Days	Rate per Day
Spartans to Marathon	2,000	150	3	50 miles
Macedonians for capture of Bessus	6,000	150	4	37½ "
Macedonians: Jaxartes to Maracanda	15,000	170	3½	48½ "
Romans: Samarobriva to relief of Cicero (N.B. winter roads.)	8,000	110	5	22 "
Romans: Gergovia to Aeduan army and back	16,000	50	24 hours	50 "
Romans: Asparagium to Dyrrachium	21,000	45	26 "	over 41 "
Romans: Ebro to New Carthage (Polyb. x. 9. 7)	25,000 foot 2,500 horse	300	7 days	43 "
Romans: Canusium to ? Sena	6,000 foot 1,000 horse	230	7 "	33 "

Nero's feat is thus put into the shade by Scipio's Spanish march. But Polybius's Spanish geography is scarcely accurate enough in general to allow us to accept as true this really incredible feat, nor does Polybius here seem to realise what marching powers he has ascribed to Scipio's soldiery. But putting this on one side, it is evident from the other data that Nero's march does not occupy a position of such overwhelming superiority over all other marches as some perhaps are apt to imagine.

The record of modern marches is less good.

Event	No. of Troops	Miles	Days	Rate per Day
A.D. 1657. Turenne: Scheldt to Lys	30,000	75	3	25 miles
1644. Condé: Moselle to Freiburg	10,000	210	13	16 "
1632. Gustavus: Donauwörth to Naumberg (N.B. bad roads.)	20,000	270	18	15 "

The armies here, however, are larger, and probably more encumbered with artillery &c. and by bad roads, than [the 7,000 picked troops of Nero's force.

On the whole it is fair to insist once more on the extraordinarily favourable conditions of everything concerned with Nero's march,

on the urgent need for haste, the directness and ease of the road, the enthusiasm and excellent condition of the force. In view of these facts, which all will concede, and the evidence of other marches, it is surely justifiable to refuse to reject the great tale of 33 miles a day for 7 days, regarding it as a physical impossibility, and therefore the story as an annalistic fairy tale. Even to-day place an invading army at Lancaster face to face with a British force, and it is hard to believe that 7,000 picked troops could not be induced to march from London to the rescue, covering the intervening 230 miles in seven days and nights, and then fight after a rest of 2 nights and one day.

B. The 'Other Tradition.'

The second and only other serious argument against Livy's tale is that suggested first, so far as I know, by Gaetano Bossi. Briefly it is this, that side by side with the annalistic tale of the events of 207 B.C. there existed quite another and a more trustworthy tradition, represented to us by Polybius and Appian. Thus the many tales in Livy of Hannibal's successive defeats in South Italy in the chapters xl-xlii. of book xxvii. are at once inconsistent not only with probability but also with Polybius's direct assertion that, up to Zama, Hannibal had always been *ἀήττητος* (xv. 16. 5). Livy's chapters are almost certainly derived from the annalists, those men of patriotic figment. Bossi ascribes them to Valerius Antias; Soltau⁷ to Claudius Quadrigarius.

Similarly Bossi argues that the tale of Nero's march is peculiar to the annalistic tradition. The other tradition knew nothing whatever of it. In both Polybius and Appian it finds no place. Both consuls, according to this, originally proceed to the north to oppose Hasdrubal's progress. Hannibal is kept in check in South Italy, *not* by the consul Claudius Nero, but by the propraetor Q. Claudius Flaminius. It is true that both consuls fought Hasdrubal, but untrue that Nero accomplished his famous march from the south for this purpose, inasmuch as he was already in the north.

Appian's words, on which in the main this theory is based, are contained in his *Ἀννιβαϊκή*, c. lii. :

Ἀσδρούβας . . . ἐσίβηλέ τε ἐς Τυρρηϊαν . . . καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν ἀεελφὸν ἐπεμπε δηλῶν ὅτι παρείη. Τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀλότων, οἱ ἕκαστοι Σαλινάτωρ καὶ Νέρων μαθόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς στρατίας ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων, συνῆλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πάσαις ταῖς ἐννάμεσι καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδενσαν αὐτῷ περὶ πόλιν Σήνας.

Secondly, Polybius, it is argued, also contained this view of events. True, his account of everything which preceded the actual battle is most unfortunately lost. But he does not mention Nero's

⁷ *Livius' Geschichtswerk*, Leipzig, 1897.

return march. The inference, therefore, should be drawn that he knew nothing of the march to Sena; that his lost account of events preceding the battle placed both consuls from the first in North Italy as Appian is supposed to do; and that therefore we have all the weight of Polybius's authority as well as Appian's for rejecting the tale of the march. The annalists confounded the commander of the Roman retaining army in the south, Q. Claudius Flaminius, with the consul Claudius Nero. Yet it was well known that both consuls fought Hasdrubal. Hence the necessity for the invention of the march, which found no place, however, in the best tradition of the events of 207 B.C.

I cannot think this alleged confusion of names very happy as an argument or very likely as a fact. Livy—who surely according to the argument represents these much-misled annalists—distinguishes very carefully between the two Claudii (xxvii. xliii. 1-5). It is therefore far more likely that his authorities were similarly clear. And if these were not the annalists, but Polybius, then the whole structure of this part of the argument of course breaks down at once. Let us also consider more nearly the arguments concerning the accounts of Polybius and Appian.

1. *Polybius*.—As it stands the argument is ingenious rather than convincing. It is based simply on Polybius's silence as to Nero's return march. Therefore it labours under this capital defect, viz. we have no right whatever to suppose that this was not mentioned in the part of Polybius subsequent to the battle, also unfortunately lost. The extant passage forming the beginning of his eleventh book begins with Hasdrubal's battle formation just before the actual engagement. Then follow the Roman formation, the battle, the death of Hasdrubal, and a long and eloquent panegyric on the dead chief as a valiant soldier and a wise general. Then the Roman collection of the plunder and a summary of the losses on both sides. Finally (c. 3. §§ 4-6) comes a description of the reception of the news in Rome, and with that the account breaks off. There is not one word of any military movements after the victory. All this is lost to us. We surely have not the least right in the world to assume that Polybius did not mention one particular event in those subsequent movements because his entire account of all those subsequent movements is lost. And still more certain is the wrong of so doing when it is clear that Livy consulted Polybius (cf. *infra*) and Livy's account of Nero's return march is itself subsequent to his account of the reception of the news in Rome; cf. xxvii. 1, li. 1-10 (reception of the news); li. 11-13 (the return march and Hannibal's movements). This argument, which alone serves to bring Polybius into line with Appian, and makes him directly contradict Livy, seems to me not worth the ink with which it was first written by its over-ingenious deviser.

Further, it is undoubted that Livy did at least consult Polybius for his history of the events of this year. Bossi himself is perfectly ready to admit this. 'In some parts of the narrative,' he says, 'I find not only a great similarity, but an almost perfect identity between the two accounts.' As illustrations of this, we may set side by side the two accounts of the reception of the news in Rome:

Livy, xxvii. l. 7 sqq.

Primo magis auribus quam animis id acceptum erat, ut maius laetiusque quam quod mente capere aut satis credere possent. . . . Ipsos deinde appropinquare legatos . . . L. Veturius . . . ipse planius omnia quae acta erant exposuit cum ingenti assensu, postremo etiam clamore universae contionis quum vix gaudium animis caperent . . . Omnia templa per totum triduum aequalem turbam habuere . . . Statum quoque civitatis ea victoria movit ut iam inde haud secus quam in pace res inter se contrahere . . . auderent.

And the 'Laudatio Hasdrubalis':

Livy, xxvii. xlix. 2-4.

Hasdrubal . . . dux quum saepe alias memorabilis, tum illa praecipue pugna. Ille pugnantes hortando pariterque obeundo pericula sustinuit; ille fessos abnuentesque taedio et labore nunc precando nunc castigando accendit; ille fugientes revocavit omissamque pugnam aliquot locis restituit; postremo, quum haud dubie fortuna hostium esset, ne superstes tanto exercitui suum nomen secuto esset, concitato equo se in cohortem Romanam immisit. Ibi, ut patre Hamilcare et Hannibale fratre dignum erat, pugnans occidit.

Polyb. xi. 3. 4-6.

Τῆς δὲ φήμης ἀφικομένης εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἠπίστον τῷ λίαν βούλεσθαι τοῦτο γενόμενον ἰδεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πλείους ἦκον οὐ μόνον τὸ γεγονός ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος διασαφούντες, τότε δὴ χαρᾶς ὑπερβαλλούσης ἦν ἡ πόλις πλήρης, καὶ πᾶν μὲν τέμενος ἰκοσμεῖτο, πᾶς δὲ ναὸς ἔγμε πεδῶν καὶ θυμάτων, καθόλου δ' εἰς τοιαύτην εὐελπιστίαν παρεγένοντο καὶ θάρσος ὥστε πάντας τὸν Ἀννίβαν, ὃν μάλιστα πρότερον ἐφοβήθησαν, τότε μὴδ' ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ νομίζειν παρεῖναι.

Polyb. xi. 2. 3, 9, 10.

Ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς εἰρημένοις καιροῖς ἀξίως μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς Βάρκα καλῶς δὲ καὶ γενναίως τὰς περιπετείας καὶ τὰς ἐλιπτώσεις διέτελει φέρων . . . Ἀσδρούβας δ' ἕως μὲν ἦν ἐλπίς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ λόγον τοῦ δύνασθαι πράττειν ἀξιόν τι τῶν προβεβιωμένων, οὐδενὸς μᾶλλον προεινόητο κατὰ τοὺς κινδύνους ὡς τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάσας ἀφελομένη τὰς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδας ἡ τύχη συνέκλεισε πρὸς τὴν ἔσχατον καιρὸν οὐδὲν παραλιπῶν οὔτε περὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν οὔτε κατὰ τὸν κίνδυνον πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν, οὐχ ἦπτον πρόνοιαν εἶχε καὶ τοῦ σφαλῆς τοῖς ὅλοις ὁμοσε χωρῆσαι τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ μηδὲν ὑπομῆναι τῶν προβεβιωμένων ἀνάξιον.

That Livy for his account of the Hasdrubalic invasion used patriotic and exaggerating sources as well as Polybius, is of course undeniable. Thus, while Polybius gives the losses on both sides in the battle as 'not less than 10,000 Carthaginians and Celts, and about 2,000 Romans' (xi. 3. 3), in Livy's narrative both numbers,

as we are bound to expect, are greatly magnified. Of the enemy, 56,000 are slain and 5,400 taken, while the Roman dead with those of the allies number about 8,000 (xlix. 6, 7).

Again, a slighter discrepancy between the two is that, according to Polybius, Hasdrubal himself took command not of the right wing, but of the centre: μέσον αὐτὸν θεῖς τῆς παρατάξεως κατὰ τὴν τῶν θηρίων προστασίαν (xi. 1. 3); whereas Livy says of Hasdrubal: *Ipsè dextrum cornu adversus M. Livium sibi atque Hispanis . . . sumpsit; Ligures in medio post elephantos positi* (xlviii. 6, 7). This is, however, but a small matter. For Polybius himself says that Hasdrubal attacked the left wing of the foe (xi. 1. 3), and also that Nero, having accomplished his flanking movement, προσέβαλε κατὰ κέρας τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία (ix. 1. 7). That is, the Carthaginian right wing was quickly merged with the centre, and the elephants belonged to both. They form together one of the two halves of the Punic array, and here Hasdrubal took his station. Livy in like manner describing Nero's flank attack couples together Ligurians and Spaniards: *Ita ex omnibus partibus, ab fronte, ab latere, ab tergo, trucidantur Hispani Liguresque* (xlviii. 15). Livy's invention, in fact, of a Carthaginian centre distinguished from the right wing is an unnecessary refinement, and may not justly be quoted as a serious discrepancy from Polybius, nor used to demonstrate that Livy's tradition of the battle differed notably from that followed by Polybius.

Another discrepancy is that while Livy says of Hasdrubal's line of battle, *Sed longior quam latior acies erat* (xlviii. 7), Polybius expressly says of him, Καὶ τὸ βάθος αὐξήσας τῶν τάξεων, καὶ ποιήσας ἐν βραχεὶ χώρῳ τὴν ὅλην δύναμιν (xi. 1. 3). Vaudoncourt calmly proposes here to understand by *longitudo aciei* the depth of the line (vol. iii. p. 79). If, however, we feel some hesitation in following him in this, the discrepancy remains. But is it of such moment as to justify a theory of opposed Livian and Polybian traditions?

To sum up: the grounds upon which it is urged that Polybius and Livy represent two distinct traditions of the campaign of 207 B.C., the one inventing the Neronian march of which the other justly knows nothing, I must think poor, insufficient, and also opposed to probability. That Polybius, had all his narrative been preserved, would have mentioned, though doubtless without certain annalistic embellishments, the march of Claudius Nero from Canusium to Sena, seems to me a more likely supposition than Bossi's theory of the 'Other Tradition.'

2. *Appian*.—Only Appian, therefore, is left to represent this 'Other Tradition.' His words, quoted above, prove clearly, according to Bossi, that his authorities knew nothing of the Neronian march. It cannot be said that Appian's account of the events of the

year in question is of very great value. It is very brief and bears a strong family resemblance on the whole to the account of events in Livy and our other authorities, looking somewhat like a hasty and a careless summary of the whole. Who, for instance, but the incredible blunderer Appian would have confused the Tuscan Sena with the Sena in Picenum and so brought Hasdrubal into Etruria, a wildly impossible story, as Bunbury points out? Considering the hopeless confusion and ignorance which this author displays when he deals with Italian topography, an ignorance *e.g.* which has for ever wrecked the possibility of our attaining any clear conception of the movements of the armies in the Social War, this blunder as regards Sena cannot but be the result of Appian's own foolish imagination, and not proof of another and opposed tradition. It is the unfortunate explanation of a commentator, not the independent tale of a rival tradition.

Again, Appian states that the reason of Hasdrubal's silent retreat from before the consular armies was his desire to join his brother: *ὁ δ' οὐπω μάχεσθαι κεκρικῶς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνελθεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, ὑπεχώρει.* Livy represents him on the other hand as retreating because tormented by his uncertainty as to what was the real significance of the presence of both consuls in the opposing army:

Quonam modo alter ab Hannibale abscessisset cura angebat. . . . Magno opere vereri, ne perditis rebus serum ipse auxilium venisset. . . . Interdum litteras suas ad eum non pervenisse credere, interceptisque iis consulem ad sese opprimendum accelerasse. His anxius curis. . . . signa ferri iussit (xlvi. 5-8).

If now we put Zonaras's account of Hasdrubal's motives for retreat side by side with these two, we may win, I think, a fair insight into the probabilities of the matter. Zonaras says of Hasdrubal:

ὑποπέυσας οὖν ἠτῆσθαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν καὶ ἀπολέσθαι, περιόντος γὰρ ἐκείνου οὐκ ἂν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀρμηθεῖν τὸν Νέρωνα ἐλογίζετο, ἔγνω πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας ἀπαναχωρήσει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀκριβῶσασθαι καὶ οὕτω κατὰ σχολὴν πολεμήσει.

Thus Livy says Hasdrubal declined battle and retreated because he was uncertain whether Hannibal had been defeated, or whether simply the Roman consul had stolen a march upon him. Now, his desire throughout was of course to effect a junction with his brother. But had Hannibal been worsted, he himself must needs abandon the whole attempt. Only a retreat to Gaul was left him. Had Hannibal on the other hand simply been deceived, he himself must avoid battle and seek to find some other route whereby he could still join his brother. Zonaras or his authority chooses the former alternative: Appian, it seems, so far as he had any clear conception

of the problem at all, the latter. But either is a fair inference to draw from the account of Hasdrubal's perplexities found in Livy or his authorities. Again this difference of view is hardly proof of a separate Appian-represented tradition.

Indeed how closely the three accounts, Livy's, Appian's, and Zonaras's, are allied is shown by the vaunting comparison of the Metaurus battle with that of Cannae, *i.e.* as an adequate *quid pro quo*, which is drawn by each of these three authors.

Livy, xxvii. xlix. 5. Appian, 'Hannib.' 53 Zonaras, ix. 9.

<p>Nunquam e bello una acie tantum hostium interfectum est, redditaque aequa Cannensi clades vel ducis vel exercitus interitu videbatur.</p>	<p>Θεός δέ μοι δοκεῖ τῶδε Ῥωμαίους ἀντιδοῦναι τῆς ἐπὶ Κάνναις ἀτυχίας, οὐ πόρρω τε ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἰσοστάσιόν πως ἐκείνῃ γινόμενον. στρατηγῶν τε γὰρ οἱ ἑκατέρων ἀπώλοντο, καὶ στρατοῦ πλῆθος ἐγγυτάτω μάλιστα ἐπ' ἴσης, κ.τ.λ.</p>	<p>Φθείραντές τε ἄλλους πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ λάφυρα πλείεστα λαβόντες . . . ἱκανῶς τὴν Καννηίδα συμφορὰν ἀνεληφέναι ἐνόμισαν.</p>
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Appian's narrative, then, seems to me little more than a summarised and a badly summarised account based, if not on Livy himself, yet at least on the authorities whom Livy consulted. Thus in his sentence already quoted—

Ἀσδρούβας . . . ἐσέβαλέ τε ἐς Τυρρηνίαν . . . καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔπεμπε δηλῶν ὅτι παρείη. Τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀλότων, οἱ ἕπατοι Σαλινάτωρ καὶ Νέρων μαθόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων, συνήλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν αὐτῷ περὶ πόλιν Σήρας—

he narrates in the most concise form possible the coming of Hasdrubal, the sending of the letters, their capture by the Romans, the junction of consul with consul as a result of this (*συνήλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτό*), and their combined camp pitched against the foe near Sena. In view of this rapid sweep through events, and the vital omissions in it (*e.g.* we ask Appian in vain, 'How were the letters captured and where?' 'Where were the consuls before their capture?' 'What was Hannibal doing all this time?' &c. &c.), the fact that Nero marched north to join his colleague may easily lurk half concealed in the words *συνήλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτό*. In my view, in this same one single sentence of summary Appian succeeds in making two desperate blunders. Hasdrubal did not enter Etruria, nor did both consuls face him *πάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεσι*, for more than half Nero's army was acting as retaining force to Hannibal in South Italy. The sentence is in every way so typical of the careless Alexandrian that surely it is more reasonable to ascribe these mistakes to his own devising than to take them as evidence of the existence of that 'Other Tradition.' The conclusion of the whole

matter seems to me this: Bossi argues that Polybius and Appian represent another and a better tradition which knows nothing of Nero's march. His arguments in the case of Polybius are far from convincing and less probable than the opposite theory. Appian's account is so summarised that it may easily give scope for many theories of the kind, which are based, as this is, on 'omissions in the narrative.' Even if Appian were to represent another tradition, he would surely be rash who asserted that this was better than its opponent, in view of the circumstances of the case, the possibility of the march, the incapacity and brevity of Appian, and so forth. But it appears more probable that Appian relied on Livy's authorities (at least) for his account, and his attempt to summarise these, combined with an entire absence of precision and geographical knowledge, ended, and that not unnaturally, in confusion and disaster. Then his web of error is happily used in after centuries by an ingenious but mistaken theorist to prove Nero's march a fiction.

We conclude then on the whole that on every ground it is historically wiser to accept the tale of that march as genuine. And now, but not till now, we are justified in deducing this conclusion as a result of this discussion, viz. that the nearer a proposed site for the Metaurus battle is to Canusium, the more probable, *ceteris paribus*, this site will be. If a site be proposed so far removed from Canusium that to reach it Nero's troops must have performed feats which really are physically impossible, grave doubt is at once thrown on the correctness of the choice of that particular site. As I have already said, we argue in this question from the possibility of the march to the site; we are not justified in arguing from any one site of our particular predilection to the possibility of the march.

BERNARD W. HENDERSON.

(*To be continued.*)

Hasting

IN all the history of England there is no more stirring chapter than that which records the invasion, the conquest, and the settlement of England by the Danes and Norsemen in the ninth century, and the desperate and successful struggle of Wessex against submersion by the waves of fierce paganism hurled against it time after time. From the later years of Egbert to the peace usually known as that of Wedmore the history of England is little more than a catalogue of skirmishes and battles of the English power centring in Wessex against pirate bands, at first comparatively small and detached, but gradually coalescing into organised hosts of invaders bent not merely on plunder but on conquest and settlement. The struggle as regards outlying territories was at first in the main unsuccessful. Roughly speaking, by the year 880 Danes or Norsemen occupied or controlled all England save the kingdom of Wessex, lying in great part south of the Thames. Under Alfred Wessex offered a stubborn and in general successful resistance to further invasion of its borders. From the time of Egbert these had been narrowed until from the realm which had owned him as its suzerain there had been shorn away the kingdom of Northumbria, the greater part of what had once been Mercia—re-named now the Five Boroughs—and finally, with the so-called treaty of Wedmore in 878, the kingdom of East Anglia.

With this treaty came a lull in the storm of invasion which had troubled the reigns of Ethelwulf and Alfred, and for nearly fifteen years England had comparative peace. But at the end of that time Wessex turned to face an attack hardly less formidable than those which had wrested Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia from her grasp; an attack, too, from a new direction. The plunder raids had descended on the English coast from every direction; the previous great invasions had fallen upon the most exposed portion of the island—the peninsula of East Anglia and the long sweep of the Northumbrian coast. The new invaders, following roughly the lines of the Saxon conquests, struck from the south-east at the heart of Wessex, and joining hands with their allies in the Danelagh enclosed the English in a ring of foes, and sought either to crush their kingdom as a whole or at least to win another

district from them in the south-east, as their predecessors had done in the east and north. Apparently England had never been in greater danger; but after four years of desperate and almost continuous fighting the attempt failed, and the shattered fragments of the invading host were hurled back on the Danelagh and the continent whence they had come.

This was the last, as it was practically the only unsuccessful, attempt on a large scale in this period to win English territory for a Norse kingdom. And it was a failure in great part rather from the very success of the previous expeditions, as well as from the ability of the West-Saxon king, than from any lack of numbers or of resolution and skill of its leaders. The Northmen were fresh from continental expeditions in the main successful, for famine rather than Arnulf had driven them from the Scheldt and Somme, whence they had come. Their force, over three hundred ships, was doubtless quite as formidable as any that had yet appeared; their leader, Hasting, was one of the most renowned of Viking chiefs, and a warrior of long experience. The presence of wives and children betokened no mere hurried plunder raid, but a design of longer stay and possible settlement. But the invasions of fifty years had taught Wessex how to make head against such foes—the whole country was on a rough military footing, the army had been trained into something like a fighting machine, the very loss of territory had turned Wessex from a congeries of loosely connected districts into a more compact state with some notion of organised resistance. And, above all this, the English had in Alfred a leader of courage and resource. As in the face of such a combination of people and leader the Northmen had failed elsewhere, in Saxony, in Burgundy, in Brittany, so in this attempt on England they failed either to wrest the sovereignty from its owners or carve out a new kingdom from its territories.

In the history of this last great ninth-century invasion of England there appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle the name of but one leader, who was apparently the chief if not the only commander of the expedition, Hæsten, or, as it has been modernised, Hasting or Hastings; and one wonders who this man was, and what his previous history had been. To this question from time to time many and various answers have been given, till in the course of time he has come to be scarcely less renowned than his great contemporaries, the sons of Ragnar. The name Hæsten does not occur in English history before this mention in the Chronicle, and the few notices of him in contemporary continental chronicles are brief and unsatisfactory. From this evidence it is hard to see why he has achieved the prominence he holds among the Vikings. But the explanation is not far to seek. In a cycle of panegyric histories, headed by those of Dudo of St. Quentin and

William of Jumièges, written for the powerful dukes of Normandy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the name of Hasting, in strange variety of spelling,¹ becomes the object of the bitterest revilings, the choicest curses of monkish hatred, as a contrast to that gentle Christian knight Rollo, for whose descendants these stories were devised. From this time on there is no lack of material for his story, which increases century by century until now, since the age of fable is not yet past, we have the elaborate if somewhat apocryphal accounts of his doings in the ordinary biographical dictionary. The interest excited by the career of this 'favourite of tradition,' this 'Ulysses of the northern seas,' is certainly not founded on extensive contemporary historical information; his adventures are in no extant poem, he founded no line like Rollo, he won no kingdom like Cnut, yet his place in history is as firmly fixed as theirs and for much the same reason. For as the former has come to be the great representative of the period of settlement and the latter of the period of political conquest, so, thanks chiefly to his assailants, Hasting has become the representative in continental chronicles of that even more romantic and fascinating phase of the Norse folk-wandering, the *Wanderjahre*, or, better perhaps, the *Sieggjahre*. In tradition he early came to be an all-pervasive force which bound Frisia, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and England together in common fear and hatred of the common enemy. The name and deeds of such a man, once given prominence, grow into a legend in the shadowy borderland between history and fable; his qualities and adventures, confused with and increased by those of like adventurers, all are presently welded into a homogeneous and more or less consistent whole, and what was merely typical comes presently to definite personification. Such, as in so many other instances, seems to have been the fate of Hasting, and it seems worth while to attempt to sift the great pile of legendary chaff for what kernels of truth it contains concerning the man who has come to be the chroniclers' type of the Norse pirate. Such an investigation must necessarily be in great part destructive from the very nature of the material with which one has to deal, but I may hope, in addition to the somewhat negative results of such a task, to construct a biography, which, however incomplete, may perhaps stand closer criticism than previous accounts.

Let us, then, begin the work of destruction with the Hasting story of Dudo of St. Quentin, the founder of what we may call the Norman cycle of the Hasting legend from which most of the information or misinformation of a later time regarding Hasting has

¹ Astagnus, Aestagnus, Aestimnus, Astinnus, Anstinnus, Astignus, Aestignus, Alstagnus, Alstignus, Alstingus, Hasteinus, Hastencus, Astencus, Astengus, Hastengus, Hodidgnus, Hæstenus, &c. Commonest and most authoritative are Astingus, Alstingus, and Hæsten. The last is absolutely contemporary. All go back to Hallsteinn or Hásteinn.

been derived. This story is briefly as follows: ² Hasting, a Viking leader from Denmark, lands in Vermandois about 846, devastates that region, and proceeds to the Loire, where he commits ravages for some years. Having exhausted the Loire district, he determines on an expedition to Rome. Ravaging as he goes, he proceeds southward along the coasts of Aquitaine, Spain, Portugal, and so into the Mediterranean. By chance he comes at last to Luna, a city on the Gulf of Spezzia. Finding it impossible to capture the city by force, he resorts to stratagem. He feigns death, his men obtain permission to bury their dead chief in the cathedral of the city, into which they thus gain entry with their weapons concealed under their long robes. The city is captured, plundered, and destroyed, and the whole district devastated; but the Northmen discover that the place is not Rome as they had supposed, and return to France, where Hasting makes friends with the king, is sent as ambassador to Rollo on the coming of the latter, fails in his mission, is defeated in the ensuing battle, and flies. William of Jumièges, ³ the other great pillar of the Norman cycle, repeating Dudo, adds that Hasting was given charge of Biörn Ironside, son of the great Ragnar Lodbrog, king of Denmark, to instruct that youth in piracy and aid him to win a kingdom, and it is for this latter purpose that the expedition to Rome is undertaken. On the return from Italy, Biörn is wrecked in England, but escapes to Frisia and dies there, while Hasting becomes count of Chartres, which possession, however, he sells to one Tetbold after the Rollo fiasco and flies from the wrath of the king. Around these two stories have gathered in later times many others, some, like those of Chartres, Tours, and Anjou, rising to the dignity of coherent legend, but most merely scattered notices or local modifications of the original fable.

As to Hasting's nationality, four principal views have been held. ⁴ Of the first, that he was a Neustrian, ⁵ it has been remarked with truth by M. Lair (Dudo S. Quentin) that its authority is not even sufficient to warrant its refutation. The second is Rodulf Glaber's story ⁶ that Hasting was a youth of 'Tranquillus,' near Troyes in Champagne, who joined the Northmen and rose to leadership. ⁷ There is, of course, a basis for a popular tradition of

² Duchesne, *Hist. Normann. Script.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ That he was described as a 'Visigoth' (*Vit. S. Berchar.*; cp. *Lib. de divers. Cas. Coen. Derv.*) is not important: all Northmen were Visigoths to the Franks and especially to the Burgundians.

⁵ Geffroi, *Hist. Etats Scand.*

⁶ Rodulf Glaber (*M. G. H.* vii. 51): 'In processu quoque temporis ortus est vir quidam in pago Trecassino ex infimo rusticorum genere "Astringus" nomine in vico videlicet qui Tranquillus dicitur, tribus a civitate distans milliariibus.'

⁷ Grosley, *Ephémérides des Troyennes*. Cp. Sismondi, also Thierry, *Hist. Angleterre*.

a Frank joining the Norsemen,⁸ but as regards Hasting the story has absolutely no confirmatory evidence; its very minuteness tells against it, as Rodulf Glaber lived two centuries after the deeds he records here, and there is no existing authority preceding him. In addition to this, he dates the event after 900, and his facts as well as his chronology are very confused in this part of his work. That the name Hasting appears in no saga has been used to support this theory; but even if that were true, which it is not, it could easily be explained by the fact that he seems not to have concerned himself with home affairs, and was thus in great measure, as it were, out of literary range.⁹ While he is not, perhaps, specifically called a Norseman, the fact is assumed in his case as in many others. Dudo, of course, did not know this story, or he probably would not have made his villain, Hasting, of the same race as his hero, Rollo. Of the story which makes Hasting duke of Laland, founded apparently on the Chronicle of Herman Corner,¹⁰ who quotes from the 'Chronica Slavorum,'¹¹ we are only able to say that whatever possibilities, if any, lie in this, the proof is neither sufficient nor conclusive. If possible even less credible than the foregoing is the account of Junius, who says, 'Hastingi, *vetus Bataviae prosapia*, cuius in historiis ante annos 700 fit mentio,'¹² &c.

It seems tolerably certain, then, that Hasting was a Northman, and as between a Danish and a Norwegian origin, the latter for many reasons seems more probable. Contemporaries of course give no clue; Danes and Norwegians were one to the chroniclers. Dudo and his followers make Hasting, like Rollo, a Dacian, *i.e.* a Dane. Sir H. Howorth's contention, however, that Rollo was a Norwegian, goes far towards discrediting Dudo.¹³ Moreover Saxo Grammaticus, himself a Dane, and knowing Dudo, mentions neither Rollo nor Hasting in his history, which seems to indicate that he regarded neither as a Dane. Finally the name itself is not of a Danish but of a Norwegian type.¹⁴ Suhm's proposal of two men named

⁸ Ysembard joined Gurmund; *vid.* Alberic, Hariulf, 881; apostate monk, *Ann. Bertin.*, 869, Pepin, son of Pepin, &c.

⁹ Hasting's 'familiarity with Frankish customs,' used to defend this (*Nouv. Biog. Gén.*), is hardly worthy consideration as a serious argument, and his translating for the Franks with Rollo (*ibid.*) is, as shown below, most improbable. Even admitting for the sake of argument this is true, in that fabulous conversation he declares himself a Dane.

¹⁰ Lübeck, 1437, Eccard, *Corp. Hist. Med. Aev.* ii. 494: 'Hastingus dux Lalandiae regni Danorum secundum Chronica Slavorum eum eis qui a Anglia discesserant.'

¹¹ Helmhold Bosonensis (†1177), Leibnitz, *Scr. Rer. Brunsw.* ii. 537, 743. These passages are not in Adam of Bremen.

¹² *Hist. Batav.* p. 342. Did Junius conceive any such connexion as Laland = Lowland = Netherland? Laland really means Longland. He continues: 'Memoratur enim Hastingus dux Normannorum bellicosus Ligerim classe occupasse ad ann. 768 (*sic*), Nantes,' etc.

¹³ *Archæologia*, xlv. 235 ff.

¹⁴ 'Eisteinn' or 'Oisteinn'; Geijer, *Svea Rikes Häfder*, will not hold. The suggestion of Paillard de St. Aiglan, *Fragm. Inv. Norm. sur Loire*, that Hasting was a

Hasting ('Hist. Denmark') is a favourite device for solving chronological difficulties, but is hardly defensible.

The connexion of Hasting with Hásteinn of Sogn, son of jarl Atle, deserves more consideration.¹⁵ There appears to have been a Hásteinn, son of Atle, jarl of Gaular (now Guldala, south of Drontheim), one of three brothers, Hásteinn, Hersteinn, and Holmsteinn, in company with whom Ingolf and Leif fought.¹⁶ Atle himself was killed fighting against jarl Hakon Gristgardsson, and was succeeded by his son Hásteinn, who, driven from his inheritance of Sogn by Harold Fairhair and earl Sigurd, went to Iceland with his wife Thora, Ölwi's daughter, and his two sons, Atle and Ölwi, and settled there at Stokkseyri up Hásteinnsund,¹⁷ where he lived to a great age. Hásteinn's barrow was near Howeford. Of his sons Ölwi died childless, but Atle had a son Thord, whose son Thorgils, called 'Scarleg's stepson' (Errabeinsstjups), Hásteinn's great-grandson, was baptised in 1002.¹⁸ All this, genealogy as well as history, would make this Hásteinn practically contemporary with the Hasting of the Chronicles. In addition to this, Ingolf of Thelamark (son of Örn, son of Beornolf, son of Heormund Grijson)¹⁹ and Leif were early settlers in Iceland and are found there at the beginning of the tenth century. There are certain other coincidences. Hasting appears as a leader in Gaul in 867, presumably young, since he had two young children in 893.²⁰ His youthful leadership can hardly be explained on any other ground than that of noble birth, and Hásteinn, son of Atle, is counted one of the best born of the settlers in Iceland.²¹ Again, both the Hæsten of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Hásteinn son of Atle of the saga have two sons. And, finally, in the continental chronicles, Hasting is known indiscriminately as Astingus or Alstingus, while he of the sagas is called, in different texts, Hásteinn²² and Hallsteinn.²³ The number and weight of these coincidences seem

title rather than a name, is philologically absurd, and contradicted by the fact of Hasting's appearance as an extremely active personality in at least five contemporary chronicles.

¹⁵ *Landnámabók*, i. 3, 9: 'þeir Ingolfr ok Leifr fóstbræðir fóru í hernað með sonum Atla jarls ens nej ofa af Gaulaur þeim Hásteini ok Hersteini ok Holmsteini.'

¹⁶ Suhm and others. Suhm's idea of two Hastings, one of Sogn, and one of the chronicles, &c., the latter of whom became the type of barbarous Northman, to whom part of the former's adventures, as well as those of others, are attributed, is probably false as to such duality as he imagines, though true as to the attributing of all Viking deeds to Hasting.

¹⁷ *Landnámabók*, v. 9. *Vatnadalasaga*.

¹⁸ *Corp. Poet. Boreal.*, *App. Chronol.* ii. 491. Ari's chronology, 30 years wrong before 976, is here approximately restored by Vigfusson.

¹⁹ *Landnámabók*. ²⁰ *Ang.-Sax. Chron.* 893. ²¹ *Landnámabók*. ²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Floamanna saga*. The first part of *Floamanna saga*, as Vigfusson pointed out, is a citation from a better text of *Landnámabók* than M or H, and is interesting as giving the best version of a legend drawn from a lost lay of the Helgi cycle connected in some way with the traditions of the Haurda-Kari family. It gives the name

something more than merely accidental, and unless some unanswerable objection, not yet raised so far as I know, can be brought and maintained against the theory of the identity of the Hasting of the chronicles with the Hásteinn of the sagas, I think this can be fairly assumed.

By far the most important point in the investigation is the date of Hasting's arrival in Gaul, since from this date, if at all, must be deduced much of the proof of the possibility of certain of his greatest exploits, his age, almost indeed his very identity. It is of course, then, precisely at this point that there occurs the greatest difference of opinion, which runs something like this, to take a few typical examples :

'Gesta Cons. Andegav.,' post 1137 (Bouq. <i>Rec.</i> ix. 28)	831
'Lib. nig. de Coutances,' 11th cent. (<i>Gallia Christ.</i> xi. 217 B)	836
Odo, 'Tract. de Revers. B. St. Mart.' 12th cent. Bouq. ix. 914 ²⁴	838
'Chron. Turon. Magn.,' 1227 (Rec. Chron. Turon.)	841
'Chron. Turon. Magn.,' post 1337 (Rec. Chron. Turon.)	842
Hugo Floriac. beg. 12th cent. (M. G. H. vii. 337)	841
Radulf de Diceto (†1202 or 1203), ed. Stubbs	843
Brompton, Joh. (-1198) ed. Twysden, <i>Hist. Angl. Script.</i> , 721	843
Dudo of St. Quentin, post 1015 (Duchesne, <i>Script. Norm.</i>)	? 846 ²⁵
Orderic Vitalis, †1142 (Duchesne, <i>Script. Norm.</i>)	846
William of Jumièges (-1137), Duchesne, <i>Script. Norm.</i>	851
Ann. S. Mich. in Peric. Maris (-1056), Bouq. <i>Rec.</i> xii. 272	851
'Gesta abb. Trud. cont. Tert.' (-1108) (M. G. H. x. 372)	851
Regino Prum. 'Chron.' (†915), M.G.H. i. 536 ff. [Hasting already in Loire district]	867
Sigeb. Gemblac. (-1112), M. G. H. iv. 300 ff. [Hasting in Loire]	866
Herm. Corner 'Chron.' (-1435), Eccard. <i>Corp. Hist. Med. Aev.</i> 431 ff.	872
William of Malmesbury († post 1142), ed. Stubbs	879
'Gesta Gaufridi ep. Const.' (Bouq. <i>Rec.</i> xiv. 76-80)	856 or 886?

These dates, although apparently differing so widely, group themselves roughly into four classes : (1) 831-853 ; (2) 846 ; (3) 866-7 ; (4) after 867.

In 843 the Northmen first entered the Loire, and with the aid

of Earl Atle's 'eldest and wisest son' as Hallsteinn, not Hásteinn, which in later chronicles would be Halstignus, not Hastingus. The coincidence is strange, but the contemporary O. E. chronicle calls him Hæsten, which must stand for Hásteinn, not Hallsteinn. Professor F. York Powell, to whom I am much indebted for a great part of the Scandinavian side of this question, inclines to the opinion that there were four brothers, sons of Jarl Atle, Há-, Hall-, Her-, and Holm-steinn. I am rather inclined to believe Há- and Hall-steinn only different readings of the same name.

²⁴ Now proved not to be earlier than the thirteenth century, as had been supposed. Cp. Salmon, *Suppl. Recueil Chron. Tour.*, and E. Mabille, *Inv. Norm. dans la Loire.*

²⁵ The *Nouv. Biog. Gén.* accepts 845, for no stated reason, from Dudo, and avoids the Biörn difficulty by inserting a return to the north, where Hasting is given charge of Biörn, recruits and returns to Francia, where Biörn goes up the Seine, and Hasting the Loire. No authority is given.

of Lambert captured and sacked Nantes.²⁶ In 853 a second great invasion swept through Tours, Angers, and a little later even to Amboise and Orleans.²⁷ In neither of these raids is Hasting mentioned by any contemporary authority.²⁸ It seems most probable that in these as in the 831-8 dates the mention of Hasting as the 'first Norseman' in the Norman cycle led later chroniclers to attach his name to the first invasion of which they happened to have knowledge. The date 846 has been arrived at by taking 876, the traditional date of Rollo's arrival,²⁹ and subtracting from it the thirty³⁰ years Hasting was supposed to have ravaged Gaul before Rollo's coming. A further objection to these earlier dates is that they conflict with the idea of this Hasting, already old enough to be a leader in 843 or 853, appearing in England in 893 as an active warrior with two sons too young to bear arms.³¹

It follows, then, that 866-7 is the earliest date in any trustworthy contemporary authority under which the name of Hasting appears. The story in Regino tells of the death of Robert the Strong and Ranulf of Aquitaine at the hands of the Norsemen, and is a most vivid and vigorous piece of narration, apparently first recorded by this chronicler from oral tradition. The death of Robert at Brissarthe in 866-7 at the hands of the Norsemen is beyond question; ³² for the death of Ranulf there is independent evidence,³³ and some accounts³⁴ add Godfrey and Hervé to the leaders, and give the number of Norsemen at 400. Though the connexion of Hasting's name with this exploit is affirmed only by Regino,³⁵ there seems no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of story and date. The account is not overdrawn, and its details bear every impress of probability; Regino was nearly, if not quite, contemporary with the actual deed, he seems to be trustworthy here and well informed regarding the events of this district of the Loire and Brittany, and he has no motive for misstating the facts.

With the dates after 867 we are not concerned if we assume what seems to be the case, that Hasting was in Gaul at that time. How long he had already been in Gaul before the Brissarthe incident, or what districts he had visited, it seems impossible to say, but this fight, as appears from the words of Regino himself, was not Hasting's first. That he was in the Rhine district ³⁶ 855-9

²⁶ *Ann. Bert.*; *Ann. Vedast.*; *Ann. Engolism.*; *Hist. Evers. S. Florent.*; *Chron. Fontan.*, &c.

²⁷ *Ann. Bert.*; *Ann. Fuld.*; Regino, *Chron.*, &c. Cp. Mabille, *Inv. Norm. Loire.*

²⁸ Not even by the *Hist. Evers. S. Florent.* nor by Regino.

²⁹ Exploded by Sir H. Howorth, *op. above.*

³⁰ Dudo, *lib. i.* &c. Generally xxx years elsewhere; sometimes, however, xv, xiii, or even iii.

³¹ 'Cnihte,' *A.-S. Chron.*

³² *Ann. Bert.*; *Ann. Fuld.*; *Ann. Xant.*; *Ann. Floriac.*, &c.

³³ *Ann. Aquit.*

³⁴ *Ann. Bertin.*

³⁵ *Ann. Mettens. brev.* follow him.

³⁶ Thus Lair. Lappenberg simply misquotes the *Ann. Bertin.* in saying that Hasting made peace with Charles in 857-8.

remains little more than supposition, for, however probable it may be, evidence is wanting to support the view.

But by far the most striking story connected with the name of Hasting is that of his voyage round Spain to attack Rome, and his capture of Luna by stratagem. There is a breadth of view, a magnificence about the idea of the proposed capture of the metropolis of Western Europe by a Norse freebooter with a mere handful of followers which stirs the imagination. The picturesque part of the story, the stratagem of feigned death, is a device common to Northern tradition, and by no means distinctively characteristic of Hasting. By such a trick did the legendary Frode³⁷ capture the Russian Poltisca and the English London; the device was used by Harald Hardrada in Sicily³⁸ and by Robert in Calabria.³⁹ Hasting may have known the trick and doubtless did, but it was not his invention, nor is it peculiar to his methods.

As to the Norse raids in the Spanish peninsula and Italy, there is no lack of evidence to prove at least two great expeditions in 843-4 and in 859-60,⁴⁰ in neither of which, however, does Hasting figure outside Dudo's narrative,⁴¹ nor does Luna occur among the list of towns destroyed. This city⁴² stood at or near the mouth of the river Macra; ⁴³ it was a place of such importance that the present Gulf of Spezzia took its name from Luna, as the Portus Lunæ. From a very early day it was a considerable station on the Via Aurelia.⁴⁴ In later times we read of its capture by Rotharis in 630,⁴⁵ and by the Saracens in 849.⁴⁶ In 894 Arnulf on a journey to

³⁷ *Saxo Gramm.* book ii.

³⁸ Snorro Sturleson, *Heimskringla, Saga Harald Hardrada.*

³⁹ *Guillelm. Appul.* book v., Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* v. 254. This story is also told in the *Harl. Misc.* of the capture of Sark by an English captain, 1700, a curious survival of the legend.

⁴⁰ Ferreras, *Hist. de España*, xvi. app. 59; *Chron. Ovetens.*; Abulfeda, *Ann. Moslem.*; *Chron. Aldefonsi III*; *Chron. Iriens.*; *Ann. Bertin.*; Rod. de Tolet, *Hist. Arab.*, Schott, *Hisp. Illust.*, &c. Cp. also Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique*; Depping, *Hist. Norm.*

⁴¹ The Anderson-Laing story (*Heimskringla*, i. 269, Skopte, 1069; Anderson, *Njörve*, iv. 120, Laing) of either Skopte or Njörva being the first to pass Gibraltar probably means that Skopte was the first of his generation, if it means anything. Njörva is, of course, the Narrows, not a man's name.

⁴² It is the seat in Italian tradition (not our version) of the Romeo-Juliet story.

⁴³ The city proper, however, seems to have been about 5 miles from the gulf and separated by hills. Celebrated for cheese, wine, and marble (now called Carrara).

⁴⁴ Livy, xli. 13; Strabo, iii. 21; Pliny, iii.; Ptolemy; Silius, viii.; Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 584; itineraries *Anton.* and *Marit.*; Martial, xiii. 30. Cp. Villani, *Istor. Fiorent.*; Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*; and Walckenaer, *Geogr. Anc., ut infra.* Macaulay's *Lays*, 'The great lord of Luna came.' Founded c. 177 B.C. as a burghess colony to check the Ligurians and give Rome a North Italian port.

⁴⁵ Paul. Diac. lxxvii.; Muratori *Rer. Ital. Script.* i. 471; Fredegarius, lxxi.; Bouq. *Rec.* ii. 440 E.

⁴⁶ *Ann. Bertin.*

Rome celebrated Christmas at Luna.⁴⁷ Its charter was renewed by Berengar in 890 or 895. It was again captured by Saracens in 1016;⁴⁸ we find its name in a thirteenth or fourteenth century Icelandic itinerary of the way to Rome;⁴⁹ in a charter of Frederick I to Peter, its bishop, in 1185,⁵⁰ and in an instrument executed between its bishop Andrea and the marquesses Malaspina in 1202-24. It was the episcopal city of its diocese (Lunensis), and Ughelli ('Ital. Sacra,' i. 883) gives a list of its bishops with some omissions from 500 to his time, 1637. It was eventually merged into Sarzana.⁵¹ The time and manner of its destruction are uncertain, but it can hardly have fallen before the thirteenth century.⁵² Whether it perished by sand or air, or, as Dante intimates ('Par.' xvi. 73), simply sank into decay, it is impossible to say.

There seems to be no definite contemporary authority either for or against a Norse raid on Luna in the ninth century, and no document before Dudo connecting Hasting's name with a Mediterranean expedition. It is urged that there were Norse expeditions against Spain and Italy in the ninth century, that there is even a record of the destruction of Pisa and neighbouring cities by Northmen in 859-60, that the meagre contemporary accounts of Hasting's career have huge gaps, one of which may very well have been filled by such an expedition as this, so well in keeping with his character, and that the stratagem was one doubtless familiar to him. All this is true, but is no more evidence of Hasting's share in the raid than it is of Sigefrid's or Godefrid's or of that of any one of half a dozen other leaders, some of whom are mentioned by name as actually in Aquitaine and Spain.⁵³ Total reliance cannot indeed be placed on lack of contemporary mention of Hasting in Italy, but this must not be regarded as unimportant. Italian authorities may not mention the Saracens' capture of Luna in 849 nor the secret of its final downfall, but in view of the strong local tradition of Hasting

⁴⁷ *Ann. Fuld.*

⁴⁸ Thietmar, vii. 31 (viii. 45, ed. Kurze); Lupus Protospat., *N.* 1017; Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* v. 37 ff.

⁴⁹ E. C. Werlauff, *Symbol. ad Geogr. Med. Aev. ex Mon. Isl.*

⁵⁰ Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* col. 914.

⁵¹ The *Tresor de Chron.* says the bishopric was transferred 1465, but cp. Ughelli. In the present day Cinni, Burgueto, and Sarzana are combined.

⁵² Cp. also Walckenaer, *Geogr. Anc. Gaul. Cis- et Transalp.*, 'Luna diruta'; Kruse, 'Luna distrutta'; Targioni Tozzetti, *Saggio del topograph.* c. 2, s. 2; *Relaz. d'alcun viagg. &c.*, x. 408; Rutilius; Cyriac of Ancona. Muratori quotes Holstenius in Cluverius, *Italia*, p. 25, as saying that the ruins of Luna, destroyed by Northmen, were still visible. Harduin repeats this, Baronius-Pagi (1204). Lair, I think rightly, regards the fragment cited in Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* i. 25, as worthless; and Villani, *Istor. Fiorent.* (both of destruction by Northmen). Luard (*Flores Historiarum*, i. 467) and Matth. Paris wrongly and needlessly substitute Spezzia for Luna.

⁵³ Guérard, *Chart. S. Père de Chartres*, is quite wrong in claiming the first mention of Luna and Hasting for *Vetus Aganon*, taken from Hugh of Fleury. Lair is right in denying this, though Hugh of Fleury is not quite word for word out of Dudo, as he asserts.

in those districts he is known to have infested, the fact that no Italian writer before the thirteenth or fourteenth century mentions its capture by Northmen is certainly not without weight. For raids of the Norsemen in the Mediterranean in 844 and 859, for their capture of Pisa and neighbouring cities in 859, and for the taking of Luna by Saracens in 849 and 1016, we have evidence. But that Northmen captured Luna in the ninth century, that Hasting had a share in this or any Mediterranean expedition, we have no evidence before this unsupported story of Dudo, who not only is untrustworthy in nearer events, but was most unfavourably situated in time and place for obtaining any knowledge of this distant raid. The name of Luna, says Depping, is preserved in the memory of Northmen. But the saga of Ragnar Lodbrog to which he refers is a fourteenth-century compilation whose author knew Dudo and William of Jumièges, while the equally late itinerary of the Abbé Nicolas depends not on pirate traditions but on the stories of travellers to Rome whose road lay through Luna along the old Via Aurelia. The fact that Luna was flourishing in the twelfth century may not disprove its destruction in the ninth,⁵⁴ but the fact that Arnulf passed Christmas there in 894, though he had other large places in easy reach, inclines one to believe it could not have been destroyed in 859 or later. The projection of the Biörn story into the Luna incident weakens rather than strengthens it. On other grounds we have reason to doubt this Biörn legend, and the plan of making Biörn emperor, even more than the capture of Rome, smacks rather of monkish invention than of Norse piracy.

How, then, is the whole story to be explained? It seems by no means improbable that Dudo is as confused in his account of this incident as he is with respect to Hasting's career in general. He may very well have composed the story, as Sir Henry Howorth has pointed out he was so fond of doing in other cases, from the materials he had at hand relating to the Saracen capture of Luna, the raids of the Norsemen in Aquitaine, Spain, and the Mediterranean, and their capture of Pisa and neighbouring cities in 859, and have added the story of the stratagem of feigned death from current traditions. It would be charity to assume that the monk had before him a chronicle recording a *defectio lunae*, and mistook the luminary for the city. We must, then, regard the whole story, though possible, as unproven and discredited.

Into the Hasting story of Dudo, William of Jumièges introduced a character thenceforth inseparably connected with the name of Hasting, Biörn Ironside, the son of Ragnar.⁵⁵ Besides this Biörn story a Viking Biörn appears in two other connexions.

⁵⁴ Cp. Kruse, *Chron. Nortmann.*

⁵⁵ Later opinion has been greatly and about equally divided on this question. Cp. Depping, Lair, Suhm, Le Prevost, Wheaton, Miller, Turner, &c.

The first is the mention in certain ninth-century chronicles of a Berno who carried on piratical operations in the Seine district in connexion with Sidroc and Sigefrid.⁵⁶ The second is the saga story of Biörn Ironside, son of Ragnar.⁵⁷ It is unnecessary here to go into detail about either of these accounts save as regards their connexion with Hasting.⁵⁸ The story of this first comes to light in the early part of the twelfth century, more than two hundred years after Hasting; it has no integral connexion with the original legend, but is woven into it by an obvious process, no part of the Dudo story being dependent on it, though it entirely depends on the original. The plan, for instance, of making Biörn emperor is clearly a device for connecting him with the Luna expedition and giving an additional reason for it, though hardly one that would have occurred to a Northman. Whether the Berno of the ninth-century chronicles and the Biörn Ironside of the sagas are the same or not, there certainly exists no documentary evidence before this twelfth-century story for connecting either of them with Hasting; and this is of itself almost enough to discredit the story. While it may be as impossible to disprove as it is to prove any connexion between Berno and Hasting, there is every reason to doubt that Hasting ever played the part assigned to him by William of Jumièges as the *paedagogus* or *nutritius* of Biörn. As these roving pirate bands often joined forces, it is not improbable that Hasting and Berno may have known and even co-operated with each other. The idea of tutorship in piracy is common,⁵⁹ but not in connexion with either Hasting or Biörn before the Jumièges legend, which must be regarded as apocryphal. For if we accept it we must also accept the Danish origin of Hasting, the false chronology of the Norman cycle, and all, which for other reasons it seems impossible to do. The story can probably be best explained as one of those frequent medieval attempts to combine two existing legends, easier in this case than in many similar instances.

The remaining questions raised by the Dudo-Jumièges cycle deserve some notice. For the story that Hasting became count of Chartres⁶⁰ there is little but circumstantial evidence, and even this seems to make against the tradition. He appears nowhere in this capacity save in the pages of William of Jumièges and his followers, including the modern historians of Chartres, and there are no

⁵⁶ *Chron. Fontanell.* 14 Kal. Sept. 855; *Ann. Bertin.* 858-9.

⁵⁷ Cp. Rafn, *Ragnar Lodbrog's Saga*; Schroter, *Diss. de Ragnar Lodbrog.*

⁵⁸ I know of no trustworthy authority for Palgrave's statement that Biörn was killed in Devon with Ubbe, who came ashore there with Yngwar and was killed, Yngwar escaping. Nor is there proof for Lappenberg's assertion that Biörn commanded the 250 ships which preceded Hasting to England. Cp. Depping and Geijer.

⁵⁹ Cp. *Olaf Helgas* by Snorro Sturleson; Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*, i. 344.

⁶⁰ Cp. the histories of Chartres by Doyen, Piutard, Ozeray, and Chevard; Freeman, Grosley, Depping, Lair, &c.

documents or charters containing his name. It is true that the history of Chartres before Thibaut le Tricheur (943-78),⁶¹ the reputed founder of the line, is extremely obscure, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that at some time Hasting may have held the place, though hardly as the feudatory of the king of France. There is a shadowy Thibaut who seems to have lived, if at all, about 900,⁶² but there is no hint of his connexion either with the great Thibaut or with Hasting. Like the Angevin story of Geoffrey Grisegonelle, the whole matter is probably merely local tradition, connecting the name of the greatest local marauder with the greatest local hero.⁶³

If we accept 912, or even 911,⁶⁴ as the date of Rollo's arrival in Gaul, we must reject entirely the story of Hasting's interview and battle with Rollo. Almost exactly the same stories are told in the 'Ann. Vedast.' of Sigefrid in 883, and of an anonymous Dane in 884, and it has already been pointed out that Dudo's account of Rollo's battle with Ragnold and Hasting seems merely an enlargement of another story in the 'Ann. Vedast.' 886 with altered dates and inserted names. This whole incident is apparently only another example of Dudoesque combination of details of various stories into a more or less typical whole embodied in the character of Hasting.

The question of Hasting's conversion and baptism, made much of by certain writers,⁶⁵ is generally assumed by them to have taken place in Gaul after having, according to the Dudo legend, made peace with the king. The only hint in any trustworthy authority of his having become a Christian is a passage in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 894, which refers to him as *cumpæder* or 'gossip' of the ealdorman Æthered, which implies an ecclesiastical relationship between them only explicable on the assumption of Hasting's previous baptism, or at least 'prime-signing.' It is, of course, quite possible that he was, like many others, baptised more than once.⁶⁶

Finally, as an example of the rapid growth of legend, the increase of the list of places said to have been devastated by Hasting is most instructive. Dudo himself begins modestly

⁶¹ Chevalier.

⁶² E. Cartier, *Mélanges Historiques*; Grandmaison, *Tours Archéologique*.

⁶³ Cp. the grant of Nantes to Ragnold and Gelduin's holding Saumur from Blois, as possible prototypes of the incident.

⁶⁴ Cp. Howorth as above. Whether either is the real date, it seems certain that 876 or any date before 900 is wrong.

⁶⁵ Cp. the *Nouv. Biog. Gén.*, which lays stress on the effect produced on the other Northmen, three years' quiet and fewer ravages thereafter for thirteen years till Rollo came.

⁶⁶ Compare the story of the Northman at Paris who rejected the sacking offered, and complained that this was the first time he had been baptised without receiving a new white robe.

enough with all the churches of Vermandois, the churches of St. Denys, of St. Medard and St. Eligius, of St. Geneviève, and the massacre of Immo, bishop of Noyon, with his deacons. Hugh of Fleury (c. 1135)⁶⁷ has essentially the same list; but from his time in all writers save Orderic († *post* 1142) the lists, though all based on Dudo and with no new evidence to support them, grow by leaps and bounds. William of Jumièges adds, naturally, his own monastery, together with some nineteen names of provinces, towns, monasteries, and churches. By the time of Geoffrey Gaimar (1148) this number has swelled to forty. Successive writers seem to have exhausted their topographical knowledge for rhetorical effect till the area of Hasting's ravages was limited only by the geographical knowledge or ignorance of the historian. Obviously these later lists are purely imaginative. Of Dudo's list 'all the churches of Vermandois' is rhetoric. We know that Immo was killed in 859 by Northmen in the Seine, presumably under Oscher;⁶⁸ St. Geneviève was occupied or destroyed many times, notably in 857 with St. Denys,⁶⁹ and in 886 by Sigefrid, who also destroyed St. Medard. As to St. Quentin itself there are several reasons which combine to make us suspect Hasting may have had a hand in its destruction, and these will be noted later. It is useless, as it would be impossible, to investigate each case, and for the present it is only necessary to mention this fungus-growth of legend as an illustration of the caution that must be exercised in accepting such rhetoric for historical evidence save of the most general character.

This practically concludes the discussion of the points directly raised by the Norman cycle, and for the present we may omit any reference to the contemporary authorities for the life of Hasting⁷⁰ further than to say that they seem entirely trustworthy and do not conflict with one another. They are at least the best we have, besides being practically beyond any possibility of disproof even if that were necessary. There remain to be considered certain other groups of stories independent or semi-independent of the Norman writers, having as the stages of their action the Loire, Burgundy, Flanders, and England, besides certain scattered notices not rising to the dignity of coherent narrative, but still deserving of some consideration. Of these various materials we will begin with the Hasting legends of the Loire, centring in Tours, Anjou, and Chartres.

The non-contemporary notices of Hasting's connexion with Tours and Touraine are so numerous and intrinsically probable that, as in

⁶⁷ Duchesne, *S. R. N.* 32, and *S. R. F.* iii. 334, Bouq. vii. 224.

⁶⁸ *Gesta Norm. ante Rollonem* (Duchesne, *S. R. N.*); *Ann. Vedast.*

⁶⁹ *Ann. Bertin.*; *Ann. Vedast.*; Abbo, *De Bellis Parisiæ Urbis*; Duchesne, *S. R. N.* p. 35 ff.

⁷⁰ *Ann. Bert.* 882; *Ann. Vedast.* 882; Regino, *Chron.* 867; *Ang.-Sax. Chron.* 893 ff.; *Vita S. Vivent. Vergiac.*; *Landnamabók*, i. 3, 9; *Vatnadælasaga*, &c.

some other cases, while perhaps no one of them can be actually demonstrated to be either true or false, in the aggregate, yet even if there were no proof of Hasting's presence in the Loire district,⁷¹ they would be good presumptive evidence for his connexion with Touraine and the siege of Tours.⁷² The story, essentially the same in most of the chronicles, is that, Charles the Bald having died, the Northmen under Hasting ravaged Gaul for three years, compelling the canons of Tours to transfer the body of St. Martin to Auxerre for a time. The Northmen, having devastated the land to the walls of Paris, captured Amboise, ravaged all the country between the Cher and the Loire, burned the suburbs of Tours, and attacked the city itself. In the last extremity the men of Tours fetched out the body of the blessed St. Martin, which had been brought back to its resting-place from Auxerre, and carrying it before them put the Danes to flight, pursuing them 'to the sixth stone from the city.' The story is confused by changing the name of the Norse leader, Rollo, Hasting, and Eric being used; and the date varies considerably in different authorities. The whole matter has been so ably and so soundly discussed,⁷³ that its further sifting here is superfluous. The only result as regards Hasting's share in the event is that it is only possible to conclude that there were several sieges between 853 and 903, in one or more of which he doubtless took part. Date or details it is impossible to fix more definitely than to say that his operations were probably between 865 and 873, or between 880 and 882, more probably the former.

Closely connected with the Touraine cycle is the story of Hasting and Geoffrey Grisegonelle, count of Anjou,⁷⁴ whose haughty house was not to be outdone in the matter of a Hasting legend by Normandy, Chartres, or even by St. Martin himself. This story runs that Huasten,⁷⁵ a Dane, having ravaged the coasts of France for three years, turned inland through Flanders, and aided by its counts, his nephews Edward and Hilduin, besieged Paris with 50,000 Danes and Saxons. With them they had a giant, Hethelwulf, or 'in Frankish' Haustinn, who challenges the Frankish champions to combat. After an excessive amount of turgid rhetoric it appears that Geoffrey is sent for, and like a medieval David slays this second Goliath, and cuts off his

⁷¹ Regino, *Chron.*; Pertz, *M. G. H.* i. 536 ff.

⁷² *Chron. Turon. Magn.* (-1227); *De Commend. Prov. Turon.* (12th cent.); *Gesta Dom. Ambaz.* (1154); *Liber de Compos. Cast. Ambaz.* (1154); *Chron. Gest. cons. Andegav.* (1151-64); *Odo, Tract. de Revers. Corp. B. S. Mart.* (c. 1225); *Brev. Hist. S. Julian. Turon.* (542-1199); *De Restruct. Maj. Monast.*

⁷³ Salmon, *Suppl. Rec. Chron. Tour.* in *Mém. Soc. Archéol. Tour.*; Mabille, *Invas. Norm.—Loire*; Grandmaison, *Tours Archéol.*

⁷⁴ *Gesta Cons. Andegav.* (1135-65); *Gesta Gaufrid cons. Andegav. adv. Danos.*

⁷⁵ Sometimes, though doubtfully, identified with Sweyn (Langebek, ii. 199).

head, while the terrified Danish army takes to flight. Geoffrey Grisegonelle flourished late in the tenth century: this story seems to appear first in the twelfth century, and is full of fables wonderful even for that age. It is, of course, thoroughly worthless as it stands, and is of the same type as the local-marauder-local-hero tale of Thibaut of Chartres.

Besides the story of Hasting as count of Chartres, and probably connected with it, are the accounts of his siege of that place; and their development is a most striking example of the difficulties to be met with in an investigation like this—difficulties, which in this case at least, are surmountable only by the broadest of generalisations. The authority for the connexion of Hasting's name with the siege of Chartres is a document known from the title of its preface as 'Vetus Aganon,' part of the chartulary of the monastery of St. Peter of Chartres,⁷⁶ which purports to relate the lives of certain abbots and the doings of the monastery in their day. The document is apparently of the twelfth century. Its story is that Hasting and his followers, coming up the Seine, attacked and captured Chartres by night, pillaged and set fire to the town, and were returning to their ships when they were in turn attacked, defeated, compelled to abandon their booty and fly for their lives. The further account of their doings is a mere paraphrase of the Dudo legend of Luna. Besides the 'Vetus Aganon,' the chief authorities for the various other stories are the Chronicle of Tours⁷⁷ and the annals of St. Columba of Sens.⁷⁸ The first tells of the siege of Chartres in 893 by Rollo, who was repulsed by bishop Wantelm and the garment of the Virgin; the second, of the siege in 911, when the place was relieved by Richard of Burgundy and Robert of Paris. In later writers⁷⁹ these three accounts are mingled and confused, the sieges are attributed indiscriminately to Hasting and Rollo, dated 853, 858, 888, 891, 893, or 911, and the attacks are either successful or are beaten off by various combinations of Richard of Burgundy, Thibaut the Trickster, Geoffrey of Anjou, Eudes of Le Mans, Robert of Paris, Rudolf of Burgundy, bishop Wantelm, bishop Gauzlin, and the garment of the blessed Virgin.

If possible this extraordinary muddle is made worse by modern writers. M. Ozeray ('Hist. de Chartres') contributes little to the discussion save two typographical errors (possibly incorrect spellings), *Flotbord* and *Lastings*. M. Chevard ('Hist. de Chartres') mistakes the stratagem of the capture of Luna for the method of taking Chartres, dates the event 858, and adds the death of Frotbold, probably from the 'Ann. Bertin.' Besides this he gives his imagination rein in the further addition of picturesque but often very

⁷⁶ Guérard, *Chart. S. Père de Chartres* in *Chart. Franc.*

⁷⁷ *Ubi supra.*

⁷⁸ *M. G. H.* i. 102.

⁷⁹ Cp. also *Rec. Chron. Turon.*

doubtful details—a siege in 886 or later, raised by Geoffrey of Anjou and Eudes of Le Mans, a forced contribution for Hasting raised by bishop Haimery, and the rebuilding of the church by Hasting's permission, a siege in the time of Gauzlin (896–926), the ravaging of Burgundy by Hasting and Rollo together, and the siege of Chartres by the latter, opposed by Thibaut the Trickster, Richard, and Robert, who finally drive Rollo away, 20 July 911, though he adds that the church chronicles give the credit of this achievement to bishop Gauzlin and the relic. Unless this historian has access to trustworthy documents unknown to historians generally and not mentioned by himself, his account must be regarded as of little value. Doyen ('Hist. de Chartres') dates the siege by Hasting in 845, makes Hasting master of the Chartrain and recognised as count of Chartres by Charles the Bald, giving up his title later to Thibaut, adding a revolt against Hasting by the people of the Chartrain. Sir Henry Howorth accepts Hasting as count of Chartres and thinks Rollo's siege improbable; Freeman and Grosley join with Sir H. Howorth on the question of countship, and are opposed by Depping. Guérard dates the first siege in 858, attributing it to Hasting; and identifies a second in which Chartres was destroyed in 888, and a third by Rollo in 911. Thus doctors disagree, and altogether it seems absolutely impossible to extract from this *mélange* anything like definite events, to say nothing of definite dates. Without entering into an elaborate and necessarily futile discussion of these various views, all founded on late and not too trustworthy authorities, whose original and contemporary sources are now lost even if they ever existed, it is only possible to generalise broadly. The most that can be said is that probably Hasting was at some time or other connected with the siege of Chartres, perhaps even becoming master of the city and of part or all of the Chartrain. This could hardly have been in 845, 853, or 858. The earliest possible date seems to be 888–9, which on the whole, taken in connexion with the probable raid into Burgundy, seems to be the most likely. In any case, however, details cannot receive any credence without further and better testimony than we have now, and the whole question, at least in the present state of our knowledge, belongs rather to the domain of historic probabilities than to fact.

Of all these extra-Norman traditions none is more consistent and inherently probable than that of Hasting's raid into Burgundy during or after the siege of Paris in 866–7, and his defeat by Duke Richard of Burgundy at Argenteuil or in the Chartrain in 888. The chief authority for this is a life of St. Viventius of Vergy,⁸⁰ apparently of the tenth century, which relates how Northmen under Hasting ravaged Burgundy, and burned, among other places,

⁸⁰ *AA. SS. Boll.* 13 Jan. i. 804–814. None of the persons mentioned in it were living after 956.

the monastery at Vergy, some time after 868, but were pursued into the Chartrain and defeated there by Richard. The echo of this story in the Chartres legend we have just discussed. The date 868, it may be said, as appears from internal evidence as well as external sources, is obviously a scribal error, and is changed to what it is meant for, 886, by the Bollandists, who accept the document as genuine tenth century. This very definite story the 'Chron. Besuense' corroborates fully, dating the raid 888, adding the destruction of Bèze and the defeat in 892. Ademar's 'Chronicon' († 1035) adds that 'Rudolf, king of Burgundy,' defeated the Northmen *ad Destrucios* in 888, and that meanwhile others under Bareto and Hasting devastated northern France. The 'Liber de Diversis Casibus Coenobii Dervensis'⁸¹ (11th cent.) says that Hasting, a 'Visigothic' leader, burned that monastery and ravaged Burgundy, but that the raid was avenged by Rudolf, son of duke Richard. The 'Translatio S. Aigulfi'⁸² adds that a Hasting devastated France and was killed by Rudolf in 931—which last event Suhm puts at 936.⁸³ These later Rudolf stories are probably either derived from the Richard story or most likely a combination of them with Rudolf's real battles with the Northmen. The Richard story, however, is both coherent and probable, and, unless there is some objection to it of which I am not aware, can be accepted with reasonable safety.

In addition to Dudo and William of Jumièges we have certain other late notices of Hasting's movements in that region. The 'Inventio S. Quintini secunda'⁸⁴ and the 'Sermo de Tumulatione SS. Quintini, Victorici, et Cassiani'⁸⁵ record Norse movements in the Scheldt and Meuse districts, Hasting's peace with Louis, the capture of Condé and the destruction of St. Quentin presumably by him, and the removal of the body of the saint into Picardy. The 'Miracula S. Godonis'⁸⁶ adds the destruction of that monastery by Hasting, and the chronicles of Robert of Mont St. Michel⁸⁷ and William of Malmesbury note the destruction of Jumièges by Hasting.⁸⁸ While not accepting as final Dudo's statement of Hasting's destruction of St. Quentin, or the stories of these later writers, it is fair to suppose that Hasting, who, as we know, left the Loire for maritime parts in Sept. 882, co-operated with those Northmen who from 883 to 885-6 gradually converged on Paris from the districts of the Seine, the Scheldt, and the Somme. His

⁸¹ 'et miraculis S. Bercharii auct. anon. jussu Beronis, abb.' Mabillon, *AA. SS. ordinis Ben.* ii. 845-6.

⁸² *AA. SS. Boll.* 3 Sept. i. 755. Mabillon, *AA. SS. ordinis Ben.* ii. 666.

⁸³ Cp. *Chron. S. Benigni Divion.*, whence comes *Ann. Bes.*, connected with *Chron. Bes.* Burgundy ravaged 887, &c.

⁸⁴ *AA. SS. Boll.* 3 Jan. i. 154.

⁸⁵ Bouq. *Rec.* ix. 109.

⁸⁶ *AA. SS. Boll.* 26 May, vi. 444.

⁸⁷ Bouq. *Rec.* xiv. 383. *M. G. H.* vi. 475. William of Malmesbury was almost exactly contemporary with William of Jumièges, and Robert a few years later.

⁸⁸ *Chron. Fontanell.* Jumièges burned by Oscher, 841.

actual burning of St. Quentin in 883, or his presence in the region connecting his name with that event in local tradition, would certainly go far towards explaining how Dudo raised him to the bad eminence of hero of his prelude to the Rollo panegyric, rather than others, who, like Sigefrid, would otherwise certainly seem more available for such a purpose. His presence in 857-9 is unsupported by any stronger authority than the general probability of any Northman on his way to the Loire harrying the entire coast as he went, especially the rich lowlands in the Vermandois region.

Finally, the chronicle of Peter Bechini (-1137) under the year 872 has a curious notice,⁸⁹ which occurs also in essentially the same form in William of Malmesbury (†1141) under 879. Both are evidently from an older common source. The statement is that at the peace of Wedmore, Alfred, having converted a part of the Danes then devastating England, others under Hasting went to Gaul, which they ravaged for thirteen years, causing, among other things, the translation of the body of St. Martin of Tours, and were finally driven from the continent by the emperor Arnulf. In view of the facts that there is a gap in the continental records of Hasting, at least from 873 to 882; that certain hordes of Northmen descended on England from the continent from 871 to 876, especially in 876; that there is no inherent improbability in the story, nor conflict with any other dates; and that 13 added to 879, the date of Guthrum's conversion, does make 892, the date of Arnulf's victory, directly after which Hasting left the continent for England: the presumption at least is strongly in favour of accepting the story. In this connexion, however, arises the further question of Hasting's command of the Northmen who wintered at Fulham in 879. Lappenberg, Pauli, and others accept this as a fact, but no mention of the name of the Fulham leader occurs in any writer before Gaimar,⁹⁰ and even the reading of Hasting into his story is based on the acceptance of Hugh of Fleury's absurd statement that Hasting was also called Gurmund. As Gaimar goes on to say that Gurmund was killed next year near Ghent, and as the Chronicle, Asser, Æthelweard, Florence, Simeon of Durham, and William of Malmesbury give no evidence which can be fairly called corroborative, there seems to be no reason to assume that he was at Fulham, much less that he came

⁸⁹ Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Ser.* iii. 365; Salmon, *Rec. Chron. Tour.* 1-63, pref. v-xv. Cp. also the *Chron.* of Herman Corner, Eccard, ii. *Cont. Bede*; *Vetus Chron.* in Duchesne, *H. F. S.* iii. 359; Lambert of Hersfeld, *Historia, M. H. G.* v. 136-41; Pauli, *Life of Alfred.*

⁹⁰ His words are

'Li reis Gurmund par son devis
Mist ses gardons en cel pais;
Après iço manda per ban
Pur l'ost ki est a Fuleham.'

'by sea' (Pauli) thither from Cirencester. It is contrary to sense to believe Hasting was also called Gurmund, *i.e.* Guthrum, for Guthrum is Gorm latinised, Gormo giving the objective French case Gormon, whence by corruption and analogy Gormond, now Guthrum. The latter is a distinct personality in the chronicles and sagas, and he, rather than Hasting, was the Fulham commander, though of course it is not inconceivable that Hasting was there.

What these various accounts chiefly demonstrate is the widespread knowledge of Hasting's name at a comparatively early date, in those very regions which contemporary authorities make the scene of his exploits—the Loire district, and the Breton and Aquitanian borders, the Seine region, the Chartrain, Burgundy, Vermandois, and the Somme districts, together with England. Whatever truth or falsehood individual stories contain, in the aggregate they make for the confining of his raids to those districts in which alone strong local traditions of him have maintained themselves, and in so much do something to destroy the theory of his raids in Aquitaine, Spain, and Italy.

Before closing this part of the discussion there are a few scattered notes to be discussed, the first two merely statements which deserve mention only to be condemned. Lappenberg's⁹¹ identification of Hasting with one Hals, who figures in the battle of Hasloo, 21 July 882 (basing this identification on a contraction of the Frankish *Alstingus*, in itself absurd), is absolutely impossible. Hasting made peace in the Loire district with Louis III, who died almost immediately afterwards, 5 Aug. 882,⁹² and no man could have fought one king 21 July, made his way more than two hundred miles through a hostile country, and concluded a peace with another king in at the most ten days. As has been said, the statement that Hasting was also called Gurmund is equally absurd. Hugh of Fleury is the chief authority for this, and his statement, however much copied by later writers, cannot be relied on. Hariulf and Gaimar record a Gurmund's death in 881. Alberic, founding himself doubtless on some *chanson de geste*, records the joining of a *Guaramund* by Ysembard in 881. Whether all these Gurmunds were the same, as seems probable, or not, they were certainly not Hasting.⁹³ As to Hasting's share in the siege of Paris, while it is altogether probable,⁹⁴ I am unaware of any good authority on which Sir Henry Howorth bases his assertion to that effect. Two curious notices concerning Hasting, neither of historical importance, are to be found, one in Henry of Huntingdon's speech

⁹¹ *England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings.*

⁹² *Ann. Vedast.* 882.

⁹³ The Gurmund of Fordun's *Scotichronicon* was Guthrum of E. Anglia. Further for this see the *chanson de geste*, *Gurmund et Ysembard*; Bartsch and Horning, *Lang. et Litt. Franc.*; A. Scheler; *Röm. Studien*, v. Böhmen, iii.; Romania, v. 577, &c., *Guaramund* being, of course, *Warmund*, not *Gurmund*.

⁹⁴ *Vit. S. Vident.*, &c., as above.

of William the Conqueror at Hastings, the other in an old French romance printed in 'Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale,' xxxii. 13.

It may seem a rash undertaking to deny the truth of a story of such long standing and wide acceptance as the Dudo-Jumièges legend of Hasting, defended as it is by such an apparent array of authority. It is, however, only apparent, for this long list of Norman, Anglo-Norman, and English accounts goes back practically to Dudo, since, save for the scattered variations already noted, later writers have slavishly copied this arch-fabulist, and it cannot be too strongly insisted on that multiplication of names lends no weight to Dudo's story. In this investigation practically we must decide between two stories, not attempt to reconcile them. If we accept the Hasting of the chronicles, we get definite dates and definite events, whatever the gaps in the story and the questions of whence and whither; if we accept the other Hasting, we must also accept disputed dates based on false chronology put forward by writers absolutely ignorant of the contemporary notices of the man, for neither Dudo nor William of Jumièges seems to have used such a notice even by accident. Yet the difficulty, indeed the impossibility, of reconciling these two accounts in almost every detail in one way somewhat simplifies the constructive task to which we will now turn. A biography of Hasting based on the preceding investigation would run somewhat as follows.

Hásteinn or Hallsteinn, the famous ninth-century Viking leader, was probably the son of Atle of Sogn, jarl of Gaular, now Guldala, south of Drontheim.⁹⁵ He was born about 840 or 845, and was one of three brothers, Hásteinn, Hersteinn, and Holmsteinn. His father, killed fighting against earl Hakon Gristgardsson, was succeeded by Hásteinn, who, however, was driven from his inheritance of Sogn by king Harold Fairhair and earl Sigurd, and fled with his wife Thora, Ölwi's daughter, and a band of followers, as one of the first of that crowd of freebooters thrown on the shores of western Europe by the stern measures of Harold in his attempt to establish unity and order in his kingdom.

Hásteinn first appears in the history of western Europe about 867, in the Loire district,⁹⁶ whither he had doubtless come along the coast, harrying as he went, there being room for suspicion of his activity at this period in the regions of the Scheldt and the Somme. The first definite account of him, however, is the story of the combat at Brissarthe. In the year 867, says Regino, the Northmen occupying the banks of the Loire, Nantes, Anjou, Poitou, and Tours began to devastate those provinces with repeated cruelties, and were returning from a raid on Le Mans when Robert, who held the marches, and Ranulf, duke of Aquitaine, having col-

⁹⁵ *Landnámabók, Floamanna Saga.*

⁹⁶ Regino, 867 and 874.

lected forces, marched against them, some authorities adding Hervé and Godfrey, and putting the numbers at 400 Northmen and 3,000 Franks. The Northmen, perceiving that they were pursued by an army, with all speed hastened to regain their ships, but when they saw the number of their pursuers approaching they perceived it was not possible to escape by flight, and hurried to a village [Brissarthe], where they fortified themselves as well as their time permitted. There was a large stone church in the village, into which the greatest part of the Northmen rushed with their leader Hasting. Robert and Ranulf with their followers overcame those they could find outside the church and slew them at once. But coming to the church and seeing it was a fortified place with a large number of the pagans safely entrenched in it, they decided to build a camp around it, pitch their tents, and the next day batter down the walls of the church with machines and drive the Northmen out. Meanwhile evening came on. Robert, overcome by the heat, took off his helmet and hauberk for the sake of coolness; but while he was settling questions concerning the camp, suddenly the Northmen burst out of their fort, and charged Robert and his companions with loud shouts. But seizing their arms their opponents drove them back into the church as suddenly as they had come. Robert incautiously pursuing the enemy without helmet or corslet was killed in the very entrance of the church and his body dragged inside by the Northmen. A little later Ranulf was severely wounded by a Northman, who shot at him through a window of the church; and the army, having lost its leaders and full of sorrow, broke up their camp and went home, while the Northmen rejoicing greatly made their way to their ships.

It appears also that Hasting made war not only on the Frankish and Aquitanian realms, but also on Brittany, with whose king Solomon he made peace about 869-70 (?);⁹⁷ and Regino tells a further most striking story of the doings of Solomon's successor, the heroic Vurand, with Hasting. It is not impossible that Hasting co-operated at times with the Bretons against the Franks, as these two latter as well as the Aquitanians certainly combined against the Northmen on some occasions, notably at the siege of Angers. In this Loire district Hasting seems to have spent some years after his peace with Solomon, supported by the fruits of occasional forays. He was probably concerned in some one of the numerous sieges of Tours between 867 and 873, and possibly was among or perhaps the leader of one of those bands of Northmen who generally held the St. Florence or some other island⁹⁸ in the Loire, and may possibly, indeed, have shared in the capture and defence of Angers against the Franks and Britons in 873-4. Though the details

⁹⁷ Regino, 867; *M. G. H.* i. 580.

⁹⁸ A common practice of the Northmen, this island being a centre of operations.

of his career are in general wanting, they may with a certain amount of safety be supplied from analogy of his other actions as well as those of his fellow Vikings. Somewhere about 873 or 875 he seems to have left the Loire for England to aid in the operations of the Northmen against Alfred; ⁹⁹ but after the peace of Wedmore, when Guthrum was baptised and given East Anglia, the unregenerate Northmen under Hasting returned to the continent, possibly passing the winter at Fulham with the forces under Gurmund, with whom, however, he is not to be identified. From England he apparently returned to the Loire, where he remained till 882, when Louis III, desiring to drive the Northmen from his kingdom, sought and made peace with Hasting shortly before 5 Aug., ¹⁰⁰ and the latter with his followers seems to have left the Loire for 'maritime parts.' It seems probable at this time that, retracing his route from Norway, he went around the coast to the region of the Somme, and thence, with other Northmen, joined that great force which gradually converged on Paris from the Seine, the Somme, the Scheldt, and the Meuse. There is some reason to suppose he was in Vermandois, and even that he may have had some share in an attack on St. Quentin in 883. He probably took part in the siege of Paris by Sigefrid in 886-7 ¹⁰¹ among the multitude which rallied to that leader's standard in this great exploit. But just before or at the break up of the forces engaged in that unsuccessful venture Hasting led a long raid into Burgundy, where among other deeds he burned the monastery at Vergy, perhaps also Bèze, and ravaged the province. After a time, however, the Franks and Burgundians, chiefly under duke Richard of Burgundy, drove the invaders into the Chartrain and defeated them there in 888 or 889. It was about this time and perhaps in connexion with this same event that Hasting seems to have taken part in the siege of Chartres, which, if we are to believe the least untrustworthy of the marvellously confused local traditions, was raised by Richard. It is possible that he remained in such possession of part or all of the Chartrain as would be consistent with the life of such a wanderer, but the proof is not conclusive.

By 891 he had worked his way again into the district of the Somme, where he made a treacherous peace with Rudolf, abbot of St. Waast, which however he soon broke, and led an apparently unsuccessful, or at least only partially successful, attack on that 'castle or monastery' on the festival of St. John the Evangelist, 891. ¹⁰² In this region he seems to have remained for some two years, until, driven partly by famine, partly by the successes of Arnulf against the Northmen, he set sail for England with eighty ships in

⁹⁹ Wm. Malmesbury, *Chron.*; *Chron. Petri Bechini, ut supra* note 89.

¹⁰⁰ *Ann. Bertin.* 882; *Ann. Vedast.* 882. ¹⁰¹ Abbo, *De Bellis Parisiaca Urbis.*

¹⁰² *Ann. Vedast.*

893, came up the Thames to Milton, and there threw up fortifications and wintered.¹⁰³ Here he was visited by Alfred, with whom he made peace, giving hostages and oaths, and receiving back his wife and son, who had been captured in some previous operations, besides other rewards. Here, too, Alfred stood godfather to one of Hasting's sons, and the great ealdorman Æthered to the other, Hasting himself having been baptised at this or some previous time. The good offices of the West-Saxon king, however, proved fruitless. In 894 Hasting left Milton for Benfleet, where he was joined by the great host which had preceded him to England in two hundred and fifty ships, and had been at Appledore. It was this junction of forces Alfred had striven to prevent by his previous kind treatment of Hasting, who despite his hostages and oaths harried from Benfleet the very land which Æthered his own gossip held. Ties of Christianity as well as honour sat but lightly on such freebooters; conversion, baptism, hostages, oaths, were only so many pawns in their game. The great army, that of the two hundred and fifty ships, having taken much plunder, had meanwhile sought to go northward over the Thames into the land of the East-Saxons, but were met by the English at Fernham, defeated, put to flight and deprived of their booty. They fled over the Thames 'without any food,' thence to an island in the river Colne, where they were pursued and besieged by the English. Their leader having been wounded so severely that he could not be moved, and escape being cut off, they finally made peace with the English, and were allowed to depart. Hence, it seems, they returned to Benfleet and joined Hasting. Meanwhile one hundred and forty ships had come from Northumbria and East Anglia to aid their brethren, and a great concerted attack had been made from the Severn to the Thames by these hordes of Northmen. From dealing with his enemies in the West the king hurried to London, and thence, with the aid of the citizens and of troops that came to him from the West, went against Benfleet. Hasting himself was absent on a raid, but the 'great army' was at home. These the English attacked in their camp, stormed their defences, defeated them, drove them out of their fortifications, and put them to flight, capturing their treasure, wives, and children, which they brought to London. The Norse ships they either broke or burned, or took to London and Rochester. Hasting's wife and two sons were captured and brought to the king, who, however, sent them back to Hasting unharmed.

In the operations of the next few years, in spite of Mr. Green's spirited and no doubt generally accurate narrative, it is difficult or impossible to trace the particular share borne by Hasting, if indeed he took any part after this last act of Alfred's generosity. It seems probable, however, that he took a considerable share in the

¹⁰³ *Ang.-Sax. Chron.*; Asser, *Vita Ælfredi*; Æthelweard, *Chron.*, &c.

troubles which lasted till 897, when the Northmen were finally crushed and driven out of Alfred's realm, some into Northumbria and East Anglia, whence many of them had come, some who had no money taking ship for the continent. It was probably at this time that Hasting made his way to Iceland among the earliest and noblest of its settlers. There with his wife, Thora, Ölwi's daughter, and his two sons, Atle and Ölwi, he settled at Stokkseyri up Hásteinnsund, and passed the remainder of his days in quiet after his long and stormy career. The date of his death is unknown, but men were not long-lived then, such men at least as he, and it is hardly to be expected that he long survived; 910 would probably be the latest date which could be assigned for his death, which probably took place before that. At any rate, living to a great age, as *Landnámabók* says, he died presumably about 910, and his barrow, known as Hásteinn's barrow, stood near Howeford, to which it gave its name.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

NOTE.—To explain the absence of the names of certain writers one might naturally expect to find quoted in such a study as this, it is necessary to say that, owing to considerations of time and space, only such writers are mentioned as have made some independent contribution to the Hasting discussion, either by furnishing new data, true or false, or as conspicuous defenders of certain views. For this reason many names in the long list of Norman, Anglo-Norman, and English chroniclers, to take one instance, are wanting, while of modern writers, even such names as Steenstrup and Dümmler are omitted, or only casually mentioned. Omission of a writer's name does not, therefore, imply that his work has not been consulted, but that he has added nothing particularly new to our knowledge or ignorance of Hasting. For though any one view may not be discussed under the name of the author with whom the reader is familiar, I think all, or nearly all, views of any importance are discussed under the names either of their originators, or of what seem to me to be their chief exponents.

The Protector Somerset and Scotland

THE reign of Edward VI has been somewhat unfortunate in the treatment it has received at the hands of historians. The pervading influence of theological controversy has tended to obscure no less important social and political phenomena. Historians of one school, abhorring the religious revolution and the means by which it was effected, look upon the reign as one of the most disastrous epochs in English history; historians of another, more in sympathy with protestant opinions, are no less contemptuous of the statesmanship and character of Edward VI's advisers. On the one hand they are made to figure as examples of the deleterious effects of heresy, and on the other as foils to the greatness of Henry VIII. The history of the reign provides ample materials for the vilification of its statesmen, but the contempt with which they have been covered has not always been supported by adequate knowledge, and has generally been too wholesale to permit of discrimination between the various shades of delinquency.

Among the episodes of the reign that have suffered from this process not the least important is the policy pursued towards Scotland by the duke of Somerset. According to the history that is current in text books, the Protector substituted ill-considered aggression for Henry VIII's wise forbearance, revived the feudal claim to suzerainty over Scotland, rushed into war to enforce this obsolete pretension, and by an untimely victory exasperated the relations between the two nations for more than a century.

Henry VIII [says Mr. Froude ¹] in the height of his power had refused to call in question the feudal independence of Scotland. . . . The duke of Somerset resolved to distinguish his protectorate by reviving the pretensions and renewing the policy of Edward I by putting forward the formal claim of England to the dominion of the entire island.

Somerset, writes Mr. A. L. Smith in a popular sketch,² won the battle of Pinkie, the immediate effect of which was to destroy at a blow all the work of Henry's years of firm but patient diplomacy, to lead to Mary's being taken to France, married to the dauphin, and set up as a catholic rival to Elizabeth. The ulterior effects of this fatal victory were still more far-reaching—the rising of the north in 1569, the

¹ *History of England*, iv. 273-4.

² *Social England*, iii. 171.

Ridolfi and Babington and Throckmorton plots, and the Armada; and further, the divergence of the Scotch and English Reformations, the refusal of the two nations to accept union in 1603, the hatreds which found expression at Dunbar and Worcester.

It is unnecessary to inquire why these evils followed from Pinkie and not from Flodden Field or Solway Moss, or why the latter must be considered evidence of a 'firm but patient diplomacy' and Pinkie of the reverse, because the whole argument rests on an unstable basis. It was not Somerset but Henry VIII who revived the feudal claim to suzerainty over Scotland; that claim was kept by Somerset in the background, and his invasion of Scotland may be regarded less as an act of wanton aggression than as an imperative measure of defence. There is evidence that he had thought out a far-reaching scheme for the union of England and Scotland, and his policy failed not from inherent impracticability or injustice, but because it was never given a fair trial, and was abandoned by his successors in the government of England.

The policy of uniting England and Scotland was suggested by many circumstances—geographical position, community of speech, partial community of blood, and the example of continental states, like Castile and Aragon, France and Brittany, Poland and Lithuania. Possibly Henry VII had that end in view when he married his elder daughter, Margaret, to James IV of Scotland, though Henry VIII did his best to destroy the effect of that marriage when he placed the descendants of his younger sister before those of his elder in the line of succession to the English throne. The death of James V without issue, save one daughter, Mary queen of Scots, brought the union within measurable distance of accomplishment, and its success seemed assured when on 12 March 1543 the Scots parliament accepted the offer of marriage between Mary and Prince Edward. Henry VIII, however, not satisfied with this substantial success, grasped at the imposing shadow of his own sovereignty over Scotland, and in that winter, if not before, he put forth a claim more extensive than that of Edward I. It was not enough that his son's children by Mary should rule over a united kingdom; he must himself be acknowledged king of Scotland. The Scottish lords who had been captured at Solway Moss were forced to admit this claim.

On Sainte Johns day in Christmas weke, the sayde Lordes of Scotelande went to the Courte at Grenewich to the Kinge, and there had greate chere, and went before the Kinge to the chapell, and had lodginges prepayred in the Courte for them. And also weare sworne to the Kinge to sett forth his Majestis tyle that he had to the realme of Scoteland to the uttermost of their poures at thire commynge wholme, and so the 30 of December they departed from the Corte.³

³ Wriothesley, *Chronicle* (Camden Soc.), i. 140.

In the same year was issued by Thomas Berthelet, with the royal licence, 'A Declaration conteyning the iust causes and consydera-tions of this present warre with the Scottis, wherin alsoo appereth the trewe and right title that the kinges most royall maiesty hath to the souerayntie of Scotlande.'⁴ The subsidy act passed by the parliament which sat from 22 Jan. 1542-3 to 11 May 1543⁵ declared that the 'late pretensed king of Scottes' was 'but an usurper of the crowne and realme of Scotlande,' and that Henry VIII 'hathe nowe at this present (by the infynyte goodnes of God) a tyme apt and propyse for the recoverye of this saide right and tittle to the saide crowne and Realme of Scotlande.' Such was Henry VIII's refusal 'to call in question the feudal independence of Scotland.' He did far more than that; he claimed not merely to be suzerain of the king of Scotland but to be rightful king of Scotland himself. And if James V was an 'usurper' and 'pretensed king,' his infant daughter was in no better case, and Henry was thus seeking for his son the hand of a queen whose title to be queen he denied. The inconsistency between these two lines of policy was the least part of the evil resulting from his overweening pride and vainglory. The enunciation of his own pretensions ruined the prospects of his son's marriage; that cause was hopelessly prejudiced in the eyes of patriotic Scots, and an opportunity was given the French of defeating it. Everything that told in favour of the marriage from the point of view of the English naturally told against it from that of the French. On 3 Dec. 1543 the Scots parliament broke its engagement with England and accepted the French offer of alliance, and about the same time the queen regent of Scotland, Mary of Guise, determined to marry her daughter to a French prince. The war that followed was brought to an end by the peace of 1546; but that peace was no more than a hollow truce. The Scots were not included in it, nor were the relations of England and France towards Scotland defined. Henry entered into no engagements to renounce his claims on Scotland, and Francis I made no promise not to aid the Scots in defeating them. Throughout the last months of his reign Henry was preparing a new invasion of Scotland, details of which were forwarded by the French ambassador to his government, and in November 1546 Francis renewed to the Scots his promise of protection.⁶

Events were thus hastening towards a fresh rupture when Henry died on 27 Jan. 1546-7; his death lessened, in Odet de Selve's opinion, the chances of an invasion of Scotland, but any

⁴ Reprinted by the Early English Text Society, 1872.

⁵ 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 27, printed in *Statutes of the Realm*, iii. 938.

⁶ *Correspondance Politique d'Odet de Selve*, 1546-1549, ed. 1888, p. 57; Mr. Froude says the Scots were included in the peace, but such was not Henry VIII's opinion; see Odet de Selve, pp. 66, 78, 86.

hesitation on Somerset's part was soon dispelled by the attitude assumed by France and Scotland. For some months David Panter and Sir Adam Otterbourne had been negotiating in Paris;⁷ the terms of their agreement with the French government are not known, but in March two French ships arrived at Dumbarton with munitions of war,⁸ and they were followed later on by the redoubtable Leo Strozzi with twenty galleys.⁹ On 6 March the Protector was informed of a French design for carrying off Mary queen of Scots to France.¹⁰ The seriousness of this news was aggravated three weeks later by that of the death of Francis I; under his successor, Henry II, the Guise influence became supreme in France. Through Mary of Guise that family already dominated the government of Scotland; intimate association between France and Scotland, and combined hostility to England, were natural consequences, and the marriage of Mary queen of Scots to the new dauphin of France became the keystone of the Guise policy. England was thus threatened with a *pacte de famille* more menacing than that of the Bourbons, for the union of Spain and France under a grandson of Louis XIV would have been a trifling danger compared with that of Scotland and France under a son of Mary Stuart and the future Francis II. It was partly to ward off this peril that Somerset fought the battle of Pinkie on 10 Sept. 1547.

The Protector had, however, a positive as well as a negative object in view, and after his victory at Pinkie he began to develop his scheme for the union of England and Scotland. His policy was very different from that adopted by Henry VIII in 1543. He abandoned alike Henry's absurd pretensions to the throne and to the suzerainty of Scotland. He is careful throughout to avoid all expressions of hostility towards the young queen, or of doubt as to her title to the throne; and when he refers to James V he speaks of him not as a 'pretensed king' and 'usurper,' but as 'your last kyng' and a 'prince of much excellencie.'¹¹ He took his stand upon the treaty of marriage and peace ratified between England and Scotland early in 1543; he persuaded himself that that instrument represented the true mind of Scotland, and that Mary of Guise, Cardinal Beaton, and the others who had prevented its consummation were traitors to Scotland in the same degree that they were devoted to the interests of France. The French faction, and not Scotland, was the enemy; his object, he wrote, was not to conquer, but to haue in amitie, not to wyne by force, but to conciliate by loue, not to spoyle and kil, but to saue and kepe, not to disseuer and diuorce but to ioyne in marriage from high to low, bothe the realmes,

⁷ Odet de Selve, p. 123. ⁸ *State Papers, Scotland, Edward VI*, vol. i. no. 10.

⁹ *State Papers, Domestic*, Addenda, i. 24 (i.) ¹⁰ *Calais Papers*, no. 67 (i.)

¹¹ Somerset's *Epistle or Exhortacion*, printed in January 1547-8, reprinted by the Early English Text Society, 1872, p. 239.

to make of one Isle one realme, in loue, amitie, concorde, peace, and charitie. . . . We intend not to disherit your Quene, but to make her heires inheritors also to England. . . . These vain feares and phantasies, of expulsion of your nacion, of chaungyng the lawes, of makyng a conquest, bee driuen into your heddes of those who in deede had rather you were all conquered, spoyled, and slain, then thei would lose any poynte of their will, of their desire of rule. . . . If we two beyng made one by amitie bee most hable to defende us against all nacions; and hauyng the sea for wall, the mutuall loue for garrison, and God for defence, should make so noble and wel agreyng Monarchie, that neither in peace wee maie bee ashamed, nor in warre affraied of any worldly or forrein power; why should not you bee as desirous of the same, and haue as much cause to reioyce at it as we? ¹²

His use of force he justified by the end, which was peace; as late as July 1547 he had appointed Tunstall and Bowes to negotiate with Scotland, promising to overlook the Scottish raid into England in April, the help furnished to the Irish rebels, and the pillaging of English ships, if only the Scots would confirm the marriage treaty between Edward and Mary.¹³ Their refusal was followed by the Protector's invasion. Battle, he said, was

an extreme refuge, to atteigne righte and reason emonges Christian men. If any man maie rightfully make battaill for his espouse and wife: the daughter of Scotland was by the greate seale of Scotland, promised to the sonne and heire of England. If it bee lawfull by Gods lawe to fight in a good querell, and for to make peace: this is to make an ende of all warres, to conclude an eternall and perpetuall peace.¹⁴

The details of the scheme for union to which Somerset endeavoured to win Scotland's consent have been lost, if ever they were committed to writing; but some indications remain to show that his ideas were far in advance of his time. It has already been pointed out that he abandoned Henry's offensive claim to suzerainty, and no such condition was exacted from the prisoners taken at Pinkie as from those taken at Solway Moss; they were merely required to promise their aid in furthering the marriage between Edward and Mary. Somerset made a more remarkable concession to Scottish sentiment when he suggested that the names England and English, Scotland and Scottish should be abolished, that the united kingdom should henceforth be called the empire, and its sovereign the emperor, of Great Britain.¹⁵ Further to disarm Scottish jealousy of a 'predominant partner,' he disclaimed any intention of infringing Scotland's autonomy, declaring that 'sundry places require sundry laws,' and quoting as an example the dominions of the emperor, which under one sovereign enjoyed

¹² *Epistle* (ed. 1872), pp. 241, 242, 245.

¹³ Cotton MS., Caligula, B, vii. ff. 317-9.

¹⁴ *Epistle*, p. 242.

¹⁵ *Correspondance Politique d'Odet de Selve*, pp. 268-70; compare *Epistle*, pp. 241-2.

separate legal systems.¹⁶ Other inducements he held out were freedom of trade between the two kingdoms and 'the abolishing of all suche lawes as prohibiteth the enterchaunge of mariages.' The question was, however, complicated by the religious difficulty; no union could be successful while one of the parties was protestant and the other Roman catholic, and hand in hand with Somerset's scheme of political union went an attempt to convert Scotland to the reformed religion. He was thus compelled to adopt Henry VIII's policy of encouraging the Scots protestants; but whereas Henry acted entirely from political motives, fostering heresy without his borders while persecuting it within, Somerset had the merit of consistency and sincerity. His desire to effect the union was quickened with zeal to win a kingdom from the sway of Antichrist, and during his protectorate the marriage between Edward and Mary was known as the 'godly cause.' Wherever the English armies went they dissolved monasteries and set up bibles in the churches.¹⁷ Friars who renounced the bishop of Rome were to be encouraged to preach,¹⁸ and one of Somerset's advisers suggested that if the church lands were distributed among the nobility it would soon lead to the eradication of *papismus* in Scotland.¹⁹ Nor was this missionary enterprise entirely without success. The English captains frequently reported a desire on the part of the common people for good preachers, 'and bibles and testaments and other good English books of Tyndale's and Frith's translation.'²⁰

For a year or more after the battle of Pinkie Somerset's policy seemed likely to succeed. Either from compulsion or design he abandoned the offensive, trusting to time to wear down Scots opposition, and to war between France and the emperor to put an end to French support. By means of fortified posts he held the lowlands almost up to the gates of Edinburgh, and the population seemed half inclined to treat him as a friend. The earl of Huntly told Odet de Selve that Lord Grey, the warden of the marches, could ride in perfect safety where he pleased in the lowlands with only a small body-guard,²¹ composed chiefly of Scots, and the author of the 'Complaynt of Scotland' lamented that there were thirty-five thousand Scots 'assured' to the English cause. The only obstacle, wrote Wharton, to the accomplishment of the godly purpose was the nobility,²² and even of the nobles many, like Glencairn, Argyll, Bothwell, Angus, and Huntly, were either pledged to the English cause or ready to adopt it as soon as they had made a sufficiently lucrative bargain with the English government. Arran wanted a

¹⁶ *Epistle*, p. 242.

¹⁷ *State Papers, Domestic, Addenda*, i. 49, 50; ii. 11.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 44; cf. Selve, p. 233.

¹⁹ *State Papers, Foreign Series, Edward VI*, i. 115.

²⁰ *State Papers, Scotland*, ii. 26.

²¹ Selve, p. 251.

²² *State Papers, Domestic, Addenda*, i. 49.

dukedom and the hand of Mary Tudor or Elizabeth for his son; Huntly demanded one of the Protector's daughters; Bothwell claimed as his wife Mary Tudor, Elizabeth, or the duchess of Suffolk, but was satisfied with a pension of three thousand crowns and Anne of Cleves; ²³ Glencairn's desire was not a wife, but lands. Unfortunately these were arguments which two could use, and the Scots nobles were open to them from whichever side they proceeded. Many promised service to both kings at once, and Somerset may have been as perplexed as Odet de Selve confessed himself to be to know which oath they meant to keep. The French government grasped the situation, and when the French commander, De la Chapelle, arrived at Dumbarton, excusing his delay on the ground that 'God was too much an English God, for he had kept them long from that realm after their appointment by contrary winds,' ²⁴ he brought 'as much money as would wage ten thousand Scots.' ²⁵ Arran was saved from selling himself to England by the grant of the duchy of Châtellerauld from France, and, as Odet remarked, a French pension again made a patriot of Huntly.

With their consciences salved by these means the Scots nobles practically handed their country over to France, by admitting French garrisons to Edinburgh and Dumbarton and allowing the removal of their young queen to France to be married to the dauphin. She sailed from the Clyde on 7 Aug. 1548, and arrived at Brest on the 13th, and at St. Germain on 11 Oct., where steps were at once taken for her betrothal. These proceedings provoked that action on Somerset's part which has been misdated and misinterpreted as the keynote of his whole Scottish policy. He began to hint at England's claims to suzerainty over Scotland, and in September he appointed a commission of six to investigate them by the light of original documents. ²⁶ The motive of the step is sufficiently obvious; it was Somerset's reply to the impending betrothal of Mary Stuart and the dauphin. That marriage was a menace which no patriotic Englishman could afford to overlook. It threatened to unite France and Scotland, and possibly to add Ireland to the hostile ring round England, to strangle in their infancy the Reformation in Scotland and the greatness of Britain. Somerset had statesmanship enough to see that such a risk must be averted at all costs, and as a means of doing so he revived Henry VIII's claims to the sovereignty of Scotland. He knew them to be untenable, and he had himself tacitly abandoned them; had Mary Stuart remained single, or married a Scottish noble, or even any foreign prince other than the dauphin, those claims might

²³ Selve, p. 230; cf. *State Papers, Scotland*, i. 59.

²⁴ *State Papers, Domestic, Addenda*, ii. 2.

²⁵ *State Papers, Scotland*, ii. 68.

²⁶ *Acts of the Privy Council*, ii. 225; Selve, p. 457; *State Papers, Foreign*, i. 112.

never have been revived. But necessity knows no law, and the necessity of preventing a French prince ruling at once at Paris, at Edinburgh, and possibly at Dublin was ample justification for Somerset doing what Henry VIII had done in wanton pride. On 14 Oct. 1548 he informed the French ambassador of the steps he had taken, and intimated that if the French persisted in the marriage he would oppose France by all the means in his power, even sending help to the peasants of Guienne, who had rebelled, with the singular demand that they should again be granted the privileges they had enjoyed centuries before under English dominion.²⁷

From this time forward it was virtually open war between France and Scotland on one hand and England on the other. Granted peace within her borders, England might well hope to succeed. The Scots might hate English domination, but they had no love for the French. The thought of French garrisons in Dumbarton and Edinburgh was galling, and the declaration of the French king that he would come to Scotland with forty thousand men, and stay till it were either French or English,²⁸ was not calculated to allay the fears of such as were anxious for their country's independence. Somerset told Selve that the French soldiers would only eat up the country and make themselves unpopular with the Scots,²⁹ and a few months later a bloody affray in the streets of Edinburgh proved the truth of his assertion.³⁰ Haddington held out against the combined forces of French and Scots, while the English fleet ravaged the coast in the autumn. It was little wonder that Arran, 'the governor, repented of his covenant with France,' and was in the position of one 'that holdeth a wolf by the ears, in doubt to hold and in danger to let go.'³¹ Internal troubles, however, prevented Somerset from taking advantage of these circumstances. The intrigues of his brother, the lord admiral, weakened his personal authority; the discontent caused by the agrarian revolution, which the Protector had vainly endeavoured to allay, broke out into open rebellion in half the shires of England, and troops destined for the borders had to be diverted to the east or west. The war between France and the emperor, which in all probability saved England two years later from invasion, did not come in time to assist Somerset's policy in Scotland, and the animosities roused by his crusade against enclosures united Romanist and protestant against him, and precipitated his fall in October 1549. His successors in the government were blind alike to the advantages of a union between Scotland and England and to the perils of one between Scotland and France. No longer

²⁷ Selve, p. 458.

²⁸ *State Papers, Domestic, Addenda*, iii. 8, 9.

²⁹ Selve, p. 325.

³⁰ Ellis, *Original Letters*, III. iii. 292-300.

³¹ *State Papers, Scotland*, iv. 119.

restrained by Somerset's influence, they hastened on the religious revolution and secularisation of church property.³² Warwick, the chief of them, was soon absorbed in reckless schemes for his own aggrandisement. In March 1549-50, after the loss of all the strongholds won by Somerset in Scotland, a humiliating peace was made with the Scots and French. The opposition to the marriage of Mary Stuart and the dauphin was abandoned; a French prince might rule over Scotland and France for all the 'Reformed' administration of England seemed to care. English garrisons were reduced and fortifications razed; ships were laid up, and before the end of the reign the navy, the creation of which had been Henry VIII's most laudable achievement, had sunk to less than half its strength.³³ So Warwick and his creatures prepared for Elizabeth most of the crises that disturbed her reign, and total failure seemed to have overtaken Somerset's Scottish policy. In reality it left its mark: the English occupation of the lowlands, the bibles and testaments they scattered among the people prepared the way for Knox's success. The identification of the Romanist with the French cause linked to protestantism the spirit of national independence. After long years the Great Britain of which Somerset dreamed—having the sea for a wall, mutual love for a garrison, and needing neither in peace to be ashamed nor in war to be afraid of any worldly power—became an accomplished fact. Like his other projects the Protector's Scottish policy was undertaken in haste and with inadequate means; he lacked patience, hated compromise, and consistently underrated the strength of the forces opposed to him. He was a visionary and a dreamer of dreams, but his visions were visions of the future and his dreams were dreams that came true.

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³² It is stated (*Social England*, iii. 171), to prove Somerset's haste in religious revolution, that 'in the three years between the First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI the country was expected to have prepared itself for a far greater measure of religious change than the twenty years since Wolsey had yet effected.' There could be no greater testimony to Somerset's moderation. He fell in 1549, the year of the First Prayer Book, and had nothing whatever to do with the Second, which was issued after his death. For proof of Somerset's restraining influence on church spoliation see the *Acts of the Privy Council*, ii. 536 *et seq.*, and a paper on inventories of church goods in Kent in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. viii.

³³ *Acts of the Privy Council*, iii. 43, 44, 47, 100, 104, 209, 225, 364.

The Lost and the New Letters of Napoleon

TO the historian, who either deals with the depositions of men no longer living, or, if he meets eye or ear witnesses, cannot frighten them by threats into speaking the truth, the daily correspondence of the actors and their assistants remains the chief evidence. Letters like Napoleon's¹ are not merely pictures of events, or reflexions on events, but fragments of the events themselves. In order, however, that the historian's judgment may be in any degree final, it is necessary not only that he should have a number of such documents before him, but that it should be reasonably certain that wherever lacunae occur in a correspondence, they are due to accident and not to design. As, then, the twenty-eight volumes of the '*Correspondance de Napoléon I^{er}*' on all hands teemed with omissions, which were admittedly the result of deliberate policy and not of chance, that magnificent collection has had less effect than it merited, and has laboured under a cloud of suspicion, like a mutilated letter-book in an action at law. M. Lecestre² has sought to dispel this suspicion by publishing out of the suppressed letters no fewer than 885 previously unedited, and by republishing 340 others, scattered amongst such works as Vandal's '*Napoléon et Alexandre.*' That he has placed every student under a deep debt of gratitude, and has afforded the general reader copious instruction and amusement, none will deny. But whether he has been entirely successful in his task, and the '*Correspondance*' with the two volumes of supplement can be now regarded as practically complete, is another question. For it is certain that not only were many important documents suppressed, but several were destroyed in the lifetime of the emperor and afterwards. And, as the '*Correspondance*' was '*passed through the fire*' under the reigns of Napoleon and his nephew, an unfavourable presumption is raised against its value.

¹ The correspondence of Cromwell, Frederick the Great, Napoleon, Davout, &c., should be carefully distinguished from such collections as the letters of Cicero, the younger Pliny, and Horace Walpole, which, speaking broadly, are a series of criticisms, sketches, and *bons mots* that have had but the smallest influence on the events of the day.

² *Lettres inédites de Napoléon I^{er}* (an VIII—1815). Paris, 1897.

The following pages are an attempt to estimate the extent and character of what, it is to be feared, will prove the permanent expurgation of the letters of the emperor, and a consideration of some of the salient features in the new documents brought to the light or to the front by M. Lecestre. The subject is a vital one, since, if we possess, with trifling exceptions, the whole of Napoleon's correspondence, we ought surely to ignore the statements, wherever they contradict it, of Madame de Rémusat—the friend, by the way, of Talleyrand³—unless they can be substantiated by overwhelming evidence from other sources.

I. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE LETTERS AND MINUTES.

To begin with, the minutes or originals of several letters, dictated between 1 January 1812 and the 10th of the following November, were lost or burnt during the retreat from Moscow. No inference unfavourable to Napoleon should, however, be drawn from that, since for business reasons he would want them by his side, and, moreover, eight hundred and ninety-three letters falling between the above dates have been recovered, and published in the 'Correspondance'—a number only ninety-four less than that in the same interval for 1811.

The next case is more suspicious. On 24 January 1814—immediately before his departure from Paris to commence the

³ 'Toutes ces différentes anecdotes, que j'écris à mesure que je me les rappelle, je ne les ai sues que bien plus tard, et lorsque *mes relations plus intimes avec M. de Talleyrand m'ont dévoilé les principaux traits du caractère de Bonaparte*. Dans les premières années, j'étais parfaitement trompée sur lui, et très heureuse de l'être.' (*Mémoires de Madame de Rémusat*, neuvième édition, i. 231-2.) Yet serious historians have accepted these *Mémoires* as almost the last word on the character of Napoleon; though her grandson, who edited them, admitted in his preface (p. 77) that the diary she is said to have kept from day to day was burnt in 1815, and that the *Mémoires*, as we have them, were (p. 87) composed in 1818, when her husband was prefect of Lille under the Bourbon government. She and he, like most of the friends of M. de Talleyrand, had hastened to desert Napoleon in 1814, and on the return of the emperor from Elba they had been amongst the few personages he exiled from Paris (p. 75). Her son, afterwards a liberal philosopher of eminence, encouraged her in the task of rewriting the lost diary, and a few words from a letter of his on the subject (pp. 88-90) will show the impartial nature of his advice. 'Montrez ensuite l'homme de ce temps-là' (Napoleon) 'se corrompant, ou se décourant, à mesure qu'il croissait en puissance . . . et comment l'indignation morale vous a conduite peu à peu à ce que j'appellerai une haine politique.' If memoirs composed under such circumstances are trustworthy evidence, an historian's task is indeed simple. The duties fulfilled by the lady's husband under Napoleon may be learnt in two of the new letters, both addressed to him (nos. 579 and 1076). The one explains the emperor's views on operas and ballets: 'Only mythological and historical, never allegorical, ballets are to be given. I desire four ballets to be produced this year. If Gardel cannot do it, find some one who can.' The other, which is dated 12 Aug. 1813, contains nothing but a list of gratuities that M. de Rémusat is to pay to the actors of the 'Comédie-Française,' who had travelled to Dresden to perform before the emperor.

magnificent winter campaign of France—Napoleon, according to one of his secretaries, Fain, burnt *ses papiers les plus secrets*, which may mean letters received as well as the minutes of those despatched, or may refer to the former only. What they were it is almost impossible to do more than guess. Napoleon was the centre of a labyrinth of intrigue and treachery stretching beneath every country in Europe. At the opening of a war in which it was likely that Paris would be captured, the clue in the shape of letters from traitors could not safely be left at the Tuileries, and to carry them with him in a campaign of such dubious outlook would be to expose the documents to capture. Thus in fairness judgment should be suspended, so long as nothing but the bare fact that they were burnt is known.

Fortunately the destruction that occurred under Napoleon III is on a different footing.

In December 1864 [says M. Lecestre] an orderly officer arrived at the Archives and demanded, on behalf of the emperor, the minutes of forty-two letters mentioned in a list he presented, and these he was instructed to remove at once. They were handed to him, but there was only time to schedule them summarily. Out of this number ten were soon after restored, and five of them figure in the 'Correspondance,' whilst the remaining five are printed hereafter.

But of the thirty-two retained luckily seventeen had been already transcribed, and now appear in M. Lecestre's volumes; and of the fifteen others we possess the dates, names of recipients, and first and last sentences. Thus of forty-two documents five were considered fit to be printed, five were not, but were allowed to remain in a public office, and thirty-two were either burnt by Napoleon III or perished in the ruin of the Tuileries.

That the earliest of these letters is one of 17 July 1809, and the majority are of the years 1810, 1811, and 1813, is significant. There were two distinct periods in the issue of the thirty-two volumes of the 'Correspondance.' The first committee entrusted with the editing—which contained amongst its members Prosper Mérimée, and was presided over by Marshal Vaillant, no bigoted Bonapartist—suppressed little, and M. Lecestre has added only one hundred and sixty-five letters to the thirteen thousand and ninety-four which were distributed in the fifteen volumes of the correspondence issued under its auspices. From the second committee appointed in the early part of 1864, Mérimée was absent, and though Sainte-Beuve and Thierry were on the board, its guiding spirit was Prince Jerome Napoleon. As, then, the visit of the orderly was in the December of 1864, and the opening letter of the first volume, which left the press in 1865, was one of *15 April 1808*, whilst the earliest of the suppressed letters was that of

17 July 1809, Napoleon III and Prince Napoleon may be reasonably presumed to have reconnoitred in advance the ground to be covered by the second committee, and so the presence of Sainte-Beuve and Thierry cannot be taken as a guarantee against historical dishonesty, since the lost documents, as in this particular instance, may not have been there for them to consider. We need not, therefore, hesitate to credit the tales of destruction of minutes by Prince Napoleon, but we should beware of exaggerating the losses we have sustained.

For—and we must keep this perpetually in front of us—to obliterate every record of an incriminating order, supposing that it had never been transcribed since its delivery, one would have had to burn, with the minute, the original letter itself. But that would have entailed a search in the papers of the minister to whom it was addressed, and from 1815 to 1848 there was no power so actively interested in whitewashing Napoleon that it would have gone out of its way to make the necessary inquiry, whilst even from 1848 to 1870 the direct control of Louis Napoleon was limited to the French empire. By the natural operations of death and misfortune, despatches which the officers who obeyed them, or their families, might have been ashamed to publish, must have often become the property of persons only too willing to enlighten the public on any villanies committed by the emperor, and, though the recipients of letters may have burnt them or returned⁴ them to Napoleon, it is a strong point in favour of the hypothesis that the worst is already known of him, that after a lapse of eighty years no such epistles have come to the surface. A Fouché or a Talleyrand, assuredly, would not have hesitated to take a publisher into his confidence.

The same remark applies to the minutes, or, as we should now say, the letter books. From April 1814 to March 1815, and from July 1815 to August 1830, they were in the possession of the branch of the house of Bourbon most directly interested in proving that Napoleon was an inhuman monster. Is it credible that, if there had been such a record, the governments of Louis XVIII and Charles X would have failed to blazon it to the four corners of the world? Their silence was practically an admission that they could discover nothing which would have shocked their contemporaries.

In addition to these arguments, and as an answer to the objection that the tongue, and not the pen, is the instrument em-

⁴ Doubtless they often were so returned; but when Fouché was dismissed, Napoleon raised a great outcry, because his holograph letters and other papers were not handed over to Savary, which implies that they were retained by the ministers, so long, at least, as they were in office, and a prudent officer would keep copies of the more important orders.

ployed in the perpetration of the more abominable of crimes, it may be urged that Napoleon's career can be explained without resorting to the supposition that he borrowed the methods of Sulla, Nero, or Cesare Borgia. No one will suspect Sismondi, the friend of Madame de Staël, and an historian entirely opposed to the emperor's aims, of adulation, and Sismondi has used this striking language in a letter to Madame d'Albany, a bitter opponent of the empire :

As to the man who falls to-day [the letter was headed 17 March 1814] I have published under his reign fourteen volumes, almost all with the object of combating his system and policy, nor have I to reproach myself with the slightest flattery, or even a word of praise, although in conformity with the truth ; but at the moment of such a frightful fall, of a misfortune without example in the universe, I can no longer fail to be struck by his great qualities. His madness was that which ours has, too long, qualified as magnanimity. The methods by which he maintained so excessive a power—violent as they appeared to us—were moderate, if compared with the force he needed and the resistance he encountered. Prodigal of the blood of his soldiers, he was niggardly in punishments ; not only more so than any usurper, but even than any of the most celebrated kings ; no base dissimulation, no suspicion of poison, will soil his memory.⁵

Napoleon's ambition may seem outrageous, but the means he employed, astonishing as it may sound, erred, in the opinion of many, on the side of moderation. For instance, the defeat of Leipzig was due, in no small measure, to the treacherous defection of Napoleon's Saxon allies in the heat of the battle, and it was through the second city of Saxony that the only line of retreat for the French army lay. Napoleon by the mouthpiece of the local magistrates had proposed to the allies an armistice whilst the French troops evacuated the town. His proposition having met with a refusal, several generals advised him to set fire to the suburbs, and thus stop all pursuit whilst he withdrew his army across the city and its river. On this, Marbot, a typical soldier of the period, comments :

I think that the refusal . . . gave us the right to employ all possible means of defence, and fire being the most certain in such a case, we ought to have taken advantage of it ; but Napoleon could not bring himself to give the order, and this exaggerated magnanimity cost him his crown, for the struggle I am about to describe lost him almost as many men as the three days' battle he had just delivered.

What, we wonder, would have been the conduct of Wellington, who devastated Portugal to hinder the advance of Masséna, or of the Bavarian general Wrede, who, at a most critical moment of

⁵ *Lettres inédites de Sismondi*, p. 236.

the campaign of 1814, saved his beaten troops from the grip of the victorious Napoleon by threatening, if pursued, to set Troyes on fire? Omission may be a virtue as well as a sin. In the decade which saw English troops burn the public buildings of Washington and sack Badajoz, such virtue was a rarity, and with the examples of Leipzig and Troyes before us, is it probable that Napoleon ever dictated a letter which a strong statesman like Bismarck would have blushed to sign?

But why, it may be asked, should Napoleon III and Prince Napoleon have expurgated the 'Correspondance'? Because it was almost an inevitable consequence of undertaking to publish it. The second empire rested for its support, amongst the better class of Frenchmen, on the traditions associated with the new ruler's uncle, and on the prose epic of M. Thiers. The suppression of a free press had left the enemies of a government sprung from no bloodless 18 Brumaire, but from a sanguinary *coup d'état*, no other means of attack than the blackening of that uncle's character, and the first fifteen volumes issued by the commission afforded unscrupulous or stupid journalists and pamphleteers numerous opportunities of destroying the effect produced on the majority by Thiers' picture of the Corsican genius. The reader who wishes to observe this should procure M. Raudot's 'Napoléon I^{er} peint par lui-même' (Paris, 1865), which is a collection of extracts from the letters, and appeared first in the columns of the 'Correspondant.' Now, in 1864 Napoleon III was contemplating the conversion of his despotism into a constitutional monarchy, under which journalists should roam unmuzzled, and he consequently determined to publish no more of his uncle's despatches which would lend themselves to the treatment of a Raudot. With this object the second committee was substituted for the first, and it was announced in the preface to the sixteenth volume that they proposed to publish only 'what the emperor would have laid bare to the public if he had wished to show to posterity his person and his system.'

Nor was the memory of Napoleon alone to be protected. The children of personages under the first empire served under the second, and it would have been grossly impolitic to reveal passages in which their parents were denounced as fools or thieves. How, too, could a sentence which asserted that it had been the first aim of Napoleon's policy to 'denationalise' Germany⁶ be printed, when, on amplifying some conversations—perhaps badly reported—at St. Helena, Napoleon III in his 'Idées Napoléoniennes' had announced (p. 177) that the 'emperor's policy consisted in founding a solid European association by making his system repose on *complete nationalities*'? Besides, what a weapon it would have been in the

⁶ *Lettres inédites de Napoléon I^{er}*, ii. 33.

hands of Bismarck ! Last, but not least, there were numerous letters, in no way discreditable to Napoleon, which could not be published with decency, as they reflected on the relatives of the new emperor.

II. THE FORTY-TWO LETTERS.

An analysis of the forty-two letters, of which five were published, five returned to the archives, and thirty-two hidden or burnt by Napoleon III, will confirm the above conclusions as to the latter's motives.

A. *The five printed in the 'Correspondance.'*

Of the five that are in the 'Correspondance' two (nos. 16641 and 16689) relate to the abdication of Louis, king of Holland, but are of trivial interest. A third (no. 20278) signifies Napoleon's desire that a monument shall be erected to a deceased bishop than whom, according to the Christian who in one of the new letters announces that he is as good a theologian as the pope, there was no one 'more penetrated with the true spirit of the gospel.' The fourth (no. 20093) is to Marie Louise.

Madam and dear friend [it runs], I have got the letter in which you inform me that you have received the arch-chancellor in bed; my intention is that, in no circumstance, and under no pretext, you receive any one in bed. That is only permitted to people past thirty years of age.

The last (no. 20119) is for Savary, then minister of police, but wishing apparently—he was very rich, and objected to the emperor's risking his followers' fortunes—to be minister of peace. Napoleon after the victories of Lützen and Bautzen had just concluded an armistice (4 June 1813), and ten days later sent the following reprimand to Savary :

The tone of your correspondence does not please me ; you are always boring me (*m'ennuyez*) with the need of peace. I know better than you the situation of my empire. . . . I want peace, and I am more interested in it than any one else : your discourses on the subject are therefore useless ; but I will not make a dishonourable peace, or one which will bring with it a fiercer war than ever in six months. Don't reply to that ; these matters don't concern you, don't meddle with them.

B. *The five returned to the archives, but not published.*

As a *pendant* to this rebuke comes one⁷ of the five letters returned to the archives, but not published. The date was 18 June 1813 ; the recipient Cambacères, the arch-chancellor whom Marie Louise had received in bed. He is to explain to Savary notes on

the impropriety of his attitude. I am no bully (*rodomont*), I don't make a trade (*métier*) of war, and no one is more pacific than I ; but the formal arrangements (*la solennité*) of peace, my desire that it be

⁷ *Lettres inédites de Napoléon I^{er}*, ii. 248.

durable, and the totality of the circumstances of my empire will alone decide my deliberations on this matter.

Napoleon III's motto had been 'The empire is peace.' Perhaps it accounts for the suppression of a perfectly natural comment on Savary's impertinence. 'Marshal Ney,' wrote Napoleon to Caulaincourt,⁸ 'has as little knowledge of what is passing, and is as ignorant of my projects, as the lowest drummer-boy in the army.' Was Savary to be admitted to confidences from which Ney was excluded?

The remaining four letters are as characteristic. Two were for the father of Napoleon III—Louis, king of Holland, who eventually abdicated—and two for the father of Prince Napoleon—Jerome, king of Westphalia; both brothers of the emperor.

I have seen an order of the day of yours [he thunders at Jerome] which renders you the laughing-stock of Germany, Austria, and France. Haven't you, then, any friend about you to tell you a few truths? You are king and brother of the emperor: qualities ridiculous in war. It is necessary to be, first a soldier, secondly a soldier, and thirdly a soldier; it is not necessary to have either minister, or diplomatic corps, or pomp; it is necessary to bivouac with the advance-guard, to be night and day in the saddle, to march with the advance-guard so as to procure information, or it is better to remain in the seraglio. You make war like a satrap. Is it from me—good God!—that you have learnt that? From me, who, with an army of 200,000 men, am at the head of my skirmishers, not permitting even Champagny to follow me, and leaving him at Munich or Vienna?⁹

That was on 17 July 1809. Eight days elapsed, and he again assailed Jerome, reviewing in the bitterest terms the latter's misconduct; how he had not pursued the corps of Keimayer, and had thereby endangered the fate of France; how 'in this campaign he had been constantly where the enemy was not;' and how at the rumour of the disembarkment of an English detachment he had retrograded on the Baltic. 'As to the future,' observes Napoleon, I do not wish to disgrace you by relieving you of the command; but, on the other hand, I do not wish from any foolish family considerations to hazard the glory of my arms. . . . As for the English . . . if I were to listen to such presumptions, my troops would only make marches and counter-marches, and would have to be directed on every point of the ocean, Mediterranean and Adriatic. If you can't read and value the truth of reports, and if you take every fly for an elephant, you have little judgment.¹⁰

Years before, when Napoleon was an unknown lieutenant, he dissected Buffon's 'Natural History.'¹¹ On one of the pages, which must have been under his eye, there occurs the common-place remark that

⁸ *Lettres inédites de Napoléon Ier*, i. 142. ⁹ *Ibid.* no. 479. ¹⁰ *Ibid.* i. 332.

¹¹ See Masson's *Napoléon inconnu*, i. 472 et seq.

'there are more flies than elephants.' Was that juxtaposition the origin of this astounding comparison of English ships to flies, and Austrian corps to elephants? For the rest 'the foolish family considerations' carried the day, and it was the criminal envy of Jerome towards Davout in 1812 which ruined the outset of the campaign of Russia. In most matters Napoleon's head was stronger than his heart; with his relatives, the position was reversed. There is much pathos about the holograph termination of another letter to the king of Westphalia.¹² 'P.S. *Mon ami, je vous aime; mais vous êtes furieusement jeune.*' As the years passed, Napoleon took a gloomier view. 'You are a spoilt young man,' he mutters, 'although of fine natural qualities; I am greatly afraid there is nothing to be expected of you.'

If Jerome was disappointing, Louis, the brother whom he had himself educated, Louis, of whom he had observed to Joseph in April 1791,¹³ 'I have no difficulty in seeing that he will be the best of us four' (*le meilleur sujet de nous quatre*), was far worse. Placed solely by the will of his brother on the throne of Holland, he endeavoured—possibly with the most philanthropic motives—to thwart the schemes of his benefactor, and to throw ridicule on the latter's institutions by the creation of Dutch marshals and Dutch princes. Yet it was not from want of warning that he pursued this insane course.

Your majesty [wrote Napoleon in language which Frenchmen, at any rate, should admire] in mounting the throne of Holland has forgotten he was French, and has even twisted every fibre of his reason and tormented the delicacy of his conscience to persuade himself he is Dutch. The Dutch who inclined to France have been neglected and persecuted, whilst those who have served England have been placed at the helm. . . . Who then can justify the conduct, so insulting to the French nation and offensive to me, which your majesty has adopted? For you should comprehend that I do not separate myself from my predecessors, and that from Clovis to the Committee of Public Safety I hold myself the representative of all, and that the evil they speak with a gay heart against the governments that have preceded me, I consider as spoken with the intention of offending me. I am aware that it has become the fashion with certain people to eulogise me and decry France; but those who do not love France, do not love me; those who speak ill of my peoples I hold as my greatest enemies. . . . Your majesty will find in me a brother, if I find in him a Frenchman; but if he forgets the sentiments which bind him to the common fatherland, he must not complain if I forget those by which nature has united him to me.¹⁴

Was this sincere? Perhaps. But the reason why Napoleon III withheld this letter is obvious. Scandal whispered that his father was a Dutchman; and it proved that, whether scandal lied or not, his

¹² *Lettres inédites*, i. 159.

¹³ Masson, *Napoléon inconnu*, ii. 203.

¹⁴ *Lettres inédites*, i. 382.

nominal father had at any rate striven to be one. The other letter (no. 593) is to the same effect. 'Every political reason,' it began, 'made me wish to reunite Holland to France. . . . But I see that it causes you so much pain that for the first time I model my policy on the desire of pleasing you.'

Beyond discussion these five letters were not suppressed for the benefit of Napoleon's memory. Were the seventeen which M. Lecestre has copied from transcripts made anterior to the visit of the orderly officer?

C. The seventeen lost letters, of which copies exist.

Two of these letters were addressed to Jerome, one to Louis, one to Madame Mère, one to Maret, minister of foreign affairs, one to Clarke, minister of war, two to Marshal Davout when governing Hamburg, four to Cambacérès, and four to Savary, minister of police. The seventeenth was a duplicate. Surely, if ever, we may now expect revelations. Save two of them, all were composed after the retreat from Moscow, and on occasions when Napoleon's temper could not have been of the sweetest.

Louis was the theme of no fewer than five. One (no. 615) explained to him in trenchant phrases Napoleon's policy towards Holland and Germany.

Undeceive yourself! Everybody knows that apart from me you have no credit, that apart from me you are nothing. If, then, the example you have had under your eyes in Paris, if the knowledge of my character, which is to march straight to my end without any consideration stopping me, have not changed you nor enlightened you, what *am* I to do? . . . If you had followed this line of conduct [*i.e.* Napoleon's], you would be ruling to-day 6,000,000 subjects; I should have considered the throne of Holland as a pedestal for supporting Hamburg, Osnabrück, and a part of the north of Germany, since it would have been a nucleus of peoples, who would have still further denationalised (*dépaysé*) the German spirit, which is the first aim of my policy. . . . It is with reason and policy that states are governed, not with a sour and tainted lymph.¹⁵

Soon afterwards Louis abdicated and retired into private life, but at the end of 1813 he suddenly reappeared in Paris to reclaim his throne, and two of the letters (nos. 1095 and 1096), to Cambacérès, and that to Madame Mère (no. 1097), were intended to regulate his position. Napoleon repassed the Rhine on 2 November, smarting under the disastrous defeat at Leipzig and the Cadmean victory of Hanau, and it was on the 6th that he wrote (no. 1096) to the arch-chancellor:

Show them [Talleyrand, the president of the senate, the chief judge, and Count Regnaud] the letter the king has written me, the letter I am writing to Madame Mère, and this. It is frightful that he chooses this moment to come to insult me, and to wring my heart by forcing me to an

¹⁵ *Lettres inédites*, ii. 32.

act of severity ; but it is my destiny to see myself perpetually betrayed by the frightful ingratitude of the men I have loaded with the most benefits, above all by him for whose education I deprived myself, at the age of twenty, of everything, even absolute necessities. You know that the libels he has published against me have been printed in large type by Austria after the declaration of war, so as to blacken my character and increase the hatred against me, which was bursting forth on all sides.¹⁶

M. Masson¹⁷ has thrown considerable doubt on the story that Napoleon starved himself to feed, clothe, and educate Louis. The emperor, it is now beyond controversy, circulated the report, whether true or false.

The letter (no. 1097) to Madame Mère betrayed indignation rather than irritation. Disciples of Taine and Lanfrey may call it histrionic.

Madame et très chère mère,—I learn by the telegraph that Louis has descended at your house. I send you a copy of the letter he has written to me.

If Louis comes, as a French prince, to rally to the throne, I will welcome him and forget the past. I have brought him up in his childhood, and have overwhelmed him with favours ; my recompense has been the libels with which he has filled every court in Europe. But, once again, I will pardon him ; you know I bear no grudges. (*Vous savez que je n'ai pas de rancune.*) But if Louis, as his letter makes me fear, comes to reclaim the throne of Holland, I shall be at last placed in the painful necessity, first of using harsh measures towards him, secondly of punishing him once and for all . . . , since, if he does not acknowledge the laws of the empire, he will forthwith be declared a rebel.

There is very little generosity on his part to increase my embarrassments and to force me to be harsh, at a moment when I am so pressed with work, and when my heart has need of consolation, and not of fresh stabs. Holland is French ; it is so for ever ; the law of the state has decided it ; no human effort can take it from France. If, then, Louis comes still filled with the same chimeras, I appeal to you to save me from the pain of having him arrested as a rebel subject ; persuade him to leave Paris, and go and live tranquilly and forgotten in a corner of Italy. He was in Switzerland ; why has he abandoned it ?

In spite of all the proofs he has given me of his hate, I cannot believe that he is so wicked and so great an enemy of his children as to wish, in the present circumstances, when all Europe is rising against me, and when my heart is bruised by so many afflictions, to give me in addition the annoyance of having to proceed harshly against him.

I will close by repeating to you that if, on the contrary, he comes simply as a French prince to rally to the throne, which is in peril, and to defend the interest of his fatherland, of his family, and of his children, I pardon him the past. I will never mention it to him and I will welcome him, not remembering his conduct of the last ten years, but remembering the sentiments I had for him in his childhood.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Lettres inédites*, ii. 293.

¹⁷ *Napoléon inconnu*, ii. 202.

¹⁸ *Lettres inédites*, ii. 293.

That the sentiments in this noble letter were genuine, only the blindly prejudiced will deny. Even his enemies admitted that Napoleon was not vindictive. '*Il faut le dire,*' says Miot de Melito,¹⁹ one of Taine's principal witnesses against him, '*jamais souverain ne fut moins vindicatif que lui ;*' and Metternich, another of them, has expressed the same opinion.

There were two sides to Napoleon's character [he writes].²⁰ As a private man he was easy and tractable, without being either good or bad. In his quality of statesman he admitted no sentiment ; his decisions were dictated neither by affection nor by hatred. He crushed or removed his enemies without considering aught but the necessity or advantage of ridding himself of them. That end attained, he forgot them and did not persecute them.

Historians have too readily judged Napoleon's character from the codicil²¹ in which he left 10,000 francs to Cantillon, the would-be murderer of the Duke of Wellington. It was dated 24 April 1821, and the emperor died only ten days later. He was suffering from cancer in the stomach, and whoever has perused the entries

¹⁹ *Mémoires*, iii. 414.

²⁰ *Mémoires*, i. 290.

²¹ The object of the clause in the codicil was, as the language demonstrates, to emphasise, in the most outrageous fashion, Napoleon's belief that he was being slowly assassinated by means of the climate of St. Helena. Whether the confinement on that bare rock accelerated his end, or caused cancer to appear in his system, it is, of course, impossible to say. But it was not unnatural for him to connect the hideous pain and prostration, to which he had become a victim, with his residence there, even though his father had died of cancer in the stomach, and he had thus reason to suspect the true origin of his illness. As his faculties began to fail and he became physically weaker, the idea that England, personified in Wellington, was morally conniving at a murder would become stronger, and in his hallucination he would imagine that the most effective way of calling the attention of Europe to his wrongs would be to compare Wellington with the scoundrel Cantillon, and, as the former had been heavily rewarded for his services, to give the latter a legacy of 10,000 francs for his. Cantillon, all said and done, had risked his life to revenge the defeat of his master. Bearing, then, these points in mind, let the whole clause be read : '*Idem dix mille francs (10,000) au sous-officier Cantillon, qui a essayé un procès comme prévenu d'avoir voulu assassiner Lord Wellington ; ce dont il a été déclaré innocent. Cantillon avait autant de droit d'assassiner cet oligarque, que celui-ci de m'envoyer, pour y périr, sur le rocher de Sainte-Hélène. Wellington, qui a proposé cet attentat, cherchait à le justifier sur l'intérêt de la Grande-Bretagne. Cantillon, si vraiment il eût assassiné le lord, se serait couvert et aurait été justifié par les mêmes motifs, l'intérêt de la France, de se défaire d'un général qui d'ailleurs avait violé la capitulation de Paris, et par là s'était rendu responsable du sang des martyrs Ney, Labédoyère, etc., et du crime d'avoir dépouillé les musées contre le texte des traités.*' Assuming, however, that the plea of insanity is dropped, it may be pointed out that literally Cantillon is to have his 10,000 francs as a consolation for the trouble and expense he had been put to by a trial at which he was acquitted, the rest of the paragraph being an absurd tirade against Wellington, who is compared to an assassin (not to the innocent Cantillon, but to a hypothetically guilty Cantillon). Certainly the clause ought not to be twisted into a general approval by Napoleon of assassination ; rather the opposite, since, if Cantillon were justified, Wellington would be justified. The rights and wrongs of the treatment of Napoleon at St. Helena need not be considered in the argument. From his point of view he was amply justified in complaining, and from their point of view the English were as amply justified in imprisoning him.

of his doctor, Antommarchi, immediately before and after its execution, must see that the tortures he was enduring had unhinged his mind, though his memory had not deserted him and his language had not lost its ordinary lucidity. The actual note of Antommarchi on his condition at the time when he composed this the last document of his life but one, is :

1 h. P.M.—Vomissement. Les biscuits sont presque entièrement rejetés. L'empereur fait de nouveau défendre la porte de son appartement, reste enfermé avec le général Montholon et Marchand jusqu'à six heures. J'entre, 'J'ai trop écrit, docteur, je suis affaîsé, je n'en puis plus.'²²

Nor do the letters directed to Jerome injure the reputation of Napoleon. One (no. 651) refers to the abdication of Louis in 1810, and is unimportant, though the postscript is remarkable. 'P.S. *La famille avait besoin de beaucoup de sagesse et de bonne conduite; tout cela ne donnera pas d'elle une bonne opinion en Europe. Heureusement que j'ai lieu de penser que l'impératrice est grosse.*' Observe the *avait*, not *a*. The empress, it is to be hoped, will be delivered of a child, and the emperor of the necessity of humouring his brothers. Another letter (no. 1011) is a strong, but not too severe, reproof for Jerome's having interfered with the movement of some troops, whilst the third (no. 1098) is a criticism on the selfishness of the ex-king of Westphalia in purchasing land in France just as the French were retreating across the Rhine.

I am indignant [he said] that when all private individuals are sacrificing their interests for the defence of the country, a king who loses his throne has so little tact as to choose this instant to purchase property, and give the impression of thinking only of his private interests.²³

His elder brother, the epicurean Joseph, of whom Napoleon, when fourteen and a half years old, had predicted that he would make 'a very good garrison officer,' gave equal ground for dissatisfaction. He and Marshal Jourdan had been routed by Wellington at Vittoria, and Napoleon complained to his minister of war that neither had sent him a report of the battle.

The conduct of this prince [he fumes in no. 1047] has been for the last five years the misfortune of my army. It is time that there should be an end of that.²⁴

The letter of 20 July 1813 (no. 1055) to Cambacérès is in the like strain.

Doubtless the king is not a soldier, but he is responsible for his immorality, and the greatest of immoralities is to engage in a profession of which one is ignorant. If that army lacked one man, it was a general, and if there was one man too many, it was the king. . . . I hear Roederer²⁵ is coming to see me; I am glad of it; I shall be able to give

²² *Derniers Momens*, ii. 123.

²³ *Lettres inédites*, ii. 294.

²⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 265.

²⁵ One of Joseph's ministers.

him a piece of my mind, and explain that I no longer wish to expose my affairs to ruin out of consideration for imbeciles who are neither soldiers nor politicians nor administrators (*qui ne sont ni militaires ni politiques ni administrateurs*).²⁶

Nevertheless, the very same day he has the frankness to admit to Savary that²⁷ *en dernière analyse, je ne me dissimule pas que c'est ma faute*. How many would have confessed it to themselves? How few to their ministers of police! Napoleon had then an unbeaten record as a tactician.²⁸

Ere leaving the brothers of the emperor, the reader should be reminded that one of them—Lucien—pursued an honourable and logical career, refusing to become a king. The rest accepted the situation, and as neither the subjects over whom they ruled, nor the French, whose bayonets supported their thrones, had the slightest desire to see them crowned, it was obvious that they owed their elevation to the emperor, and depended for their existence in the monarchical circle on the continued success of his policy. Common sense as well as the commonest gratitude should have therefore urged them, unless they were prepared at once to abdicate, to second his measures, good or bad, with their whole strength and energy. That they neglected this plain duty is a proof of the weakness²⁹ of their intellects, the baseness of their hearts.

Thus ten of the seventeen letters disappeared to save the reputations of other members of the Bonaparte family. The two following were probably sacrificed to please the clerical spirit represented at court by the Empress Eugénie. The seminarists at Ghent were exhibiting in 1813 signs of disaffection. Savary was ordered to clap the superintendent of the seminary into a state prison, and to keep his whereabouts secret. All the seminarists over eighteen years were to be drafted into the army, and the rest to be distributed amongst the seminaries of France. *Je ne sais pas*, the letter (no. 1068) ends, *si c'est à Tournay ou ailleurs qu'il y a des béguines qui se comportent mal; chassez-les de la ville*. Twenty-four hours later he repeated the command with slight

²⁶ *Lettres inédites*, ii. 271.

²⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 272.

²⁸ At Eylau he had remained in possession of the field of battle. At Aspern-Essling his retreat into the isle of Lobau was caused by the exceptional rising of the Danube, which enabled the Austrians by throwing a mill into the river to break the only bridge that connected him with his reserves and munitions. The battles in the retreat from Moscow were strategic rather than tactical disasters. For instance, the passage of the Beresina was a tactical success, which was none the less a frightful catastrophe.

²⁹ In a letter of Napoleon to Joseph (that of 3 June 1806, no. 10312 in the *Correspondance*) he stated the plain truth. 'You compare the attachment of the French to me with that of the Neapolitans to you. That would appear an epigram. What love do you expect from a people for whom you have done nothing, in whose land you are by right of conquest with forty or fifty thousand foreigners? . . . If you had no French army and the ex-king of Naples no English army, who would be the stronger at Naples?'

variations. Whether the seminarists were in holy orders or not, they were to shoulder muskets. *Soyez très ferme contre cette prêtraille, mais que ce soit sans éclat. Je suis fâché que le préfet ait pris un arrêté qu'il a fait imprimer. Qu'avait-il besoin de cela? Il fallait frapper et ne rien dire* (no. 1069). Napoleon III did his best to recall to catholics the Napoleon of the concordat, and not the enemy of the *prêtraille*.

The remainder of the seventeen letters—with the exception of that (no. 1006) to Maret of 1 June 1813, which shows that, after the victories of Lützen and Bautzen, Napoleon had the wickedness to desire a favourable peace—concern Hamburg in 1813. That city on the news of the Moscow disaster had prepared to shake off the French yoke, and on 18 March the garrison were forced to evacuate it. The importance of the place, which blocked the mouth of the Elbe to an English landing, and permitted Napoleon to communicate with the friendly Denmark, induced him to detach his ablest marshal—the man most imbued with his own spirit—Davout, to recover it. That much-abused general entered Hamburg at the end of May 1813, and remained in possession until after the abdication of the emperor on 11 April 1814. The four letters deal with the organisation of the defence. The first concerns Bourrienne, who, according to his master, had ‘a thief’s eye.’ After being dismissed for dishonesty from the post of private secretary to Napoleon, the ex-schoolfellow of the emperor had been afforded several chances of redeeming his reputation, but proved constitutionally incapable of keeping a straight line. When French consul to the Hanseatic League he received, besides considerable sums from Lübeck and Bremen, 495,000 francs from the city of Hamburg.³⁰ These were ordered to be replaced, ‘the treasury of Hamburg having become that of France.’ The amount, however, on further investigation swelled to 670,000 francs,³¹ and he would appear to have participated in breaches of the continental system to the extent of 2,000,000 more,³² of which he was allowed to retain 25 per cent. for himself,³³ if we adopt the construction most unfavourable to Napoleon. Literally Bourrienne was to pay over to the treasury of the ministry for foreign affairs for finishing the ministerial residence 75 per cent. of the duties he had illegally levied—an amount probably greater than he had then in his possession from those sources. Nor was this the sum total of his malversations, for when in June 1813 he tried to regain a footing in Hamburg, Napoleon sent an order (no. 1030) to Savary couched as follows :

You will inform the Sieur Bourrienne that he is to cease every kind of communication with Hamburg under any pretext whatever; for, the first time he writes or occupies himself directly or indirectly with the

³⁰ *Lettres inédites*, ii. 139.

³² *Ibid.* ii. 96.

³¹ *Ibid.* ii. 141.

³³ *Ibid.* ii. 140.

affairs of Hamburg, I will have him arrested and make him restore everything he has robbed in that town.³⁴

The letter is a blot on the character not only of Bourrienne, but of his employer. We should, however, remember that the revolution had destroyed all sense of pecuniary honour; that nearly all the generals and public men—Barras, for example—were guilty of peculation (Marshals Brune, Mortier, and Bernadotte figure amongst the men who pillaged the Hanseatic towns), and accordingly, unless he was prepared to cashier the greater part of his best soldiers, Napoleon had to wink at dishonesty. Personally above suspicion in money matters, he was, from the nature of things, forced to palliate laxity in others, but, had he suddenly become omnipotent, Soult, Masséna, and the rest might have found themselves expelled from the army. Moreover, in territories which acquiesced in his rule, he does not seem to have permitted such corruption; whereas Hamburg had been always in a state of smouldering rebellion.

The two letters to Marshal Davout and the one to Savary admirably illustrate the emperor's attitude towards that town, and consequently towards Bourrienne. On 7 June 1813 he wrote to Davout (no. 1009) :

I have no need to tell you that you ought to disarm the inhabitants, seize all the guns, sabres, gun-barrels, and powder, make domiciliary visits if that is necessary, and utilise everything for the defence of the town. Nor is there any necessity for me to tell you that you ought to press all the sailors, to the number of three or four thousand, and send them into France; that you ought also to press all the disaffected and send them, too, into France, to be incorporated in the 127th, 128th, and 129th regiments. Clear thus the town of five to six thousand men, and let the arm of justice weigh heavily on the *canaille*, whose attitude could, it would appear, be scarcely worse.³⁵

Savary, soon after, pleaded on behalf of the commercial classes in Paris against the measures of Davout, and drew on himself (no. 1019) :

My intention is to treat Hamburg very severely. . . . The prince of Eckmühl accordingly does only what I have ordered. In place of running counter to him, second him with all the means in your power. The cackle of the Paris bankers concerns me little.³⁶

Nor did a deputation from Hamburg fare better. He recounted to Davout in a despatch (no. 1043) of 9 July 1813 how he had refused to receive it until the contribution of forty-eight millions of francs was entirely paid, and had ordered it to quit Dresden in the course of the day.

On this occasion [he proceeded] I ought to inform you of my intentions. I require the whole of the forty-eight millions without the deduction of a

³⁴ *Lettres inédites*, ii. 254.

³⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 242.

³⁶ *Ibid.* i. 247.

single sou. . . . As to the amnesty, you are well aware that I have given you *carte blanche*. I make no difficulty about that; I much prefer to make them pay, it is the best way of punishing them. It is also necessary to try to reach the riff-raff, and saddle it with a portion of the war contribution by doubling or quadrupling the poll tax and the door and window rates, by increasing the town dues, and by increasing the duty on sales of liquor in wine shops, &c. Only two or three millions will be produced; but it is also advisable to hit the *canaille*, and to show it that one isn't afraid of it. You should, besides, reach it by arresting as many roughs as you can and sending them into France to join the troops, and by seizing all the firebrands, who should be sent to the galleys and French prisons.³⁷

Such were the seventeen letters destroyed. Those which refer to Napoleon's relatives were to his credit; the rest were not calculated to shock the conscience of that turbulent age. It only remains in the light of the seventeen to estimate the fifteen letters of which the first and last sentences and the names of the correspondents have been alone preserved.

D. *The fifteen lost letters.*

Seven were to Jerome, one to Louis, one to Pauline, and two to Hortense, the daughter of Josephine. It is unlikely that they would have injured the reputation of Napoleon.

The others were to Fouché, but of these we have unfortunately clues to the contents of only two.

That of 4 March 1810 began, *Faites faire un procès verbal*, and finished, *Faites faire des billets de la banque de Londres*. To learn the signification we must retrace our steps to the war of 1809, when the Austrian government had provided for its expenses by an immense issue of paper money, and Napoleon had hit upon the ingenious though extremely unscrupulous idea of forging Austrian 'greenbacks,' and so paying instead of pillaging the conquered, and, at the same time, ruining his enemy's currency. He defended this course in a letter to Fouché published by M. Lecestre (i. 367):

It is a political operation. When the house of Austria no longer has its paper money, it will no longer be able to make war on me. . . . It is urgent and important that you set about this affair in a serious spirit. If I had destroyed this paper, I should not have had this war.

In 1810 and earlier the notes of the bank of England were inconvertible (*i.e.* the bank was absolved by law from redeeming them in gold), and we were in a somewhat similar position to Austria. The lost letter to Fouché is an indication that Napoleon was about to attempt the same manœuvre towards England, either by surreptitiously introducing his forged notes across the

³⁷ *Lettres inédites*, ii. 261.

Channel, or by forcing them upon the population by a sudden descent on the English coast. That thoughts of invading England still filled his imagination we learn from, amongst other sources, the diary of Jerome's wife, who accompanied the emperor and Marie Louise in their Belgian and Dutch tour of 1810. Under the date of 12 May we read³⁸ that she had seen at Middelburg perfect preparations for the invasion of England by an army of 80,000 men. The other letter to Fouché related to the forged Austrian notes themselves, which after the marriage to Marie Louise were to have been burnt. Several subsequently found their way into circulation, and Metternich clamoured over the breach of faith. 'Austria complains that 107 . . . whence can come these 107 notes?' are the only phrases extant of the vanished letter. Was, we wonder, the source Fouché himself? Haply it was another of the many causes why, two months later, the liar, traitor, thief, spy, and regicide received his dismissal in language of the bitterest brevity and humour.

Monsieur le duc d'Otrante, your services can no longer be agreeable to me. It is *à propos* that you leave in twenty-four hours to live in your senatory. This letter being for no other end, I pray God keep you in his holy and worthy care.

A comprehensive analysis of the forty-two letters has thus revealed that the main objects of their removal were to hide Napoleon's opinions on the incompetence, laziness, immorality, and selfishness of the other members of the Bonaparte family, and subsidiarily not to furnish English, German, or Parisian journalists with weapons to attack Napoleon III through the memory of his uncle by removing passages from the context, and omitting to describe the circumstances under which orders cruel, and even horrible, to peaceful irresponsible citizens were dictated. That there was a systematic destruction of dubious documents is in no slight degree improbable, since, save the family epistles, most can be matched in the 'Correspondance' itself, and—which is still more conclusive—the minutes of letters, if anything more terrific, that had actually come to the notice of the editors of the 'Correspondance' and had been published in a garbled form (the objectionable phrases being declared to be illegible), were left untouched in the archives, and thus their suppressed parts are to be found in M. Lecestre's collection. To quote the worst: the editors of the 'Correspondance' announced that a few lines in a letter to

³⁸ *Correspondance inédite de la reine Catherine de Westphalie publiée par le baron A. du Casse*, p. 32. It should not be forgotten that in 1796 a large French force actually sailed into Bantry Bay, though the absence of its leader, Hoche, led it to return without landing.

Soult of 13 Feb. 1804 were undecipherable, but M. Lecestre has restored the words :

Arrest immediately the sailors and crew of the fisherman who has communicated with the English. I regret that I neglected to have him arrested at the time. Make him speak, and I authorise you even to promise him his pardon if he makes revelations ; and if you see any hesitation you can, as is the custom in the case of men accused of espionage, even shut his thumbs in the lock of a musket.

There is a ghastly ring about this, and it is not astonishing that Napoleon has been denounced as an inhuman monster. Let us in justice, however, ascertain what can be advanced in his defence.

First, what most critics have ignored, neither in the 'Lettres inédites' nor in the thirty-two volumes of the 'Correspondance' can another injunction to torture be unearthed, and so, until paralleled, we ought to regard the paragraph as completely exceptional.

Secondly, there is no complete evidence that it was intended to do more than frighten the spy into a confession.³⁹ The fisherman would naturally require some guarantee that his life would be spared other than the word of Soult, and the letter would in due course be shown him. His eyes would catch the fatal sentence, and, unless he were a very determined character—one to whom such a torture would be a light affair—the words would have almost as much effect as the physical pain they enjoined. 'If you ask me,' remarked Napoleon to Las Cases at St. Helena, 'what was the object of my severe expressions and forms, I shall reply, "To save me from doing what I threatened."' As already related, at two of the most vital instants in his career he refused to deliver a city to the flames and save his throne. Yet who would have suspected such humanity in the sovereign who wrote to Junot, 'I see with pain that you have no other means of burning and reducing Lisbon, if it revolts, than your vessels. It is a poor and sad resource' ?⁴⁰ Like Davout, one of the rare individuals who understood his methods, he rejoiced in exaggerated rumours of his own cruelty.

But, supposing the order was carried out, what were the circumstances of its sending? They cannot alter the barbarity of

³⁹ Since writing the above I have been reminded that in Fauriel's *Les derniers jours du Consulat* the police agents of Napoleon are accused of having made use of the identical form of torture ordered in the letter to Soult.

Though Fauriel, an ex-secretary of Fouché and no eye-witness of the events, is unworthy of credit, the editor of his treatise, M. Ludovic Lalanne, shows from unquestionable sources that some of the accomplices of Cadoudal complained of such treatment. The statements of prisoners wishing to create sympathy are not the best of evidence, but they certainly tend to prove that the letter to Soult was intended by Napoleon in grim earnest.

⁴⁰ *Lettres inédites*, no. 235, i. 157.

the act, but they do differentiate Napoleon from monsters, like Nero, who have been cruel for cruelty's sake.

The date of the letter was 13 Feb. 1804, and on 22 May 1803 France had declared war on England. The fisherman in communicating with the English had thus, even if he were innocent, raised the strongest suspicions that he was a spy, and, being of French extraction, that he was also a traitor. Whether he was or not, is beside the point. Statesmen are not judges, and they have to act on reasonable probabilities, and often in extreme haste.

It was probable, therefore, that the fisherman was both a spy and a traitor, and that was not all. Beyond the shadow of a doubt a royalist plot directed from London was on foot to murder Napoleon. The rest of the letter refers to the landing of the assassins on the coast of France, and Napoleon, it is clear, imagined that the fisherman was privy to the conspiracy. Two days after its despatch, Moreau was arrested, and the pardoned Moreau directed the allied armies in 1813 against those of his own country. Pichegru had served the Jacobins during the Terror, had been bought by the Bourbons in 1797, had attempted to play the part of Monk, had failed, and finally, having made his escape to England, had fought against France in 1799. On the 28th day of the same month of February 1804, Pichegru was seized in Paris. On the following 9 March, Georges Cadoudal, a violent royalist fanatic, was captured; also in Paris, where Napoleon was then residing.⁴¹ Pichegru and Cadoudal were in the capital at the risk of their lives. To have openly deposed Napoleon was wildly impracticable, and they must have been present to murder him or await his murder. He was then at the height of his popularity. The duc d'Enghien, Palm, and Hofer were still alive. The army adored him, and, having saved France from invasion, he had endowed her with institutions the beneficence of which his most bigoted enemies could not and cannot deny. If he had been assassinated then, to have designed or been a party to his murder was, therefore, to have engaged in the most criminal of enterprises, which, if successful, might have plunged France back into the *ancien régime*, the detestable Directory, or the Terror. The new society built with such oceans of blood and gold was to be sacrificed to the greed and ambition of a handful of scoundrels. There were excellent reasons for suspecting the fisherman of being their accomplice, since communication with the English could not be for the purpose of helping them to disembark an army, or of warning them where the flotilla lay. An invasion of France from England was in 1804 incredible, and the English sailors, amply instructed of the proposed invasion from the camp at

⁴¹ From 18 Nov. 1803 to 18 July 1804 Napoleon was at Paris, except during the week 1-7 Jan. 1804.

Boulogne, can hardly have needed news as to the position of the transports. The inference certainly was that the fisherman was in league with the assassins, and Soult was ordered, *if the promise of life would not lose his tongue*, to apply a comparatively mild kind of torture.

The history of England itself furnishes a most apposite proof that Napoleon must be condemned with his age. General Picton, the Waterloo hero, was indicted in 1806 for having, as governor of Trinidad,

caused and procured Luisa Calderon (*being a young woman under the age of fourteen years . . .*) to be unlawfully, cruelly, and inhumanly tortured by means of fastening and affixing to the wrists of the said Luisa a certain rope passing through a certain pulley . . . and by such rope raising and pulling up the said Luisa . . . and lowering her again upon a certain sharp spike of wood so that the feet of the said Luisa fell upon the said sharp spike . . . and keeping the said Luisa so suspended and with the weight of her body resting on her said feet on the said spike for the space of half an hour, &c. ('State Trials,' vol. xxx., p. 229.)

This was not traversed, but Picton's counsel argued that Luisa Calderon had been an accomplice in a robbery; that such a robbery by the laws of England was a capital felony, 'and if Luisa Calderon . . . was an accomplice . . . even according to the mild and merciful law of this country she would have forfeited her life,' 'that the Spanish law which permitted torture reigned in Trinidad;' and that it was represented to Picton 'that it would be proper to inflict a slight torture, and he acquiesced in the suggestion and suffered the law to take its course.' No final judgment was ever delivered against him, and he escaped scot free. Therefore a girl under fourteen years, who had helped to steal property, was tortured by Picton; a fisherman, who was presumably a traitor and spy suspected of rebellion and of plotting assassination, may have been by Napoleon.

III. THE NEW LETTERS.

Assuming, then, that the worst letters of Napoleon are in the volumes of M. Lecestre, it remains to consider briefly the value of the new documents brought to the surface. In perusing them, we should remember that many may have been sent merely to stimulate his ministers and not to be taken literally, and lastly that, as M. Lecestre has remarked, separated from the 21,000 other letters, they must by themselves give an entirely false view of the emperor.

As to the character of the man, they are not likely to upset the verdict, favourable or unfavourable, which students of the 'Correspondance' have already formed, though they undoubtedly teem with vivid illustrations. Thus, 'Your character and mine are opposed,' he wrote (no. 1147) to Joseph a fortnight before the

allies entered Paris in 1814; 'you love to cajole men and obey their ideas; I—I love them to do my pleasure and obey my ideas. To-day, as at Austerlitz, I am the master.' By the same post as the letter to Joseph went one (no. 1144) to Savary.

I wish in the state no intrigue; there is no other authority than mine. . . . I do not want tribunes of the people. Let them remember that I am the Great Tribune. The people will then always do what best concerns its true interests, which are the object of all my thoughts.

With regard to fresh information, the English reader's chief question will be the bearing the letters have on the history of England. In one of 16 Nov. 1806, Napoleon pointed out to his brother Louis (i. 80) that it was not probable that we should make attempts on the coasts, and if we did we should be soundly thrashed. We 'prefer to pillage the colonies of every nation,' he observed; and addressing Louis, 'You don't understand the policy of these gentry.' On the following 15 Dec. he explained his plans to the same brother (i. 82). The continental blockade

will ruin many commercial cities, Lyons, Amsterdam, Rotterdam; but the present state of anxiety must be ended. . . . Always have your war-fleet armed, since that fatigues the English. All my efforts are on land; it is by my land armies that I wish to reconquer the Cape and Surinam. . . . P.S. *The people's good is only accomplished by braving the opinion of the feeble and ignorant—*

proof that the disastrous commercial effects of the blockade were fully anticipated by him. Another letter to Louis a year and a half afterwards (i. 144-5-6) is a further admonition to have a powerful fleet to harass England.

Your honour and that of your people and the success of the common cause are bound up with the efforts you make. There is no call for 'ifs' or 'buts'; it is necessary to succeed. Disperse every obstacle, and take such measures that the vessels in course of construction be promptly launched, and those disarmed be repaired and sent to sea.

We learn incidentally that he still regarded his flotilla as 'one of his chief arms against England,' and on 7 Sept. 1807 he reminded Champagny (i. 105) that on the following 1 Oct. it would be in perfect order, and that there would be 'a large army at Boulogne, ready to attempt a *coup de main* on England.' We catch in the same letter to Louis a glimpse of the new weapon Napoleon had himself placed in our hands. His brother having asked for a loan of 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 francs, he explained that he had no money to lend, since 'the expenses of my armies in Spain and Dalmatia eat up everything.' That was written on 18 Feb. 1808. On 31 July, Sir Arthur Wellesley landed in Portugal.

The war in Spain was not, however, the sole disturbing element in his calculations against England. On 6 Feb. 1809 he com-

plained (i. 280) to his minister at St. Petersburg that the conduct of Austria had prevented him forming his camps at Boulogne, Brest, and Toulon.

These three camps would have carried fright into England, because I should have menaced all her colonies. Austria becomes every day more and more stupid, and I am persuaded it will be impossible to injure England without first forcing that power to disarm.

'Austria,' he urges to Caulaincourt (i. 270) for the benefit of Russia, 'cannot say that this armament represents her permanent military strength. She has no means of keeping it up. She puts Europe into a crisis. She will pay for the broken pots.' She did at Eckmühl and Wagram, but Aspern-Essling was a second Eylau.

England herself having a miniature Spain in Ireland, Napoleon turned the persecution of the Roman catholics to the best account he could, seeing that he was unable to land there an army as we could in the Peninsula.

It is necessary [he urged the pious Fouché, i. 93] to make a great outcry, above all in the local journals of Brittany, La Vendée, Piedmont, and Belgium, against the persecutions of the Irish catholics by the English church. . . . The cruelty and baseness of England towards the Irish catholics, who for the last hundred years have been suffering a perpetual St. Bartholomew, must be exposed. Always say, instead of protestants, Anglican church; for we have protestants, but no Anglican church, in France.

Reverting to Spain, the presence of the English there caused him at first only a little uneasiness, if not positive pleasure. On the retreat of Sir John Moore he informed Fouché in exulting language (i. 260) that the English had 'cowardly and shamefully abandoned the Spaniards.'

It appeared [he continued, doubtless with a smile] that they had collected 10,000 horses, to escape the quicker. Have all that written up in the newspapers. Have caricatures, songs, popular ditties made; have them translated into German and Italian, so that they may be spread in Italy and Germany.

Was there, it may be asked *en passant*, more foundation for the following letter to Clarke of 26 June 1810?

In the Irish battalion, which has been in Spain, a great number of English prisoners of war have been recruited, and have since deserted. The Irish regiment has thus lost this year more than 1,000 English deserters, who had been recruited. Express my discontent to the recruiting sergeants of the regiment for having thus recruited from the English (ii. 617).

To resume: the English, Caulaincourt must know (i. 269), 'have lost nearly half their army. . . . You can believe the bulletins exactly;

they tell everything,'⁴² and Corunna, when it came, was nothing to the master of thirty and more journals, being with Talavera a glorious victory for the French. On Talavera he commented (i. 352), 'The English blood flows at last! It is the best prognostic of our finally arriving at peace.' He had himself, however, no delusions as to the result, and he bade (i. 379) Berthier intimate to Victor, who had been in command, that the emperor 'preserved no prejudice against him for the affair of Talavera,' though he had seen with pain *qu'on ait attaqué en détail au lieu de le faire ensemble*; prophetic criticism on Napoleon's own manœuvres at Waterloo. Even the truth of Vittoria was to be entirely concealed; his ministers having to lie with one voice to the effect that 'the loss was equal on both sides,' and that the English were passing off a hundred guns and military wagons voluntarily left behind 'for pieces of cannon with their teams taken on the field of battle' (ii. 266).

Respecting other than English affairs these volumes are of the greatest interest. Napoleon's policy towards his brothers, the press, the police, and the pope, his systems of public and private finance, and his application of terrorism are fully exemplified, and the letters act as an excellent check on the memoir-makers. Moreover the new letters supplement, explain, and modify deductions drawn from the correspondence of other actors in the Titanic struggle. Here is an example. Amongst the last quotations in Lanfrey's History is one from a letter of Jerome to Napoleon dated 5 December 1811. It was inserted, with evident approval, to illustrate the blindness of the emperor to the vast dangers which threatened him from a German insurrection, if he should venture on a campaign in Russia.

If any persons speak to your majesty of tranquillity and submission [Lanfrey's quotation runs], they deceive you. Excitement exists in the highest degree, the wildest hopes are fostered and nursed with enthusiasm; the example of Spain is everywhere welcomed, and should war break out, every country situated between the Rhine and the Oder will be the focus of a vast and energetic insurrection.

The historian, after an extract from a letter of the emperor to Davout, in which the latter and Rapp are severely reprov'd for placing similar 'rhapsodies' under his eyes, his time being 'too precious to waste on such twaddle' . . . which 'only serves to make him lose his time and to soil his mind by absurd pictures or suppositions,' then proceeds to reflect in this wise:

In presence of such hallucinations, caused by pride and infatuation, we seem to hear Macbeth in his delirium insulting the messengers who announce to him the approach of the enemy's armies:

⁴² The italics are mine.

‘Bring me no more reports ; let them fly all ;
The mind I sway by, and the heart I bear,
Shall never sway with doubt, or shake with fear.’

In the same way had this upstart, this great calculator, this observer, once so full of penetration, and so prompt to seize every circumstance which could serve him, now ended by falling into a passion, like a child, against the tranquil and sovereign power of facts. . . . He no longer deigned to enter into any discussion with the force of things.

This was the ‘upstart’s’ reply to Jerome :

Paris : 10 December 1811.

I receive your letter of the 5th December. I only see in it two *facts* :⁴³ (1st) that the landlords in Hamburg and Magdeburg are leaving their houses to avoid paying the heavy additional taxes you are levying on them ; (2ndly) that you do not believe in the loyalty of your army, and warn me not to count on it.

As to the first matter, that doesn’t concern me. I have constantly recommended you as a principle to keep down the enemies of France, not to repose excessive trust in them, and by according greater trust to the generals commanding at Magdeburg, to insure the safety of that important fortress ; lastly, to put order and economy into the finances of Westphalia, which is the worst governed state in the Confederation.

As to the second matter, it is just what I have been ceaselessly repeating to you since the day you mounted your throne. A few troops, but troops well picked, and a more economical administration would have been of greater advantage to you and the common cause.

When you have *facts* to tell me, I will listen to them with pleasure. When, on the contrary, you desire to send me pictures, I beg you will spare me. In teaching me that your administration is bad, you teach me nothing new.⁴⁴

That Napoleon was on the whole calculating justly, ‘the tranquil and sovereign power of facts’ proved. By the end of 1812 the ‘Grande Armée’—to use the expressive phrase of King Joseph’s aide-de-camp Colonel Desprez—was ‘dead,’ a disaster which neither Napoleon nor Davout nor Jerome had cause to anticipate. Nevertheless, in 1813 Napoleon was in the vicinity of Berlin as late as September, and the armies of Austria and Russia, not the insurgent Germans, mainly decided the battle of Leipzig (16–19 Oct. 1813). What, we wonder, would have become of Jerome’s prophecy had Napoleon obtained even a moderate amount of success in Russia ? The king of Westphalia in his heart of hearts was doubtless speculating on the future of his own kingdom if Napoleon were to die in the war. The emperor was reckoning on a different basis. Even if defeated, his immense prestige, intellect, and will would be left, and he who had recovered from Eylau and Aspern would be equal to crushing any insurrection

⁴³ The italics are mine.

⁴⁴ *Lettres inédites*, ii. 185.

in Germany. His mistake in reality was a technical mistake in war, not a general mistake in policy, and his under-estimation of the difficulties of invading Russia was rendered fatal by an exceptionally fine and late autumn being followed by an exceptionally severe winter. For the first time, moreover, in his career he did not rise superior to the occasion in intellect, will, or physique. His body gave out at the Borodino, his will failed him at Malo Jaroslavetz, and he had not foreseen with accuracy the conditions of a winter campaign in so high a latitude or had ignored its possibility. One of the new letters (no. 935) goes far to explain his ruin :

The enemy [he wrote on 18 November to Maret] have the habit and experience of moving on ice, which gives them in winter an immense advantage over us. An ammunition wagon or gun, which we cannot get up the smallest ravine without losing twelve to fifteen horses and as many hours, they with their 'runners' and other specially made contrivances get over quicker than if there were no ice.

Surely 'runners' might have been provided for the French.

A word as to the style : if ever the saying that the 'style is the man' is true, it is in the case of Napoleon, and the uniqueness of his character is reflected in these letters, which differ from the literary man's as liquid air from ice. The multiplicity of ideas, metaphors, and facts, the paucity not poverty of words are astounding, and to such an extent had he brought the art of speaking through ink to perfection that his voice from every page is clearly heard across the century. Unconsciously there recurs to the memory a picture in Thiébault's 'Memoirs' of one moment in that furious ride of Napoleon's (iv. 279) when, ceasing to direct the pursuit of Sir John Moore, he flew back to Paris.

As I was approaching Burgos . . . my valet said to me, 'I believe there's the emperor!' I was hastily opening the door to alight, when a voice cried out, 'Who's in that carriage?' and scarcely had Jacques time to reply 'General Thiébault,' when I was passed by Savary at full gallop, and by the emperor, flogging with his riding-whip his aide-de-camp's horse on the crupper, whilst digging the rowels of his spurs into his own, as he made that incredible ride, during which in three hours and a half he passed from Valladolid to Burgos, a distance of twenty-three Spanish leagues. A good minute behind them Duroc and the emperor's Mameluke were hurrying along. At an equal distance galloped a guide doing his utmost to overtake them; and four other guides were following as best they could.

J. B. RYE.

Notes and Documents

NOTES ON SOME CHRONOLOGICAL QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE PERSECUTION OF DIOCLETIAN.

I.

THE edict of Diocletian against the Manichees¹ is commonly dated in 296 or 297, or, as Mommsen prefers, 302. It is far more savage in character than the first edict against the Christians issued in 303; but it contains the provision for burning 'their abominable books,' and is therefore the first trace of such a policy.

Canon Mason² once attempted to clear Diocletian by shifting the date to 308, and assuming that Galerius had restored him against his will at Carnuntum in 307 as a purely nominal partner in the empire. As that theory is in some ways tempting, it may be as well to place on record the reasons why it is untenable, though I understand that its author has now abandoned it. It rests on Haenel's text, which runs *Impp. Maximianus, Diocletianus et Maximinus nobilissimi A.A.A. Juliano proconsuli Africae . . . Dat. pridie Kal. April. Alexandriae*. Given this text and looking no further, there is a fair case for explaining the preference of Maximian to Diocletian (in this law alone out of some 1200) by referring it to the younger Maximian (commonly called Galerius), and dating it after Maximin Daza made himself Augustus in 308. But (1) the reading is corrupt (Huschke). The manuscript evidence is confused, but decidedly against it; and Mommsen boldly reads the usual *Impp. Diocletianus et Maximianus A.A. et Constantius et Maximianus nob. C.C.*, giving 293-305 as the limits of date. However that may be, (2) the reading is impossible. Diocletian might give orders to a proconsul of Africa, but neither Galerius nor Maximin, for Africa was under Alexander and Maxentius, and therefore subject to neither of them. So Dr. Mason proposes an imaginary proconsul of Armenia. A proconsul of Asia or of Achaia would at least have had a real existence: but the dilemma is hopeless. Galerius ruled both Asia and Achaia; but he was certainly not at Alexandria after 308. Maximin could date from Alexandria; but he never ruled Achaia at all, and Asia only after the death of Galerius.

¹ *Mos. et Rom. Legum Collatio*, xv. 3.

² *Persec. of Diocl.* 279.

Thus we are thrown back on Diocletian, and have to choose between his visits of 296-7 and 302. Mommsen prefers the latter, but the former much better suits the hostile allusions to Persia. Maximian was also busy in Africa with the Quinquegentiani. It may be added that though it might be too bold to find Julianus in the M. IVLLIO T NO (five letters lost) of C. I. L. t. viii. no. 1550, one of the years 295-6 and 296-7 is open for his proconsulship. For that matter, 302 is open too, for we have no certain dates between Dionysius in March 298, and Anullinus in June 303, though Tertullus may fall in the interval. Upon the whole, the allusions to Persia may decide us for 31 March 297, after the suppression of Achillaeus.

II.

There is an interesting difficulty about certain dates in Eusebius *de martyribus Palaestinae*. Most writers overlook it, or vaguely surmise that something is wrong; and even Bruno Violet, the last laborious German,³ tosses it aside with something like impatience. It is easily stated. On four occasions Eusebius adds the days of the week to the year and the day of the month, which he gives for all his martyrs. The difficulty is that we get an impossible date every time. Let us first notice that Eusebius treats Macedonian and Roman months as identical. Thus, when he says that Dystrus 24 is *a. d. ix. Kal. Apr.*, he means that Dystrus corresponds day for day with March. He begins, then, by telling us that Diocletian's first edict, which was issued 24 Feb. 303, and was received at Caesarea⁴ 19 March, was published throughout Palestine in Xanthicus or April. I cannot follow Bruno Violet in seeing a contradiction in these two last facts. From this point, then, he seems to reckon the years of the persecution. Here again Bruno Violet has failed to prove that he begins these years in January. Then come the four dates, thus—

1. (c. 1.) Procopius, the first martyr, Δ.σίου μηνὸς ἐβδόμη, πρὸ ἑπτα εἰδῶν Ἰουνίων λέγοιτ' ἂν παρὰ Ῥωμαίους, ἡμέρα τετράδι σαββάτου in the first year. No various reading to notice. Thursday, 7 June, 303. That day was Monday.

2. (c. 4.) Apphianus Ξανθικοῦ μηνὸς δευτέρα, ἥτις ἂν εἴη τεσσάρων Νώνων Ἀπριλλίων, in the third year. No various reading to notice. This must be 306, not 305, for Maximin Daza figures in the story, and he only became Caesar 1 May 305. The date will be Friday, 2 April 306. That day was Tuesday.

3. (c. 6.) Agapius πρὸ δώδεκα Καλανδῶν Δεκεμβρίων, ἣ γένοιτ' ἂν μηνὸς Δίου εἰκάδι, προσαββάτου ἡμέρα, in the fourth year, viz. 20 Nov. 306: but what day of the week? Προσάββατον is a rare word, but its associations point to Friday, which is the reading of

³ *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, xvi. 4.

⁴ *H. E.* viii. 1.

the Syriac. But Friday 20 Nov. is an impossible date throughout the persecution, not occurring between 302 and 313. It seems, therefore, better either to follow the Venetian *Menaeum* and the *Synaxarium Sirmondi*, which seems well informed on these November martyrs, in reading 19 Nov.; or else, if it be not too bold a conjecture, it may be that *προσάββατον* was sometimes used by Christians for Saturday, or is put down by mistake for Saturday. However, 20 Nov. 306 was Wednesday.

4. (c. 1.) Theodosia of Tyre, *μηὸς δευτέρα Ξανθικοῦ, ἥτις ἐστὶ πρὸ τεσσάρων Νώνων Ἀπριλλίων, ἐν αὐτῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως* in the fifth year: viz. Easter day (or at any rate, Sunday) 2 April 308. That day was Friday. One Greek manuscript has 4 April, which in 308 was Sunday: but it keeps the inconsistent *a. d. iv. Non. Apr.* The Syriac says Sunday without defining it. The *Synaxarium Sirmondi* and some *Menaea* give 29 May. They do not mention the day of the week; but this was Sunday in 309.

Now comes the question. All four dates being wrong, where is the mistake? Is it in the Roman dating? Hardly. At one time, indeed, the calendar was a chaos in the East. The months began on different days, varied in length, and even held different places in the calendars of different cities. Thus *Dius* was the first month at Gaza, the second at Ascalon; and in both cities the calendar was really Egyptian. So, too, it was the second month at Tyre, but began 18 Oct. instead of 27 Oct.; while at Sidon it stood fourth, and answered to January. But long before the time of Eusebius the Macedonian months exactly corresponded to the Roman. Doubtless it is conceivable that he may have overlooked some survival of, say, the old Tyrian calendar, and set down *Xanthicus 2* for 2 April when it really meant 22 March or 19 April. But Eusebius was not likely to make such a mistake, and there is no evidence that he did. What then? Is it a mere blunder, as Bruno Violet thinks?

Possibly the error lurks in the year. Suppose we assume the other data to be correct, and adjust the year to them. Thus:

1. Procopius the first martyr, Thursday, 7 June, in the first year of the persecution. This is right for 305.

2. Apphianus on Friday, 2 April, in the third year. This is right for 308.

3. Agapius on Friday, 19 Nov., in the fourth year. This is right for 308.

4. Theodosia on Sunday (perhaps Easter), 2 April, in the fifth year. This is right for 310, when Easter day was 2 April.

Thus most of the difficulty vanishes if we may take it that Eusebius is not counting from the first edict in 303, but from the accession of Maximin Daza, 1 May, 305. But this is precisely what

we cannot do. He does seem indeed to reckon from 305, when he tells us (c. 13) first that the persecution raged for seven years and abated in the eighth, then that it lasted eight full years. The Syriac also puts the execution of Silvanus in the eighth year. The seventh year from May 305 carries us past the last execution at Caesarea, 7 March which will be in 312, and the eighth brings us nearly to Maximin's final edict in May or June 313. Against this, however, must be set his statement (*H.E.* viii. 15) that it lasted ten years in all, abating at the beginning of the eighth.

But the decisive argument is the structure of the *De martyribus Palaestinae*. It would be wrong to lay stress on the apparent connexion of Procopius with the first edict, for we know that the book is imperfect at this point. Procopius may have suffered in 305, and still have been the first martyr. The first three edicts required no bloodshed. However a Christian might suffer under them, his life was in no direct danger. The savage fourth edict seems to have been issued at the *ludi saeculares* of April 304. So far the *Passio S. Savini* seems historical, though Eugenius Hermogenianus was not then *Praef. Urbi*. But the edict may conceivably have been kept back, perhaps by Diocletian, till Maximin was able to enforce it. So far the difficulties are not insuperable; but as we go on we are forced back on the date 303. After Procopius in June come the efforts to make the clergy (no mention of others) sacrifice according to the third edict. Then the Syriac connects Alphaeus and Zacchaeus, and the Greek Romanus, with the amnesty of the *Vicennalia*, and the Syriac and the Venetian *Menaemum* tell us how Diocletian changed his punishment. Then in the second year Timotheus of Gaza is connected with what looks very like the fourth edict. After this the abdication of Diocletian and the accession of Maximin.

This settles the question that Eusebius did count from 303; but it does not touch the fact that the four dates are given as if he counted from 305. The conclusion is that the days of the week must be rejected. We plainly cannot remove Procopius from 303, nor Apphianus from 306; nor does there seem any very strong reason for shifting Agapius. Theodosia's case is far stronger; and the mention of Easter day might clinch the case for 310, if it were not directly contradicted by the fact that the last of the Palestinian martyrs was given to the beasts three weeks before—Eubulus, 7 March in the seventh year.

It would seem that the days of the month give the real dates, and that when Eusebius added the days of the week, he gave them as if from the calendar of the next year but one. Given 2 April for Theodosia, this would bring him to the statement that it was Easter day; but in the more careful Syriac he softens this into Sunday, 4 April, which being Sunday in 308, may possibly be right; but 29 May is evidently a later story.

H. M. GWATKIN.

INDICTIONS AT ROME, 726-775

IN the April number of this review appeared a note by Mr. Hodgkin entitled 'The Chronology of Theophanes in the Eighth Century,' in which he supports the theory of Professor Bury and M. Hubert as to the system of reckoning indictions during the period 726-775, and carries it a step further by supposing that the new method of reckoning was not confined to the eastern provinces, but extended even to Rome; though, curiously enough, he accepts the conclusions of M. Hubert, whose argument is based upon the assumption that the old method of calculation continued to be used at Rome. I have discussed the whole question in an article which will shortly appear in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, and shall therefore not touch upon that here, but confine myself to the new point raised by Mr. Hodgkin.

Now in a matter of this kind no sound conclusion can be based upon a few isolated documents, and I have therefore set down all the dates which bear upon the point. In the dates given below I omit the postconsulates of Constantine and the regnal years of Leo IV, which are calculated from dates falling within the disputed period, and give only the regnal years of Leo III and Constantine, which are calculated from the two fixed points, March 25, 717, and March 25, 720.

(1) Jaffé 2174. *Imp. Leone a. X P. C. ejus a. X sed et Const. Imp. . . . a. VII ind. X.* Nov. 22. The indictional date is by the old reckoning 726, by Mr. Hodgkin's reckoning 725. The regnal years give 726.

(2) J. 2251. *Imp. Leone a. XXIII P. C. ejus a. XXIII . . . Const. . . . a. XX ind. VIII.* Oct. 29. The indiction is by the old reckoning 739, by Mr. Hodgkin's 738. The regnal years give 739.

(3) J. 2262. *Imp. Const. a. XXIV ind. XI.* Apr. 1. The indiction is by the old reckoning 743, by Mr. Hodgkin's 742. The regnal year gives 743.

(4) The Synod of Rome, dated *Imp. Const. a. XXVI . . . ind. XIV.* Oct. 25. The indiction is by the old reckoning 745, by Mr. Hodgkin's 744. The regnal year gives 745.

(5) J. 2274. *Imp. . . . Const. . . . a. XXVII . . . ind. XIV.* Oct. 31. The indiction is by the old reckoning 745, by Mr. Hodgkin's 744. The regnal year gives 746, but, as the letter was clearly written immediately after the synod, we must read 'XXVI,' which gives 745.

(6) J. 2276. *Imp. Const. a. XXVI . . . ind. XIV.* Jul. 1. The indiction is by the old reckoning 746, by Mr. Hodgkin's 745. The regnal year gives 745.

(7) J. 2277. *Imp. Const. a. XXVIII . . . ind. XV.* Jan. 5. The indiction is by the old reckoning 747, by Mr. Hodgkin's 746. The regnal year gives 748.¹

¹ The very slight change 'Jun.' for 'Jan.' would give 747.

(8) and (9). J. 2291, 2292. *Imp. Const. a. XXXII . . . ind. V.* Nov. 4. The indiction is by the old reckoning 751, by Mr. Hodgkin's 750. The regnal year gives 751.

(10) J. 2307. *Imp. Const. a. XXXII ind. V.* May 20. The indiction is by the old reckoning 752, by Mr. Hodgkin's 751. The regnal year gives 751.

(11) J. 2331. *Imp. Const. a. XXXVIII . . . ind. X.* Feb. 26. The indiction is by the old reckoning 757, by Mr. Hodgkin's 756. The regnal year gives 758.²

(12) J. 2342. *Imp. Const. a. XL . . . ind. XII.* Feb. 5. The indiction is by the old reckoning 759, by Mr. Hodgkin's 758. The regnal year gives 760.

(13) Synod of Rome, dated *Imp. Const. a. XLI . . . ind. XIV.* June 2. The indiction is by the old reckoning 761, by Mr. Hodgkin's 760. The regnal year gives 760.

(14) J. 2395. *Imp. Const. a. LIII . . . ind. X.* Feb. 20. The indiction is by the old reckoning 772, by Mr. Hodgkin's 771. The regnal year gives 773.³

We see, then, that out of fourteen dates seven agree with the old reckoning, and three with Mr. Hodgkin's, while four, though not agreeing with either, are nearer to the old than to the new; and the first five, which date from a time when the regnal numbers were smaller, and therefore less likely to be miscalculated, all agree with the old system. Further, in the life of Stephen III it is stated that Sergius and Waldipert entered Rome on July 29,⁴ the eve of SS. Abdon and Sennen, ind. 6, and two days afterwards, i.e. July 31, on a Sunday, Waldipert and others elected a certain Philip to the papacy. Now the indiction by the old reckoning is 768, by Mr. Hodgkin's 767, while July 31, 768, fell on a Sunday.

Though it seems to me impossible to accept Mr. Hodgkin's opinion as to the reckoning of indictions, he is, I believe, quite right in insisting that in the matter of the discrepancy between Theophanes and the papal letters as to the length of Artavazd's reign the preference should be given to the latter; but how this bears on the question of the indictions I am unable to understand. Since the date of Artavazd's accession depends on the reckoning of the indictions, it is clearly impossible to deduce anything from his regnal years as to the indictional reckoning. His reign was either from 741 to 743, or from 742 to 744; but no number of documents dated by his regnal years will enable us to say which it was until we know the method of calculating the indictions.

E. W. BROOKS.

² The slight change 'Mai.' for 'Mar.' would give 757.

³ The slight change 'Mai.' for 'Mar.' would give 772.

⁴ The text has 'XXVIII,' but, as the feast of SS. Abdon and Sennen is July 30, we must read 'XXVIII'; see Duchesne's note.

THE GREAT COMMENDATION TO KING EDGAR IN 973.

FEW events in Old-English history are more generally known than the tale of the rowing of king Edgar on the river Dee by eight tributary kings. As the king of the Scots is said to have been one of the rowers, this event has become involved in the dreary controversies as to the relationship of the Scotch kings to the English crown. Mr. E. W. Robertson¹ has boldly maintained that the English claims rest upon post-conquest forgeries or insertions in the chronicle, and he makes much capital out of the alleged impossibilities in the account of the Commendation of 973. Mr. Freeman² has shown how baseless are some of Mr. Robertson's arguments, and concluded that he 'would never have satisfied himself with such futile arguments except under the influence of strong national partiality.'³

The Worcester (D), Peterborough (E), and Canterbury (F) MSS. of the chronicle record under 972, an error for 973,⁴ that Edgar led his fleet to Chester, and that there six kings met him and pledged themselves to be his fellow-workers (*efen-wyrhtan*) by sea and by land. The authority for the episode of the rowing is Florence of Worcester,⁵ who gives the names of eight kings, Kenneth, king of the Scots,⁶ Malcolm, king of the Cumbrians, and six others. Mr. Robertson makes much of the increase in the number of the tributary kings, maintains that the king of the Scots could not have been present, that 'there could have been no "king of the Cumbrians" at this time,' and that 'Malcolm, king of the Cumbrians, is undoubtedly a myth.' From his language an inexperienced reader would conclude that the conscientious Florence was on the same plane of credibility as the *Liber Landavensis*, a work that comes from the district of, and is probably influenced by the brain of, Geoffrey of Monmouth. On a question involving so much national feeling the conclusions of a disinterested foreigner will carry more weight than those of Englishmen or Scotchmen. The distinguished Danish historian, Professor Steenstrup, after

¹ *Scotland under her Early Kings*, Edinburgh, 1862, ii. 384 *sqq.* To the two spurious charters quoted by him (pp. 388-9) may be added the Ely charter of 970 (*Cart. Saxon.* iii. 557).

² *Norman Conquest*, i. 575, note G.

³ *Ibid.* i. 579.

⁴ Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, ii. 200.

⁵ *Sub ann.* 973. It is also found in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, § 148 (Rolls Series, i. 165). The bishop of Oxford, in his preface, ii. cxxix, leaves the question undecided whether William borrowed from Florence or from a common original. If this common original existed, it would throw backwards the date of the composition of the work known to us under Florence's name, for Malmesbury occasionally agrees in wording with Florence.

⁶ Kenneth, it may be noted, is clearly treated as acknowledging Edgar's supremacy in the tradition recorded by Malmesbury, § 156 (i. 177), of Edgar's summoning him to give counsel, and of Kenneth's apology to Edgar for speaking slightly of him.

critically examining Mr. Robertson's arguments, comes to the conclusion that there is nothing to prove that the eight kings could not have met Edgar at Chester, and that, despite a few possible mistakes, we cannot deny the existence of these princes or Edgar's supremacy over them.⁷

It is possible that some of Florence's statements may have been influenced by the numerous tales of Edgar's glories still current among the people in his time,⁸ but that he had authority for giving the number of tributary kings as eight, and for including the king of the Scots and of the Cumbrians, can be proved by the evidence of a contemporary. This is no less a person than Ælfric, the great prose writer. As the pupil and friend of bishop Æthelwold, who shared with Dunstan the direction of Edgar's policy, Ælfric had good opportunities of knowing what really happened. He lived to contrast the sad days of Æthelred's reign with the peace and glory of Edgar's time, and in his 'Life of St. Swithin,' written in or about 996,⁹ he thus plaintively recalls the greatness of the latter king:¹⁰

And we seegað to soðan þæt se tima wæs gesælig
 And wynsum on Angelcynne þa ða Eadgar cyningc
 Þone Cristendom gefyrðrode and fela munuclifa arærde.
 And his cynerice wæs wunigende on sibbe
 Swa þæt man ne gehyrde gif ænig scyphere wære
 Buton agenre leode þe ðis land heoldon
 And ealle ða cyningas þe on þysum iglande wæron,
 Cumeras and Scotta, comon to Eadgare
 Hwilon anes dæges eahta cyningas,
 And hi ealle gebugon to Eadgares wissunge.

Translation: And we may truly say that the time was happy and joyful in England when king Edgar advanced religion and founded many monasteries, and his realm remained in peace, so that one never heard of any fleet except of one's own folk then dwelling in this land; and all the kings of this island, of Cumbrians and of Scots, eight kings, came to Edgar once upon a time on one day, and they all bowed to Edgar's government.

That this submission was brought about by peaceable means may be concluded from Ælfric's words quoted above. In the epilogue to his paraphrase of the book of Judges, he states more

⁷ *Normannerne* ('Danske og Norske Riger paa de Brittiske Oer i Danevældens Tidsalder'), iii. 203, Copenhagen, 1882.

⁸ Cf. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, § 148.

⁹ Professor Dietrich, in his admirable article on Ælfric in the *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, xxvi. 231 (1856), ascribes this work to 996. He concludes that Ælfric was born about 955, and that he was a monk at Winchester under Æthelwold, who died in 984 (p. 217 &c.). The life of St. Swithin was written after Æthelwold's death and after that of Dunstan in 988; J. H. Ott, *Ueber die Quellen des Heiligenlebens in Ælfrics 'Lives of Saints, I.'*, inaugural dissertation, Halle, 1892, p. 53.

¹⁰ *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, 1885, part ii. p. 468 (Early English Text Society).

clearly that God subdued Eadgar's opponents, kings and earls, so that they submitted to him without any fighting.¹¹

W. H. STEVENSON.

AN UNPUBLISHED 'REVOCATIO' BY HENRY II.

The text of the following letter from Henry II, revoking all his encroachments on the ancient liberties of the English Church, is taken from a late 15th century copy in a MS. recently acquired by the British Museum.¹ The original is not extant, and no mention is made of it by the chroniclers. On the face of it, however, it seems likely enough to be genuine. In substance it is merely a formal declaration to the same effect as the seventh article of the oath which Henry took at Avranches, in order to purge himself from the murder of Becket;² but it contains, in addition or expansion, an express renunciation of claim to the revenues of ecclesiastical benefices during vacancies. As it purports to have been written in the presence of the legates Albert and Theodwin, and in fulfilment of the penance enjoined by them, it may presumably be assigned to the same date as the oath of purgation, viz. 21 May or 27 September, 1172.³ It is addressed to the prior and convent of the church of Canterbury, and to many other persons of the realm of England assembled in the conventual church of Holy Trinity (*i.e.* the cathedral church) at Canterbury—an assembly of whose composition and proceedings no record appears to exist. The first part of the volume which contains this copy consists of theological tracts, written about the middle of the 15th century. The last of these, 'Tractatus parvus de excusationibus in peccatis,' ends on f. 95, leaving a blank space; the Revocatio has been inserted here, and on the margin of the opposite page. It is immediately followed (ff. 95b-99) by copies of other documents relating to the ecclesiastical disturbances of Henry's reign, viz. (1) the mandate and *praeci*pe issued in 1164 for the seizure of the revenues and goods of Becket's clerks;⁴ (2) the edict of Michaelmas, 1169;⁵ (3) the constitutions of Clarendon. The rest of the volume is filled with theological miscellanea in various hands of the late 15th and early 16th centt., including the 'Bulla in Coena

¹¹ *Liber Iudicum*, ed. Grein, *Bibliothek der ags. Prosa*, i. 265: 'Eadgar se wæðela and se anræda cyning arærde Godes lof on his leode gehwær, ealra cinga swiðost ofer Engla þeode, and him God gewilde his wiðerwinnan a, cyningas and eorlas, þæt hi comon him to buton ælcum gefeohte friðes wilniende, him underþeodde to þam þe he wolde, and he wæs gewurðod wide geond land.'

¹ Additional MSS. 34807.

² Gerv. Cant. i. 239.

³ *Materials for History of T. Becket*, vii. 521 (J. C. Robertson puts the date 28 May, having mistakenly interpreted 'Vocem iocunditatis' Sunday as the Sunday after Ascension day, instead of the fifth Sunday after Easter); Gerv. Cant. i. 238-9.

⁴ *Materials*, v. 151, 152.

⁵ *Ibid.* vii. 147.

Domini' of Julius II. (1508). The earliest mark of ownership is the entry, 'Robert Johnson oweth this Booke, witnes William Chadwicke,' on f. 29b, in a 16th cent. hand.

J. A. HERBERT.

Reuocacio et resignacio omnium consuetudinum quas Henricus [Secundus]⁶ induxit contra antiquas libertates ecclesie Anglicane.

IN DEI nomine Amen etc. Anno Domini millesimo C.lxiiiij⁷ etc. Coram venerabilibus in Christo patribus et dominis Alberto diuina dignacione tituli Sancti Laurencii in lucina et Theodino tituli Sancti Vitalis presbiteris Cardinalibus et apostolice sedis legatis. Priori et conuentui Ecclesie Cantuarie ac aliis quampluribus regni Anglie personis in ecclesia conuentuali Sancte Trinitatis Cantuarie predictae congregatis. Nos Henricus Dei gracia Rex Anglie, Dux Normannie etc., penitenciam a vobis dominis legatis auctoritate apostolice [*sic*] nobis in remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum iniunctam humiliter et deuote perficere volentes, in hiis scriptis publice et palam reuocamus, abdicamus, renunciamus et resignamus omnes illas malas consuetudines contra antiquas libertates Ecclesie Anglicane per nos nequiter inductas, easque et earum singulas pro nobis et heredibus nostris totaliter dimittimus imperpetuum, pro quibus Beatus Thomas nuper Cantuarie Archiepiscopus vsque ad mortem decertauit. Preterea ad honorem omnipotentis Dei beate Marie virginis et omnium sanctorum ac in remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum, concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod Ecclesia Cantuarie ac omnes alie ecclesie Anglicane sint libere, et habeant omnes libertates illesas sicut habere consueuerunt ante coronacionem nostram, et quod omnes ecclesie in regno nostro Anglie per nos vel heredes nostros de cetero fundande gaudeant omnibus et singulis libertatibus predictis. Ita quod occasione vacacionis earundem vel alicuius earum, temporalia earundem ecclesiarum per nos vel heredes nostros eis concedenda minime in manus nostras seu heredum nostrorum capiantur seu seisentur. Volumus et concedimus per presentes quod sine dilacione integre restituantur et liberentur, nulla inde exaccione alicuius rate racione premissa per nos vel heredes nostros ab eisdem vel aliqua earundem aliqualiter exigenda vel percipienda. Protestamur eciam et promittimus bona fide pro nobis et heredibus nostris ad ampliandum, corrigendum, emendandum et dilatandum predictas reuouacionem [*sic*, for 'reuocacionem'], abdicacionem, renunciacionem et resignacionem nostras forma meliori ad honorem Dei et Ecclesie, cum nos vel heredes nostri ad hoc per Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem seu per aliquem prelatorum regni nostri predicti qui pro tempore fuerit ad hoc debite fuerimus requisiti. Acta sunt hec anno supradicto.

⁶ MS.(P)

⁷ So MS., the last four figures being over an erasure; obviously the date should be 1172.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RISING OF 1381.

THE manuscript from which the following narrative is printed is the Stowe MS. 1047, in the British Museum. It was written late in the sixteenth century, apparently in or soon after 1592, in the handwriting of Francis Thynne, Stow's friend, and it purports to be 'out of an anomynalle cronicle belonginge to the abbey of St. Maries in Yorke.' St. Mary's Abbey was used as a depository of records till 1644, when the tower containing the records was blown up. Such of the records &c. as remained were then removed to the cathedral.

The chronicle is not based on Froissart, Walsingham, Knighton, Higden (vol. ix. R.S.), or the 'Continuatio Eulogii Historiarum,' or the Monk of Evesham's 'Vita R. II.' Yet it agrees with them and with the better evidence of the indictments of the rebels, quite as much as they agree with each other. It contains a great deal of new matter, especially as regards the beginning of the rising in Essex and Kent. This part it is impossible to check against other evidence so fully as we can check the later part. That later part is a fairly correct account, but not correct in all details, and the same may be supposed of the first five pages. There are several pieces of confirmatory evidence as to the *general* truth of this new story of the rising of the men of 'Fobbam' (no doubt Fobbing), Curringham, and 'Saniforthe' (Stanford [le Hope]), at Brentwood.

(1) Thus the continuator of the 'Eulogium Historiarum,' iii. p. 351, speaks of a 'fisher' of Essex beginning the rising. Now Fobbing, Curringham, and Stanford are below Tilbury on the mouth of the Thames, and no doubt had a fishing industry.

(2) John Malvern in his continuation of Higden (vol. ix. p. 6) speaks of the rising as beginning at Brentwood.

Although quite new, the story here told falls in, in this way, with what we otherwise know. A few other details of the early part of the story can be confirmed; *e.g.* on p. 4 the date given for the entry into Canterbury (10 June) is correct, as shown by the indictments of the men of Canterbury printed in the 'Archaeologia Cantiana,' vol. iii.

G. M. TREVELYAN.

Le Rebel-
lons de
Wat Tyler
et Johne
Bale
prieste
tempore
R. 2

*Oute of an anomynalle cronicle belonginge to the abbey of
St. Maries in Yorke.*

ANNO 1380 par enchesone que les subsidies fueront legerment grantes al parliament de Northampton et come fust aisee as diuers seigneurs et as comunes les ditz subsidies ne fueront mie loyalment leuez mes communement des pores gentz et nient des riches a grant profit et advantage a les collectors en desceit le roy et comons par quoy le counceil le roy ordonast certeine commissions pur enquirer en chescune ville coment ilz fueront levies, enter queux comis-

Bampton sions vn fust mande en Excesse a vn Thomas de Bampton senescalle a vn seigneur le quel fust tenus en pais come roy ou [June 2, 1381.] grand seigneur pur sa grande port en vn cour auante le pentecost fust asis en le ville de Bryndwode en Excesse pur faire Bryndwood enquisitione monstrant la comissionc a luy directe pur leuer les deniers que furont aderer et enquirer coment les coillours auoient leuez le subsidie auantdit et auoit sommonde devant luy vn hundrez des villes prochaines et voidroit auer leuee de eux nouell subsidie commandant a les gentz de les villes enquirer diligement et doner lor respons et payer lour payment entre queux villes toutz les gentz de Fobbame doneront respons que ilz ne voderont nulle denier Fobbam paier pur cause que ils auoient vn acquitance de luy mesmes pur celle subsidie par quoy le dit Thomas les manassa fortement et auoit ouecq luy deux seriantes des armes de nostre seigneur le roy et pur doubte de celle maluestee les ditz gentz de Fobbame conselleront ouecq Curingham les gentes de Curingham et les gentz de les deux villes leueront et assembleront mandantes a les gentz de Saniforthe de leuier Saniforthe avecq eux pur profit de leur toutz et puis les gentes de les trois villes vienderont al ensemble a le nombre de C. ou plusors et par vn assent aleront al dit Thomas de Bampton et luye doneront vntrement respons que ils ne voideront treter ouecq luy ne nulle denier doner pur quoy le dit Thomas comanda a les seriantes darmes arrester les gentes et mestre les en prison et les gentz del communes¹ leueront encontre eux et ne voyderont estre arestes mes fueront en purpose de occire les ditz Thomas et les ditz seriantes, pur quoy lauantdit Thomas fua deuers Londres al conseil le roy et les comons aleront al boys pur dubt que ils auoient de sa malice et giseront illeoques par longie temps tanque ils fueront apaye enfamines et apres il alerent de ville en ville pur execyter autres gentz de leuer encontre les grande seignurs et bonz gentz du pais. et a cause de les faitz de dit Thomas Monsieur Robert Belknappe cheif Robert Belknappe Justice del comon banke nostre seigneur le roy fust assis en cheif Justice del comon banke pais de trailbastunerye et auoit deuant luy plusors enditementz de diuers gentz, issint que les gentz du pais fueront cy douteous que ilz fueronte en purpose de wayuer lour tenementz pur quoy les comons leveront contre luy et vienderont devant luy et susmysterent que il fust traytour al roye et al royalme et que maleueysement et maliciousement les voydroit auer defait par abetement del faux enquest pris deuant (*f. 65*) luy par quel encheson ils luy fesoient iurer sur le liuer que iames apres ne deveroit en tiel cessions sere, ne ester iustice de enquires et luy fesoient notifier a eux toutz les nosmes des juroures les quelz toutz que ils poierent prender decollerent et misteront a la mort et lour measons traierent a la terre et le dit Monsieur Robert prist son viage oue toute le hast deuers meason sans targer et apres ditz communes fueront assemblees auant le Pentecost al nombre de l. m. les queux aleront as diuers manores et villes de ceux que ne voideront leuer avecque eux et les traieront a la terre et les misteront en feu en quel temps pristeront trois clerkes de Thomas de Bampton auantdit et couperont lour teste et porteront leur teste ouecque eux de iour en iour sur bastons en sample des autres et fueront en purpose doccire toutz les gentz de la ley et toutes

¹ *Sic*, perhaps for 'comunes.'

les iurroses et les ministers le roy que ilz purroient trouver en quel toutz les grandes seignurs del pais et autres grand gentz se misterent en fuist devers Londres et as autres countrees ou ilz purroient ester saluez etc. puis le comons manderont diuerse lettres en Kent et Suffolke et Norffolke pur leuer avecque eux et quant ils fueront assemblez departeront en diuers compaignees fesant grand male par my le pais environne :

[June 3] deneapres le Lundey procheine apres le fest de Pentecost vn
 Symon de chivaler del meason nostre seigneur le roy Monsieur Symon de
 Burley Burley nosme auoit en sa compaignie deux sergeantes darmes
 Graues- del dit roy et vient le Londey susdit a Grauesende et chalanga
 ende illonques vne home de estre son natif et les bones gentz de la
 ville vienderont a luy pur accorde faire en ease manner al reuerence le roy mes le dit sire Symonde ne voidroit meyns prendre que 300^{li} dargent a grand defesance del dit home et a ceo les bons gentz prierent de mitigatione mes ils ne purroient esplayter ne auoir lour purpose de meindre somme. dissant al dit sire Symonde que le home fust chrestien et de bonne parte et pur ceo il ne devoiet ester defait pur toutz cours par quoy le dit sir Symonde fust mult curruce et irrous et despise grandement les bones gentz et par grossour de coer fist les seriantz lier le dit home et amener al castle de Rochester pur ester saluement garde pur quoy grande male et mischief vient apres. Et apres son aler les comons, commeront² a leuer, accoillantes a eux les gentes de plusers villes en Kent, et en celle temps vne Justice fust assignee par le roy et son conseil et maundee en Kent pur sere illonques de Trailbastone, en manner come fust en Excesse, et ouesque luy vne seriante darmes nostre seigneur le roy, Maiestre Johne Legge par nome portant ouesque luy grande nombre de enditementz de diuers gentz del pais pur faire le roy riche. et voyderont auoir assis en Kanterburye mes ilz fueront rebotes par les comons, et puis apres les comons de Kent sans teste et sans cheifaine relieron de iour en iour a grand nombre et le Vendredy auant³ le Pentecost vienderont a Dertforde et prysteront lour conceile et ordinerent que nulles que fueront demurrantz pree de la mere en null lieu par l'espace de xii. leuges deueront venir ouesque eux, mes (*f.* 65 b) [defendre?] les costes de la mere des enymies dissant sufferer eux que ilz fueront plusieurs roys que vn et ils ne voyderont sufferer ne auer autre roy forsque roy Richarde et mesme le temps les comons de Kent vienderont a Maidestone et couperont le teste de vn des meliour homes de la ville et abaterent a terre diuerse places et tentz⁴ des gentes queux ne voideront leuer avecque eux come fierent en Excesse et le Vendredy procheine apres [June 7] vienderont a Rouchester et illonques encouteront grand nombre des comons de Excesse et par cause de home de Grauesende misteront en siege al castile de Rowchester pur auoir lour compaignone de Grauesende le quel Sir Symond auantdit auoit emprisonnee, et doneront fort assalt al chastell et les conestable se defendist vigoreusement vne demye iour, mes au darreyne pur doute que il auoit de tiel tumulte et multitude de gentz sans reasone de Excesse et de Kent, deliuera le chastell as eux et les comons enteront et pristeront lour compaignone et

² *Sic*, apparently for 'commencerent.' ³ *Sic*, very likely an error for 'apres.'

⁴ Probably for 'teneimentz.'

Graues-
end toutz prisoners hors de prisone et ceux de Grauesend repaireront
od leur compaignone od grand leestee sans plus faire et les
Maide- autres de Maydestone pristeront leur viage ouecque les autres
stone comons par le pais environne et illonques fieront leur chieftaine
Wat Teghler de Maydestone pur les meinteyner et conceller et
Tyler le Lundy procheine apres le fest de la Trynytie viendrent a
[June 10] Canterbury auant le heur de noone et 4000 deux entreront en la
Canter- meire eglise de seint Thomas en le temps del haut messe, et
bery engenerilant toutz en vn voyce cryerent a les moignes pur ester pur
eslier vn moigne de estre Ercheuesque de Canterburye car cestuy que ore
est est treytour et sera decolle pur sa iniquytie. et cy fust il deins le v. iour
apres. et quant ceo fust fait ilz aleront en la ville a leur compaignions et par
vn assent manderent pur le meyre, baillifes et commons del dite ville et les
examineront silz vodoroint ouesque bone volunte iurere de estre fele et leel
al roy Richarde et a les loyals comons dengleterre ou nenny et le meir re-
spondist que ilz voideront voluntiers et fierent leur serementz et puis
demanderent de eux sils furont ascuns treytors parentre eux et disoint
que ilz furont trois et nomeront leur nosmes le queux les comons
traherons hors de leurs measons et couperont leur testees et apres
pristeront D. gentz de la ville ouesque eux deuers Londres et les
autres lesseront pur garder le ville en quel temps les comons
Johne auoient a leur councel un chaplen de male part sire Johne Balle
Ball par nosme, lequel sir Johne Ball les conceller de fuire toutz les seignurs
et le Ercheuesque et euesques abbees et priores et plusors moignes et
chanones, issint que nul euesque seroit en Angleterre forsque vn
Ercheuesque lequel seroit mesmes et nulle moigne ne chanon en vn
meason de relligone forsque deux et que leur possessionns deuerent ester
departie entre les laiez gentz pur quoy il fust tenue entre les comons
come vn prophete et travailla ouecque eux de iour en iour pur les com-
forter en leur (*f. 66*) malice et bien fust guerdone quar il fust trahaine
bowelle et pendue et decolle come treytour. denapres les dist comons
aleront as diuers villees et leueront les gentz ascunes oue leur volunte et
ascunes encontre son volunt issint que ilz fueront acueillier bien a lx. M.
et en allant deuers Londres encontrement diuers gentz de la ley et xij.
chivalers de nostre seignure del pais et les pristerent et les fierent iurees
as eux pur les maintenir ou autrement ils deuerioient ester decolle et
Heseldene fierent grand male en Kent et nomement a Thomas de Heselden
valet del Duc le Lancastre par envye que ils auoient al dit Duc
quar ilz abaterent ces manors a la terre et auxient ces mansons
traherent, et venderent ces beestes, chivalls et bones vacches berbris et
porcz et toutz manners des bleez a grand marche couaytantz toutz iours
Orgrave dauoir sone teste et le teste Sir Thomas Orgrave clerke del
clerk receyt et south⁵ tresorer dengleterre. et quand le roy entendist
del leur affaire manda ces messagers a eux le Merdye procheine
south tre- apres le dit feaste de la Tryntie pur quoy ilz fieront en tiel
surer manner et pur quel cause fueront leuer en sa terre et enuoyerent par les
ditz messagers respons que ilz leueront en salvacione de luy et pur
destroyer les treytors a luy et a la Roialme, et le dit roy manda autre
foitz as eux que ilz voideront cesser de leur affaire al reuerence de luy

⁵ Sic, for 'soubz' ?

tanque que il purroit parler ouesque eux et il ferroit amendes resonablement a lour voluntee de ceo que fust male fait et les dist comons pur amites a luy par ses messagers que il se vodroit veer et parler ouesque eux al Blackeheathe et le roy remanda le tierce fois que il venderoit voluntiers lendemaigne al heure de prime de oyer lour purpose. et adonques le roy estoit a Windsore remova od toute le hast que il purroit deuers Londres en quel temps le meyre et les bones gentz de Londres vienderent pur luy encounter, et amengerer saluement al tours de Londres et illonques assemblerent tous le councell et toutz le seignurs del pais environe cestascanoir lercheuesque de Canterburye, chanceler dengleterre, et le euesque de Londre et le maestre de hospitalle de St Johne de Clerkenwell adonque tresurer dengleterre et les contes de Buckingham, de Kent, de Arundell, de Warwicke, de Suffolke, de Oxenford, de Salisburie, et autres gentz al nombre de DC. en le viele Black-hethe de Corpus Christi vienderont les comons de Kent al Blackheth hethe trois leagues de Londres al nombre de L. m. pur attendre le banier de roy et esplayeront deux baners de saint George et xl. penons, St George et les comons de Exesse viendrent del autre parte del eawe al nombre de LX. m. pur les ayder et auoir responce del roy et au tiel temps le iour de Merkyde le roy esteant en le toure de Londres pensant que seroit affair fist arraiier ces barges et prist oueque luy en sa barge le Ercheuesque et le tresurer et autres de son conceil et 4 autres barges pur sa meigne et remova taneque al Grenewich a trois leuges de Londres, et illeques les dit chancelour et tresorer disans al roy que seroit trope grand folye de aler as eux car ils fueront gentz sans reason et ne auoyent scieu de bien fair, mes les ditz comons de Kent pur cause que le roy ne voidroit venir as eux pur exhortacione del (*f. 66 b*) chancelour et tresurer, manderont vn peticionne a luy requirantz que il voideroit granter as eux les testes de le duc de Lancastre, et xv. autres seignurs des queux xiiij. sont euesques od luy present et en le toure de Londres et ces fueront les nosmes. Mr Symonde de Sudberye archeuesque de Canterburye chanceler dengleterre et Monsieur Robert del Hales priour del hospitalle de saint Johne Johannes tresurer de Engleterre, le euesque de Londres, Sir Johne Fordhame de Fordham clerke de pryvie seale et Elit de Dureham Monsieur Belknappe Robert Belknappe cheif Justice del comon bancke Monsieur Ferrers Rauffe Ferrers, Monsieur Robert Plescingtone, cheif baron del Plesington Exchequier, Johne Legge, seriante darmes nostre seigneur le roy et Thomas de Bamptone auantdit, et a ceo le roy ne voydroit assenter pur quoy ils manderent autrefoitz al roye vn yeomane priant al luy que il voyderoit venir et parler ouesque eux et il respondist que il vodroyt voluntiers mes les ditz chancelour et tresurer luy conseillerent le reuersee mandant as eux sil vodoront venir le Lundye prochant a Windsore et ilz aueront illoques respons convenable et les ditz comons auoient entre eux Watche- vne wacheworde en Englishe with whome haldes you et le worde respons fust with Kinge Richarde and the true comons et ceux que ne scaueront ne voideront responder fuerunt decolles et mis a la morte. et en cell temps vient vn chivaler oue toute hast que il purroit cryant sur le roy attendre et de ceo le roy abaye attendist son venue pur oier ceo que il vodroit dire et le dit chivaler vient al roy notifiant a luy de par vn valett que fust pris oueque eux a le iournee que sil venist as eux

tutte le terre seroit perduë car ne devoit partir de eux par nulle voy mes ils luy vodryont amener ouesque eux par toute Engleterre, et que ils luy ferroient granter as eux toutes leur volutes et que leur purpose est de occire toutes les seignurs et dames de graunt renowné et toutes les Erche[ues]ques, euesques, abbees et priors, moignes et chanions, parsons et vicars, par abettement et counceill de sir Johne Wrawe auandit, et pur ceo le roy retorna devers Londres pur puis tost que il purroit et vient a la toure al heure de tierce en quel temps le home appelle yeoman auandit se hasta a la Blackethe criant a ces compaignions que le roy fust alee, et bone serroit as eux daler a Londres pursuer leur purpose a mesme le iour de Merkedye. auant le heure des vespres les comons de Kent vienderent a grand nombre de lx. m. en Southwerke, ou le Marshalsey fust et debruseront, et traheront a terre toutz les measons de le Marshalsye, et pristeront hors de prisone toutes les prisoners que fueront enprisonees pur debt ou pur felonye et puis abateront a terre vn belle place de Johne de Imeworthe adonques Marshall de la Marshaleye, del banke le roy, et gardeine de les prisoners de la dit place et toutz les measons de les Jurors et questmanger partenante a la Mareschaleye abaterent a terre pur toute la noete et en cel temps le comons de Essex viendront a (f.67) Lambhithe pres de Londres vn manner del Ercheuesque de Canterburye et entreront en les measons et destroyerent grand nombre des biens del dit Archeuesque et misterent en feu toutz les liuers des registres et rooles de remembrances de la chancellor, illonques trouez et lendemayne de Joedy que fust le fest de Corpore Christi le xij. iour de June la lettre dominicalle par F. les ditz comons de Essex alleront en la mattine ad Highbery deux lieuges de Highbery Londres vers le northe vn terbelles manner de m^r del hospitall de St Johns de Clerkenwelle. et la misterent en feu et flame a tregrande damage et perdue a les hospitalers de seint Johne, et les vn des eux retourneront a Londres et les autres demurreront en plein champ par toute la noet mesme le iour de Corpore Christi en la matine les ditz comons de Kent abateront vne meason de stewes pres le pont Londres et Stewes fust en maine del froes de Flanders et auoient pur firme la dit meason del meire de Londres et puis aleront a le pont pur passer devers le cyttee mes le maire fust prest auant eux et fist trieyer vn cheine et levere le pont pur disturber leur passage et les comons Sutheren leueront ouesque eux et criant a les gardeins del dit pont pur aualer le dit pont et les lesses entrer ou autrement ils ferroient defaictz et pur docte que ils auoient de leur vies ils les soefferont entrer et grandement encontre leur volute. En ceu celle temps les gentz de relligone et parsons et vicars aleront en processionne deuotement pur Dieu prier pur la peace et mesme le temps les ditz comons pristeront leur viage par mye Londres et ne fesoient male ne moleste tanque que ils viendrent en Fletestreat et en celle temps come fust dit les comons de Londres misteront feu et arderent la belle mannour de Sauoye avant le avenue del comons del pais et en Fletestreate le dit comons de Kent debruserent le prisone del Flete et misteront hors toutz les prisoners et les lesseront aller ou que ils voideront, et puis arresteront et traieront a terre et misteront en feu vn shope de vn chandelier et vn autre shope de

vn marshall ennmy del dit streat ou come home suppose iames ne sera
 la Temple meason^e apres en defesantz le bewtie de la streate, et apres
 en Lon- aleront a Temple pur destruyre les tenantz del dit Temple et
 dres ietterent les measons a la terre e auaglerent toutz les Tughles,
 issint que ils fueront couerture en male araye, Et aleront en Esglise et
 pristerent toutz les liuers et rolles et remembrances que fueront en lour
 huches deins le Temple des apprentiz de la ley et porteront en le haut
 chemine et les arderent, et en alant devers Sauoye destroieront toutz les
 measons que fueront al master del hopitall de S^t Johne et puis aleront al
 place del cuesque de Chrestres⁶ pres le esglise de saint Mary de la stronde
 Fordham ou fust demurrant Sir Johne Fordham elite de Duresme et
 clerke del pryue seale, et rolleront tonaylles de vyne hors de son
 celler et beueront asseis et departeront sans plus male faire et puis aleront
 devers Sauoye et misterent feu en diuerse measons de diuerse gentz a que
 est maugres del parte le west et au darreine vienderont a Sauoye et
 debruseront les portes (f. 67 e) et entront en la place et viendront a la
 garderobe et pristerent toutz les torches que ils purroient trouver et les
 metterent en feu et toutz let draps et couerlettes et lites et dosers de grand
 valeu, care tou. od les escutes come fust dit fust value a M markes et
 toutz la napperie et autres biens que il purroient trouver apporteront en
 le sale et od les ditz torches les arderent, et la sale et chambers et toutz
 les meason deins les portes partenanz al dit place ou manner que les
 comons de Londres auoient lessaie sans arsure et come fust dict ils
 troueronct trois barrells de poudre pur gones et cuidont ester ore or⁷
 argent, et ietterent en le feu et cest poudre leva bien ent haut et mist la
 sale en feu et flame, puis hastement que lautre ne fist a grande discom-
 forde et damage et⁸ duc de Lancastre et les comens de Kent porterent la
 blame del arsure mes les vns disoient que les gentz de Londres fueront
 en default, en despite del dyt duc. et adonques vn partie deux alleroyt
 deuers Westminster et misteront en arsue vn place de Johne de
 Butter- Bucturwike southviscont de Middlesex et autres manners de
 wyke diuers gentz et debruseront la prisone de Westminster et
 amenerent hors toutz les prisoners foriuges par la ley et apres retournerent
 deuers Londers par Holburne et auant les esglise de S^t Sepulchre miste-
 rent en feu les meason de Symon le Hosteler et plusors autres measons
 et debruseront la prisone de Newgate et pristeront hors toutz les presoners
 pur quecunque cause que ils fueront enprisonnees, mesmes le Joedye les
 dit comons alleront a S^t Martines le grand et pristeront hors de la Eglise
 Legett al haute alter vn Roger Legett grand Cisorer et luy amena en
 chepe et ilonques fust decolle et mesme cell iour fueront 18 en
 diuerses lieues de la ville en quel temps grande partie de les comens
 alleronte a la tour de Londres pur parler ouesque le roye et ne purroient
 attendre a sa parlanche par que ils misterent a siege a la toure del parte de
 S^t Katherines vers le sowthe, et lautre parte des les comons que fueront
 en la cyttye alleront a lospitalle de saint Johne de Clerkenwelle et en lour
 Legett chymyne arderont la place et les measons de Roger Legett,
 quest mauger le fuist decolle en chepe et toutz les rentes et
 tenementz del meason de S^t Johns quilz purroient, et apres vienderent al

⁶ Sic.⁷ Sic, perhaps for 'ou.'⁸ Sic.

belle priory de la dit hospitall et misteront en feu et en flame
 St Johne plusors measons belles et delectables en mesme le priorye a
 Jereusa- grande damage et horrible faite pur toutz iour auenire et puis
 lem retourneront a Londres pur reposer ou pur male faire. En quel
 en London retournent a Londres pur reposer ou pur male faire. En quel
 arse temps le roy esteant en vn turrett del grand toure de Londres
 vist le manner de Sauouay et de Clerkenwell et les measons de Symond
 Hosteler pre (f. 68) de Newgate et le place de Johne de Butterwyke en feu
 ardans, appella toutz les seignurs ia entoure luy en vn chamber et les
 demanderont counceil que soit a faire en tiel necessitie, et nulle de eux ne
 scauoit ou de voyderoite doner counceil pur que la ieune roy dist que il
 manderoit al meire de la cyttye que il deueroit commander les viscountes
 et les aldermen de faire crier en leur gardes que toutz que fueront deins
 lage de xv. et lx. ans sur payne de vie et membre de estre lendemaigne de
 Verdredye all myle ende en luy encontre illoques a vij. del knolle pur
 enchosen que toutz les comons que fueront entoure la toure deuroient
 wayuer del siege et vener al mile ende pur luy veer et oier issint que
 toutz que fueront deins la toure purroient aller saluement a leur voluntés
 que ils voideront sauuer leur mesmes. Mes ceo fust pur nient car les vns
 nauoient grace pur estre salue denapres mesme le Joedye en le dist fest de
 Corpore Christi le roy esteant en le toure pensive et triste ala amount sur
 vn petit tour deuers Seint Katherines ou fueront gisantz grand nombre des
 comens et fist crier que toutz deuroient aler a leur measons de mesme pece-
 ablement et il les pardoneroit toutz manner de trespases et tots crieronte a
 vn voyce que ils ne voyderont aller auant que ils avoient les treytors deins
 la toure et charters de ester free de toutz maner de servage et des autres
 manner de pointz que il voyderont demander et le roy granta bonement
 Le bill del et fist vn clerke escrier vn bille en leur presence en cesty
 roy fait as manner, Le roy Richarde dengleterre et de France en mercy
 comons mult ces bones comons de ceo que ilz ont sy grand desier pur
 luy veer et tener leur roy et pardona a eux toutz manners de trespases et
 mesprisons et felonye fait auant ces heures et voet et commanda desore
 en auant que chescune soy hasta a son propre hostell et voet et commande
 que chescune mist ces greuances en escripte et les facent envoyer a luy et
 il ordonera par lavise de ses loyalle seignurs et de son bone conceil tiel
 remede que profit sera a luy et as eux et al royaume et a ceo mist son
 seale de son signet en presence des eux et puis envoy le dit bille od deux
 de ces chivalers a eux deuers St Katherines et le fist lyer a eux et cesty
 que liest la bille estoiet en vn auncient chaire auante les autres issint que
 toutz purroient oyer et en toute le temps le roy fust esteant en la toure
 en grand desease a luye et quant les comens auoient oye la bille ils
 disoient que il ne fust forsque trifles et mockery et pur ceo re-
 Proclama- tourneront a Londres et fesseront crier parmy la cyttye que
 cione des Rebelles toutz les gentz de la ley et toutz ceux de la chancellarie et del
 exchequier et toutz que scauoient briefe ou lettre escriuer deuoient estre
 decolles ou ils purroient ester trouez, et en celle temps arderont plusieurs
 places deins la cyttye, et le roy mesme alast a vn haute garet de la toure
 pur voyer la feu et puis descendist avale et mandast pur le seignurs
 dauoire leur counceil mes ils ne scauoient coment ils purroient conceler
 et fueront cy abaies que merueille fust et lendemayne de Verdredye les
 comens del pais et les comons de Londres assembleront a treshideous

poure al nombre de C.M. et plusors hors pris ⁱⁱⁱ que de⁹ demurroient a la toure hill pur gayter ceux que fueront deins la toure (f. 68 b) et les vns aleront al mile ende devers Brindwoode pur attendre le venue del roy pur encheson de la crie que le roy fist crier et les autres vienderont a toure hille et quant le roy scauoit que fueront illoques il les commanda par vn messenger de aler a lour compaignions al dit mile ende et il mesme viendroit bientost et en celle temps en la matine consela le archiuesque de Canterburye et les autres que fueront adonques en la toure daler a la petit port deuers le ewe et prendre vn bataille et saluer lour mesmes et lercheuesque fist en cell manner mes il fue escrie par vn mavais femme et retorna a la tour a sa confusion et par vij. del knolle le roy mesmes Whireli- vient al mile ende et uecque luy sa meir en vn whirlecole et les cole countes de Buckingham de Kent et de Warewicke et de Oxenforde et Monsieur Thomas Percye et Monsieur Robert Knolles, et le Mayre de Londres et plusieurs chivalers et esquiers et Monsieur Aubry de Veere portast lespee et quant il fust venu les comens luy vident toutz genelront a luy dissantz bien soes venuz nostre seignur le roy Richarde si pleser vous soit et ¹⁰ nous ne voillons auoir autre roy que vous, et Wat Tighler meastre et ductour de eux priant a luy de par les comens que il vodroit suffre que ils purroient prendre et auoir toutz les traytores que uels ¹¹ fueront encontre luy, et la ley et le roy les granta que ils prenderont a lour volunte ceux que fueront treytors et que purroient ester prouez treytors par le ley, et le dit Watt et les comens porterant deux banniers et penons et pensiles fesanz lour peticione al roy et requirantz que nul home ne deueroit ester naife ne fair homage ne nul manner de suit a ascun seignur mes doner ⁱⁱⁱ^d pur vn acre de terre et que null ne deveroit servire ascune home mes a sa volunte de mesme et par couenante taille, et en cel temps le roy fist arrayer les comens en deux ranges et fist crier deuant eux que il videroit confirmer et granter a eux dester free et toutz lour volunte generalement et que ils poient aller par toute la realme dengleterre et prendre toutz les traytores et les amener a luy saluement et il feroit execucione de eux come le ley demanda, et par celle grant le dit Wat Tighler et les comons pristeront lour voy a le toure pur prendre lercheuesque et les autres esteant a miles ende et en quel temps larcheuesque chanta sa messe deuotement en la toure et confessa le prior de la hospitall de Clerkenwell et autres et puis oya deux messes ou trois et chanta la comendacione et placebo et dirige et les vij salmes et la latinee et quant il fust a omnes sancti orate pro nobis le comens enteront et [traierent?] le archeuesque hors de sa chapelle en la toure et luy ferrent et butent vilanousment et les autres que fueront ouesque luy et les amenerent al toure hille et couperont les testes de mestre Symon de Sudburye archieuesque de Canterburye et Monsieur Robert de Hales (f. 69) haute prior del hospitalle de Saint Johne de Clerkenwelle William tresorer del Angleterre et sire William de Appleton grand Justiciaire et Surregene et grand maester uecque le roy et duc de Lancastre. Et longe temps apres couperont [la teste ¹²] de John Johne Legge sergeant darmes nostre seignur le roye et vn de vn Legge iurrour et mesme le temps le comens fesoient crier que chescune

⁹ Sic.¹⁰ 'Et' written twice in the manuscript.¹¹ Sic.¹² A blank space in manuscript.

que porroit prendre ascuns Fleminges ou ascun manner de alien de quel natione que il fust que ils deuerioient couper leur testes et cy fesoient apres et puis pristeront les testes de archeuesque et de les autres, et les misterent sur stoures de fuist et les porteront auante eux en processione par toute le cyttye, tanque la Schrine d'Abbey de Westminster en despite de eux et de Dieu et seint eglise, car vengeance descendist sur ceux, deinz breif temps apres, et retournerent al pont de London et illoques misterent les testes del archeuesque auant le pont et viij. autres testees que fueront decolles que toutz purroient veer que passeront le pont et quant ceo fuist fait ils alleront al esglise de seint Martine en le vinetree et trouveront en la dit esglise xxxv. Fleminges et les tiroient hors al huise et couperont leur testees en la rue, et fueront decollees mesme cel iour passant Cxl. ou $\frac{xx}{viii}$ et puis pristeront leur viage a toutz les places des Lumbardes et des aliens et debruseront leur measons et les roberont de toutz leur biens que ils purroient trouver par toute la iour et la noct

Chancelor ensuant, od hideus cryes et horrible noises en quel temps par cause que le chancelour fuist decollé le roy fist le counte de Arundel pur la iourne chancelor et luy bayla la grand seale et pur toute le iour fist diuers clerkes esc[r]iuer charters et patentes et peticions a eux grantees touchantz les matters auandits sans fyne de seale ou descriptione prendre et lendemayne la Samedye grand nombre des comons viendrent al Abbey de Imworthe Westminster al heure de tierce et illoques trouveront Johne de Imworthe marescalle del Mariscalcy et mestre de les prisoners homme sans pitie come tormentour pres Shryne de seint Edward embrascent vn piller de marbre en ayde et succor de luy pur luy saluer de ces enymies et les comons araseront ces braches del piller del dit Schrine et ameneront en chepe et luy decollerent, en quel temps pristeront hors de Bredstreat Grene- vn valett Johne de Grenefelde pur ceo que il parlast le bien de felde freer William Appleton et des autres, et luy ameneront en chepe et couperont son teste. Et en toute cel temps le roy fist crier parmye la cyttie que chescune deeroit aler peaceablement a leur pais et a leur measons sans plus malice fair, mes a ceo ne voyderont assenter. mesme cel iour trois heures apres le noone le roy vient deuers labbey de Westmynster et a le mountance de CC. ouecque luy, et labbe et couent de mesme abbey et les chanons et vicars de capelle de Estienne viendront pur luy encontre en processione, en chapes reuestees et nu pecs tanque my luy de *Charnelle crouchee* et luy ameneront en labbey et puis al esglise et a la haute altre, et le roy fist ces orasons deuotement et son offerande a lautre et a les relykes (*f. 69 b*) et apres parle auecque le ankre et luy confessa et fust par longe temps ouecque luy et puis le roy fist crier par toutz que fueront deins la cyttye des comons del pais deueront venir a Smythfelde pur luy encontre illoques et si fesoient et quant le roy fust venus od ces gentz il escute deuers le Este pre de seint Bartholomew yn mesone de Chanons et les comons deuers le West en batailles a grant nombre en quel temps le maire de Londres William Walworthe vient et le roy luy commande de aler a les comons pur faire leur cheiftaine venir a luy et quant il fust appelle par le maire Wat Tighler de Maidestone par nome il vient al roy od grand countenance monte sur vn petit cheuall pur estre vewe od les comons et descendist de terre portant vn dragge en sa maine le quel il auoit pris dun autre home

et quant il fust descendu il prist le roy par le mayne demy genolant et schaka sa brace durement et fortement dissant a luy frere soes de bone comfort et lee car vous aures deins la quinsane a venir plaudes des comons plus que vous ne aues a ore et nous serrons bons compaignions et le roy dist al dit Wat purquoy ne voyles aler en vostre pais et lautre respondist par grand serement que il ne ses companions ne iront point tanceque ils auoient lour chartre tiel que ils voillent auer et tiels pointz reheres releses en lour chartre que ils voylent demander manascent que les seignurs del Relme deueront repenter sils n'auoient les pointz a lour volunt et le roy luy demanda quelz fueront les pointz que il voderoit auer et il les auoiet voluntiers sans contradiction escript et enseale et donques le dit Wat rehersa les pointz queux fueront a demander et demanda que nul ley deuoiest estre fors la ley de Winchester et que nul vttagarie seroit en nul proces de ley fait de ore en avant et que nul seigneur aueroit seignurye fors sivelment ester proportionne entre toutz gentz fors tant solement le seigneur le roy et que les biens de seint esglise ne deueroient ester en mains de gentz de relligione ne des parsons et vicars ne de autres de seint esglise mes les auantes aueroient lour sus[t]enance esement et le remanent de les biens deueroient ester deuidees entre les parochiens et nul euesque seroit en Engleterre forsque vn ne nul prelate forsque vns et toutz les terres et tenementz des possessioners seroient pris de eux et parties entre les comons saluant a eux leur resonable sustenance et que nul naif seroit en Engleterre ne nul seruaige ne naifte mes toutz estre free et de vn condicione et a ceo le roy respondist esement et dist que il aueroit toute ceo que il purroit bonement granter salvant a luy la regalitie de sa coronne commaundant a luy a aler a son hostell demesme sans plus targer et en tout celle (f. 70) temps del dises que le roy auoieit nul seigneur ne null del counsell ne osast ne voydroit doner respons a les comons en nul lieu fors le roy mesme en quel temps Wat Tighler manda en presence le roy pur vn hanape de eawe pur rincher son bouche pur le grant chaleure que il auoit et tost fust porta et rinca son bouche ledement et vilanousment auant le roy et apres fist porter a luy vn hanape de seruois et beuest vn grand trete et en presence le roy monta son cheuall. en mesme le temps vn valet de Kent, esteant entre les gentz le roy pria pur vier le dit Watt chefteine de les comens et quant il luy vist il dist apertement que fust le plus grand larone et robbare de toute Kent et le dist Watt oiant ces paroles luy commanda a venir a luy movant son teste envers luy en signe de malice mes le dit Wat¹³ refusa de aler pur dobt que il auoit des autres et au darreine le seignurs luy fist aler a luy per veier que il voideroit faire deuant le roy et quant il dist Wat luy vist il commanda vn de ses soiens que fust monte vn chiual portant vn bannier displaye de descendre et decoller le dit valett, mes le valet responde que il nauoiet deservie le mort mes ceo que il auoit dit fust verytee et ne vodroit denier mes en presence de son seigneur liege ne purroit fair debate par le ley sans congee fors en sa defence demesme et ceo purroit fair sans reprove. purquoy cesty que luy ferroit il luy referroit et pur cestes parols le dist Wat luy vodroit auoir ferru od son dagger et occise en le presence le roy et par celle encheson le mair de Londres William Walworthe par nosme aresonne le dit

¹³ Sic.

Wat de celle violence et despitte fait en presence le roy et luy arresta et par celle arreste le dit Watt ferist le meire od le dagger auant le pyse od grandire mes come Dieu voet il fust arme et ne greva mye, mes le dit maire come home hardye et vigourous traba sa baselarde et referist le dit Watt en le colle vn grande playe et autrefois amounte le teste vn grande coupe et en celle conflicte vn valet del measone le roye treha sone espee et luy ferist parmis le pis deux foitz ou trois et luy naufra a la morte et le dit Watt brocha le chiual criant a les comens de luy venger et le cheuall luy porta a la mountance de ^{xx}_{iiij} pees et illonques chiest a la terre demy morte et quant les comens luy vieren chaiser et ne scavoient en certaine coment il fust mes comencerent a treher lour arches et a seter et pur ceo le roy mesme brocha son chiual et vient a eux commandant a eux que toutz deuerioient venir a luy al champ de saint Johne de Clerkenwelle en quel temps le maire de Londres chiuacha oue toute le hast que il porroit a Londres commandant a toute eux de la cyttie que auoient le xxiiij. gardes de garder que ils deuerioient crier parmy lour gardes que toutz fueront armes a plus tost que ils purroient et aler al roye al champ de Saint John, ou les comens fueront en ayde de luy car il ad grand mesire et necessitie et en celle temps a pry toutz les chivalers et esquiers del measone le roy et plusours autres pur doubt que ils auoient de celluy affray wayueront lour seigneur liege et departeronte chescun (*f. 70 b*) lour voye, denapres quant le roy fust vene en plein champ fist arrayer les comens les comens¹⁴ et estre vers le west et adonques les aldremenne vienderont surrement amennant oueque eux les gardeins et les wardes en diuers routes oue belle compaignie des gentz bien armes a grand number et enveloperont les comens come berbis en caules et mesme celle temps apres que le maire auoiet fait les gardeins de ville aller al roy il retorna oue compaignie des launces a Smythfelde pur faire fynce del capteine des comens auandit quant il fust veni a Smythfelde il ne trouua point le dit captayne Watt Tighler et de ceo il meruaila grandement et demanda ou le traytour fust devenir. Et fust nucee a luy que il fust portee par partie de les comens al hospitalle de pouers master pree de saint Barthelmewe et fust couchee en la chambre del master del dit hospitalle et le mayre se en ala illonques et luy trouua et luy fist porter en my Smithfelde en presence de ses compaignions et luy fist decoller et sy finst sa chatife vie et le maire fist mettre son teste sur vn stoure et porter auant luy al roye en champ demurrant, et quant le roy vist le dit teste il fist porter iuxt luy pur alayer les comens americiante le dit maire grandement de ceo que il auoit fait et pur ceo que ils vieren que lor cheifteine Wat Tighler fust morte en tiel maner chayerount al terre en my les blees come gentz discomfitees, criant al roy de merceye pur lour mesfaytz et le roy benignement les granta merceye, et plusors de eux ses misterent en fuit et le roy mesmes fist deux chivalers amener les autres de Kent parmy Londres et par le pont de Londres sans damage prendre issint que chescune deux purroit aler en sa pais demesne, et mesme le temps commanda al maier auandit William Walworthe par nosme de mettre sur son teste vn bacenett arrayer pur dout que purroit auenir et la meir pria pur quel enchesone que ceo fist et le roy luy dist que il fuist a luy moult tenu et pur ceo il deueroit prendre lordre de chiualler et le maire respondist que il ne fuist pas digne ne able de auoier ne disprendre tiel

¹⁴ Sic.

estate car il ne fuist fors vn merchan-
dise, mes au darreine le roy fist mettre le bacinet et prist vn espee pur
ambideux les mayns et luy dona en la colle fortement et od bone volunte,
et mesme le iour fist trois autres chivalers et les cytyzens de
Londres par enchesone de luy en mesme le place et ceux sont
les nosmes Johne Philpott et Nichol Brembre¹⁵ et le roy
donna a Monsieur William Walworthe C^t de terre et a chescun
de les autres xl^t de terre a eux et a loure heyres et apres le roy
prist sa voye vers Londone a sa garderobe pur luy eser de sa
grand trayuayle mesme celle temps vn partye de les comons
pristeront lour chymyne deuers Huntington pur auer passe
deuers le north pur defaire la terre et destruyre les gentz mes
illoques fueront rebutes et ne purrayent passer le pont de dit
ville par encheson que William Wighmanne spigurnelle
del chancery et Walter de Rudham et autres bone gentz en la
ville de Huntingtone (*f.* 71) et de la pais environne les enconte-
ront al dit pont et les donneront battayle et occirent deux ou
trois des eux issint que les autres fueront bien leez de fuyer et aleront a
Ramesa pur passer illocques et herbergeront en la ville mandant
al abbey pur vitailles pur eux refresher et labbe les envoya
paine vyne et cervois et autres vitailles a grand plentie car autrement ne
osast faire et mangeront et beueront a grand saule et apres dormirent et
pristeront bone matine a lour confusion. En quel temps leueront les
gentz de Huntingtone accoillantz as eux gentz del pais et sodenement
vienderont sur les comons a Rameszay et occirent de eux xxiiiij. et les
autres se misterent en fuist sans repayrer et fueront occis plusors passantz
par mie le pais et lour testes mist sur haute arbres au sample des autres
et mesme celle temps fueront levies e[n] Suffolke grand nombre des
comons et auoient a lour cheiftaine Sir Johne de Wrawe
amenant avecque luy passant x. M. et robberont plusieurs bones
gentz et traherent lour measons a terre et le dit Sire Johne le auoir de
or et de argent a son opes demesne et vienderont a Cambrigde.
et illoques fieront grand male de measons par arsure et puis
alleront a Burye et troueront en la ville vn Justice droituell
Sir Johne de Cauendishe, cheif del banke le roy, et luy amene-
ront al pillorye et fieront couper sa teste et mitteront sur le dit
pillorye, et apres traherent le priour del abbey bone home et
sage et excellent chauntour et vn autre moygne oueque luy hors de lour
measons a la pillorye et couperont lour testees. et les misteront sur stowres
auwant le pillorye que toutz que passeront par celle estrete les purroient
voyer et sire Johne lauandit le cheiftaine fust apres prist come traitour
et amene a Londres et foreinge a la morte et fust trayne bowelle pendu et
decolle. En quel temps fueront levies en Norfolke grand nombre et
fieront grand male en toute le pais et par celle cause le euesque de
Norwiche Sir Henry Spenser envoya par ses lettres a les ditz
comons de ceaser de lour malice et aler a lour measons sans
plus male faire mes ceo ne voyderont et aleront par mye le pais
destruyant et degastant plusors villes et measons de diuers
gentz en quel temps il enconteront vn chivaler hardye et vigorous, Sir

¹⁵ After this word there is a blank space in the manuscript.

Robert Hall par nosme, mes grand larone et combatour et couperont son teste pur quoy le dit euesque acoilant a luy plusors gentz des armes et des archers et les assaileront en plusieurs places ou ils purroient trouer et plusieurs de eux pristeront et le dit euesque les fist confesser et decoller et issint les ditz comons departeront par toute le pais pur defaute et mischeif et pur doute que ils auoient de le roy et de les seignurs et se misteront en fuit come beastes en taxisonne. En apres le dit roy manda ses messengers en diuers pais pur prender les malefactours et les mitter a mort et fueront prist plusieurs et pendus en Loundres et alors ou fueront fait multes furches entoure le cyttye de London et autres cytties et villes deins le south pais et au darreine come Dieu le voet le roy apperceuait que trope de ces lieges gentz seront defaitz et mult sanke despandee prist pietie en son coer et grante a eux pardonne issint que ils ne leueront iames apres sur paine de vie et membre et que chescune des eux aueroit sa chartre de pardonne et paier al roy pur le fee de seale xx^s pur luy fair riche et issint finist ceo mavays guerre.

AN ASSESSMENT OF WAGES FOR THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK IN 1610.¹

THE assessment of wages made in the eighth year of James I here given has already been noticed in this Review.² The present writer, though not professing very deep knowledge of economics, ventures the opinion that it is not the first proclaimed for the county of Norfolk in that reign, for some seven years had elapsed since the Elizabethan Act was confirmed, and, what is more to the point, the basis of all such assessments—namely, the price of corn—had very considerably changed during the preceding months, and therefore a new rate was necessary; at the same time it must be admitted that the earlier one is not forthcoming.

At this time it was the custom of the corporation of Norwich to send two of its members periodically to the market to note the price of wheat, in order that they might fix the assize of bread from their own certain knowledge. On 17 March 16 $\frac{9}{10}$ they had ascertained that wheat of the first, second, and third quality sold at 26s., 24s., and 20s. the quarter respectively; whereas eighteen months previously (Sept. 1608) a baker is reported to have purchased wheat at 24s. the coomb.³ However, in setting the assize in this last-mentioned year, the price of a quarter of wheat, including the baker's profit of 6s., is reckoned at 40s.; by the next spring it had reached 45s., while after the harvest of 1609 it fell to 36s., and in the spring of 1610 to 30s. The unit of the assize was the weight of the $\frac{1}{2}$ d. white loaf, the 1d. white loaf, the 1d. wheaten loaf, and the 1d. household loaf—that is, of all grains weighed two, three, and four units respectively; but for some unexplained reason

¹ The original is with the clerk of the peace for the county. ² *Ante*, p. 302.

³ An exorbitant price. The visits to the market in this year are not recorded.

the weight of the unit did not alter in exact inverse ratio with the price of corn. For example, when the latter was computed at 45s. the unit weighed 6 oz. troy; consequently one would expect to find it at 6 oz. when wheat was reckoned at 30s. the quarter, whereas it only reached 5 oz. 12½ dwt.⁴ In later years, when wheat is again reckoned at 30s., the unit was slightly in excess of 6 oz. In fact it may be said that in May 1610 50 per cent. more wheat or bread could be purchased than twelve months previously for the same sum. Such a fluctuation of the market would more than suffice to make existing assessments inefficient.

There are no known records of the county of Norfolk which exhibit the wages actually paid to workmen after the rate had been proclaimed, but in the account roll of the Great Hospital in Norwich for the year ending at midsummer 1611 are the following items: ⁵

For v dayes worke of the Reader at xvi^d p day, vi^s viii^d.
 & v dayes of his server xii^d p day v^s in all, xi^s viii^d.
 To Thomas Nyxon, mason, for fower dayes worke, vi^s.
 ,, Thomas Nyxon's man for iii dayes & a half, v^s iii^d.
 For iiiii dayes worke of William Rudd the laborer, iiiii^s.

It is, however, reasonable to suppose that labour was better paid in the city than in the country.

It will be seen in the assessment that certain kinds of labour command a better price in 'Mershland.' This term must not be taken to mean marshy land, but the hundred of Freebridge Marshland, that district south of the Wash and between the Ouse and the Nene; a recent formation, and formerly, if not at present, the most fertile and wealthy part of the county, as its splendid churches bear witness.

J. C. TINGEY.

The particuler Rates for the wages of all manner of Artificers, Laborers, Weavers, Spinsters, Workemen & Workewomen whatsoever eyther by yeare day or Ingrosse or takeing of any ⁶ any person or persons hands whatsoever to be done made & sett forth by the Justices of the peace for this County of Norff Assembled together at the generall quarter Sessions of the peace houlden at the Castle of Norwich in the Sheirhouse their upon wednesday the three & twentieth day of May in the eight yeare of the raigne of our most gracious soveraigne Lord the Kings Majestie that now is for the said County of Norff as particularly is hereafter declared.

A rate what wages Artificers and Laborers ought to take by the day both for Sommer & Wynter viz. from the xvth of March to the xvth of September & from the xv of September to the xvth of March.

⁴ v^s di ii^d ob.

⁵ The plumber and the glazier sent in their bills: only the total amounts are given.

⁶ Torn away.

The names of the Artificers Laborers workemen & workewomen	Sommer		Wynter	
	with meate and drinke	without meate and drinke	with meate and drinke	without meate and drinke
A master Carpenter or Sawyer	viii ^d	xliiii ^d	vi ^d	xii ^d
an other Carpenter or Sawyer	vi ^d	xii ^d	iiii ^d	x ^d
their servants & prentices under xviii yeres of age	iiii ^a	ix ^d	iii ^d	viii ^d
A Free mason	ix ^d	xviii ^d	vii ^d	xliiii ^d
A master Rough mason	viii ^d	xvi ^d	vi ^d	xii ^d
an other Rough mason	vi ^d	xii ^d	v ^d	x ^d
their servants & prentices under xviii yeres of age	iiii ^a	viii ^d	iii ^d	vii ^d
A paler	vi ^d	xii ^d	v ^d	x ^d
The master Brick layer	viii ^d	xvi ^d	vi ^d	xii ^d
another Bricklayer	vi ^d	xii ^d	iiii ^d	viii ^d
servants & prentices under xviii yeres	iiii ^a	viii ^d	iii ^d	vii ^d
Master Tyler or Slater	ix ^d	xviii ^d	vi ^d	xii ^d
another Tyler or Slater	vi ^d	xii ^d	v ^d	x ^d
their servants and prentices under xviii yeres	iiii ^a	viii ^d	iii ^d	vii ^d
A Plommer	ix ^d	xviii ^d	vii ^d	xliiii ^d
A master Glasyer	viii ^d	xviii ^d	vi ^d	xii ^d
another Glasyer	v ^d	x ^d	iiii ^d	viii ^d
A cheife Carver or Joyner	ix ^d	xviii ^d	v ^d	x ^d
other Carvers or Joyners	vi ^d	xii ^d	iiii ^d	viii ^d
their servant & apprentices under xviii yeares	iiii ^a	viii ^d	iii ^d	vi ^d
Thatcher Reeder or Fleeker	vii ^d	xliiii ^d	v ^d	x ^d
A lath Ryver	vi ^d	xii ^d	v ^d	x ^d
A Lymeburner	viii ^d	xvi ^d	v ^d	x
his servant	iiii ^d	viii ^d	iii ^d	vi ^d
A master Shipp Carpenter	xii ^d	ii ^s	viii ^d	xvi ^d
other Shipp Carpenters or hewers	viii ^d	xvi ^d	vi ^d	xii ^d
An hable Clyncher	viii ^d	xvi ^d	vii ^d	xliiii ^d
An hable holder or common holder	v	x ^d	iiii ^d	viii ^d
A master Calker	ix ^d	xx ^d	vii ^d	xii ^d
a meane Calker	vii ^d	xii ^d	vi ^d	xii ^d
a Calker laboring by the tide	vii ^d	xliiii ^d	vi ^d	xii ^d
A Taylor	v ^d	x ^d	iiii ^d	viii ^d
A woodmaker	vi ^d	xii ^d	iiii ^d	viii ^d
A Thrassher	iiii ^d	ix ^d	ii ^d	vii ^d
A dyker of dryworke	vi ^d	xii ^d	iiii ^d	viii ^d
A Hedger	v ^d	x ^d	iii ^d	vii ^d
An ordinary gardynere	viii ^d	xliiii ^d	iiii ^d	viii ^d
A dawber	v ^d	x ^d	iiii ^d	viii ^d
A water Caster	v ^d	x ^d	ii ^d	vii ^d
A caster of stone Clay or marle	v ^d	x ^d	iiii ^d	viii ^d
A Brick Striker	vi ^d	xii ^d	v ^d	x ^d
A Knacker	vi ^d	xii ^d	v ^d	x ^d
A myll or quearne beater	v ^d	x ^d	iiii ^d	viii ^d
A woolcomer	iiii ^d	viii ^d	ii ^d	vi ^d
A graver of Flaggs & Turfes	v ^d	xii ^d	iiii ^d	viii ^d

The names of the Artificers Laborers workemen & workewomen	Sommer		Wynter	
	with meate and drinke	without meate and drinke	with meate and drinke	without meate and drinke
A Carter	iiii ^d	ix ^d	iiii ^d	viii ^d
A mower both of Corne & grasse	viii ^d	xiii ^d		
The Follower	v ^d	ix ^d		
The man Reaper	viii ^d	xiii ^d		
The woman Reaper	v ^d	ix ^d		
A Bynder of Corne only	v ^d	ix ^d		
A Raker in Harvest	iiii ^d	viii ^d		
A woman laboring in Harvest	iiii ^d	viii ^d		
Hay maker the man	vi ^d	xii ^d		
Hay maker the woman	iiii ^d	viii ^d		
Women & such impotent persons that weed corne and other such like Laborers	ii ^d	vi ^d		
The man Clipper of Sheepe	vii ^d	xiii ^d		
The woman Clipper of Sheepe	vi ^d	xii ^d		

Worke done by the greate

for thrassing a quarter of	{ Wheate Myxtelyn Rye Barlye Oates Peas Beanes }	without meate & drinke	xvi ^d
			xvi ^d
			xvi ^d
			x ^d
			viii ^d
			x ^d

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For Shearing bynding & Shocking of an acre of Wheate rye or mestlyn without meate & drinke Statute measure	{	xii ^d & other x ^{d7}
	{	& in mers-land, ii ^s vi ^d
For mowinge an acre of Barly and layeng it in bond without meate & drinke	}	x ^d
For felling an acre of peas or fetches without meate & drinke	}	xiii ^d
For felling an acre of beanes or Rapes & makeing it ready to the carte with meate & drinke	}	ii ^s
For mowinge an acre of grasse after land measure without meate & drinke	}	xii ^d
For the makeing of an acre of grass ready to cary for haye without meate & drinke	}	xii ^d
The best man hired for the whole harvest with meate & drinke	}	xviii ^s
other likewyse hired for the whole harvest with meate & drinke	}	xv ^s
For a Rodd of usuall dyke new made fower foote wyde & three foote deepe well lawred & xxi ^v foote to the Rodd without meate & drinke	}	vii ^d

The said dyke made with lawer with meate & drinke	v ^d
For felling & skowring of a dyke for the Rodd after xxi ^{ty} foot without meate & drinke	vi ^d
For Dykeing of a Rodd of Wheat ground, the Dyke to be viii foote wyde & fower foote deepe without lawer & xxi ^{ty} foote to the Rodd, & all other weete Dykes after that rate accordinge to the widenes & deepnes without meate & drinke	vii ^d
For a Rodd of ryven pales, & for the sawinge, Ryveinge, & settinge, being six foote longe & one & twenty to the Rodd without meate & drinke	xii ^d
For the Ryveing of the pales, & for paleing, & for makinge of the stulps shoares And for settinge of the shoares & rayles, xxi ^{ty} foote for the Rodd without meate & drinke	iiii ^d
For hedginge of a Rodd of an usuall hedge the thornes or stuffe layd ready to the hedge to be iii quarters of a yard under the bonde xxi ^{ty} foote to the Rodd without meate & drinke	i ^d ob.
For makinge an hundred faggotts with the single bonde without meate & drinke	xiiii ^d
and with double bonde without meate & drinke	xxii ^d
For makinge a thousand bylletts without meate & drinke	xx ^d
For makinge of a loade of tall woodd without meate & drinke	iiii ^d
For makinge a thousand bricke with meate & drinke	ii ^s vi ^d mersh-land iii ^s
For makinge a thousand tyle with meate & drinke	ij ^s 8 ^d
For clippinge of an hundred wethers with meate & drinke And without meate & drinke	xii ^d ii ^s
For clippinge of a hundred Hoggs ^o or Ewes with meate & drinke	x ^d 9 ^s
And without meate & drinke	xx ^d 2 ^s

*What wages Servants of husbandry oughte
To take by the yeare, and what Lyveries.*

A Baylyffe of husbandrye	wages	lxvi ^s viii ^d	Lyvery x ^s
A cheif hinde or carter	wages	liii ^s iiiii ^d	Lyv ¹⁰
An other hinde or carter } or common servante }	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery viii ^s
A forth degree	wages	xxx ^s	
A prentice or childe under } the age of xviii yeares }	findinge or	xxvi ^s viii ^d	
Women under the age of } xx ^{ty} yeres & above xii }	findeing or } wages }	xxvi ^s viii ^d	
Women above the age of } xx ^{ty} yeares }	wages	xxxiii ^s iiiii ^d	

⁸ Decayed.

⁹ Sheep in their second year.

¹⁰ The letters 'Lyv' are cancelled.

*What Artificers oughte to take that are heyred by the yeare
& what Lyveryes.*

Clothiers	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Wollenclothiers	wages	xxxiii ^s iiiii ^d	Lyvery	viii ^s
Turkers	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Fullers	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Sheremen	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Carpenters	wages	xlvi ^s viiii ^d	Lyvery	viii ^s
Hosyers & Taylors	wages	xxxiii ^s iiiii ^d	Lyvery	viii ^s
Shomakers	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Tanners	wages	xlvi ^s viiii ^d	Lyvery	viii ^s
Pewteres	wages	liii ^s iiiii ^d	Lyvery	viii ^s
Bakers	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Brewers	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Glovers	wages	xxxiii ^s iiiii ^d	Lyvery	viii ^s
Cutlers	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Smythes	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Furryers	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Curryers	wages	xlvi ^s viiii ^d	Lyvery	viii ^s
Sadlers	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Spurriers	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Turners	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Cooppers	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Hatmakers & Feltmakers	wages	xlvi ^s viiii ^d	Lyvery	viii ^s
Bowers	wages	xlvi ^s viiii ^d	Lyvery	viii ^s
Fletchers	wages	xlvi ^s viiii ^d	Lyvery	viii ^s
Arrowheadmakers	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Butchers	wages	xl	. y	11 ^s
Cookes	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Millers	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s
Dyers	wages	xl ^s	Lyvery	viii ^s

The assessment is endorsed thus :

'Rata servorum et artificum &c.'

'The some of 700^l.'

THURLOE AND THE POST OFFICE.

The paper which follows is derived from the manuscripts of William Bridgeman, who was one of the clerks to the privy council during the latter part of the reign of Charles II, and held the same post under James II and William III.¹ It is now in the Bodleian Library (Rawlinson MS. A. 477, f. 10). Though it is undated, the reference to the Restoration, in line 5, shows plainly that it was written during the reign of Charles II. As to the account which it contains of the use made of the post office by the government of the Protector, many of the details cannot be tested, but in the main the statements made are borne out by Thurloe's

¹¹ Decayed.

¹ *Luttrell's Diary*, i. 96, 325, 387, iii. 4.

correspondence. Thurloe's success in unravelling plots against the government, and the perfection of his system of intelligence, were a constant source of astonishment to his contemporaries. 'Really,' wrote Henry Cromwell to him in 1658, 'it is a wonder you can pick so many locks leading into the hearts of wicked men as you do.'² In 1668, when the ministers of Charles II were blamed for the ignorance which had allowed the Dutch to carry out their attack on the English ships in the Medway, Thurloe's management of the intelligence department was held up as a model. 'Thereby,' said Colonel Birch, in the House of Commons, 'Cromwell carried the secrets of all the princes of Europe at his girdle.' No one denied Birch's statement, but secretary Morrice pleaded in answer, that he was allowed but 700*l.* a year for intelligence, whilst Cromwell had allowed 70,000.³ In reality Thurloe's expenditure for intelligence appears from his accounts to have been from 1,200*l.* to 2,000*l.* per annum.⁴ But, besides being charged with the intelligence department, and being secretary to the council, he was given, in May 1655, control of the posts, both inland and foreign.⁵ This combination of offices naturally enabled him to obtain the fullest information, both with regard to foreign and domestic affairs.

With regard to the persons from whom Thurloe obtained his intelligence this paper contains nothing very new, except the mention of 'Mr. Cockin' as one of his spies. The person meant is evidently George Cokayne, an independent minister, whose life is given in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' There is no sufficient evidence in Thurloe's papers to prove this statement, unless Cokayne is to be identified with the G. C. who sent Thurloe a letter from Sexby to Wildman in 1656.⁶

The account given of the systematic method of opening letters pursued under Thurloe's orders is doubtless correct. Mr. Dorislaus, whom it so often mentions, was Isaac Dorislaus, son of Dr. Isaac Dorislaus, of whom some account is given in the excellent life of his father by Mr. Gordon Goodwin in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' The part attributed by the author of the paper to Dorislaus is confirmed by his own letters. 'I have been up all night,' he writes to Thurloe on 18 June 1653. 'The enclosed are my last night's work. . . . I will go this morning to Whitehall, and tell Bishop that I am now layd aside, have nothing more to doe with the post letters.' George Bishop, to whom he refers, had been one of the managers of the intelligence department under Mr. Thomas Scot, whom Thurloe now superseded. After thus promising to conceal the truth from Bishop, Dorislaus concludes:

² *Thurloe Papers*, vii. 39.

³ *Pepys, Diary*, 14 Feb. 1668.

⁴ *Thurloe*, vii. 483, 785; *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1653-4, pp. 454, 458.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1653-4, p. 133; 1655, pp. 138, 286. Thurloe's private instructions to the postmaster at Leeds are printed in his *State Papers*, vi. 85.

⁶ *Thurloe*, v. 37.

'I will manage that business for you with that secrecy and dexteritie to your own heart's desire; and am resolved henceforward not to impart one sillable of any thing I know to any living soule but yourself, who am now wholly engaged to you.'⁷ Later letters from Dorislaus to Thurloe show that he continued to be employed through the protectorate, and the number of intercepted letters amongst Thurloe's papers are proof of the 'dexteritie' which he promised.⁸ It is curious to note that even after the Restoration Dorislaus retained some employment in the post office, and was accused of using his position to open and otherwise tamper with letters.⁹

As to the authorship of the paper it is only possible to offer a conjecture. The manuscript appears to be a copy made for Bridgeman's use by some clerk; it contains various errors, and has no signature, date, or address. The author was evidently well acquainted with the practical working of the post office, and had probably held some place in connexion with it himself. I am inclined to suspect that it was written by John Wildman, for the following reasons: (1) The letter from Sexby to Wildman, before referred to, was probably given by Wildman to Cokayne to be given to Thurloe, and Wildman was therefore one of the few persons aware of Cokayne's services to Thurloe. It is endorsed thus: 'The letter was writt by Sexbye unto Major Wildman and delivered unto me G. C. the beginning of July 1656.' (2) Wildman had the best of reasons for knowing how Thurloe communicated with his intelligencers, for towards the end of the protectorate he became one himself. (3) After the Restoration the post office was leased for a time to Colonel Henry Bishop, but its management during that time was apparently in Wildman's hands, and Dorislaus was then one of his employés.¹⁰ (4) Wildman became postmaster-general himself in April 1689, and made use of his position just in the way which is recommended in this paper.

C. H. FIRTH.

A brief discourse concerning the businesse of intelligence and how it may be managed to the best advantage.

In obedience to your honour's commands I humbly offer this as my opinion: that so long as the King's ennemies remaine so numerous, and so industrious in plotting against the publique peace, neither his Royal person nor Governement can be at all secure without a well settled Intelligence; and sure I am that ever since his Majestie's returne, one of the most powerfull arguments, which the heads of factions here in the Citty have made use of to entice and draw others into rebellion, has been this, There is now no Cromwell, or Thurloe to manage the intelligence, and therefore wee may act securely, the two Secretaries having but 1500^{lb}. per annum between them, and not a fourth part of that employed therein.

⁷ Thurloe, i. 303.

⁸ Cf. *ibid.* i. 480, iii. 231, vii. 787.

⁹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1661-2, p. 235.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 1661-2, p. 55.

Now I humbly conceive that this businesse of the Intelligence may, to the unspeakable advantage of his Majesty, and of all his loyall subjects, be mannaged in the following method.

1. In the first place, whereas the City of London is, and has always been, the place where the heads of all sects and factions have their ordinary residence, and consequently where rebellion may be more conveniently hatcht in private meetings under pretext of religious exercises and the like, I humbly propose that all means imaginable be used to gain over some two or three of the principall members of every such reigning faction, at least such of them who are de Arcanis, and present at all their private consultations, who may separately, (that so they may be of checks to each other for the more sure discovery of the truth) and with all manner of secrecy, hold a constant correspondence with your honour, and by ways hereafter specified give you an exact account of what soever passes or is transacted at such meetings, so shall you be able to crush all their designs in the egge, and hinder them from ever coming to any maturity, unlesse you your selfe desire or permitt it in order to the better convicting and bringing the contriver to condigne punishment. Thus did one Mr.¹¹ Cockin, a preacher to a gathered Congregation, constantly for divers years together discover to Mr. Thurloe (though with all secrecy imaginable) all the proceedings and consultations of his Independent brethren, and had a sallary of 500^{lb}. per annum for his pains; and thus did Sir Richard Willis betray all the Councillis and undertakings of the Royallists, in fine this was one of Cromwell's grand intrigues to beare himselfe up against all sorts of interests that were perpetually heaving at him ever after he tooke upon him to governe as a single person, that is to say, to plow with their owne heifers, and soe to frustrate all their designs against him.

I must confesse their is a great deale of difficulty, and much dexterity to be used in the gaining and bringing over such persons, but that which has been may be, and the King could never repent him of monys disbursed in this nature, which so immediately contribute to the preservation of his person and government, and so doe [prevent] more mischief then can be easily imagined.

2. Another great intrigue of Cromwell was carefully to watch the Generall letter Office, and it very much concernes the publick peace that the same be done now; for through this Office are conveyed all the poysounous distempers of the City into the whole kingdome, and if when it was the most narrowly watcht yet some or other did adventure, and there were almost every post night letters of consequence intercepted, how much more doe they adventure now when they know they may doe it without the least danger.

Now the manner of watching this Office was thus. In the time of the Rump, before Cromwell made himselfe Protector, they constantly sent for all the letters to Whitehall, and had every letter opened before them without ceremony; but when Cromwell came to governe he employed one Mr. Dorislaus to reside constantly at the [Office], who had a private roome allotted him adjoining to the forreigne Office, and every post night about 11 a clock he went into that roome privately, and had all the letter[s]

¹¹ Goodwin and Nye did the like.

brought and layd before him, to open any as he should see good, and close them up again, and there he remained in that room, usually till about 3 or 4 in the morning, which was the usuall time of shutting up the male, and in processe of time the said Dorislaus had got such a knowledge of all hands and seals, that scarcely could a letter be brought him but he knew the hand that wrote it; and when there was any extraordinary occasion, as when any rising was neare or the like, then S. Morland went from Whitehall between 11 and 12, and was privately conveyed into that roome, and there assisted Mr. Dorislaus, and such letters as they found dangerous he brought back with him to Whitehall in the morning.

The letters likewise as well to as from all Ambassadors and publick Ministers were constantly opened, and copies of them sent to Mr. Thurloe by the said Dorislaus. I humbly conceive that this both may and ought to be again put in practise, onely with this caution, that the person employed be both extreame diligent, and dexterous; for Mr. Dorislaus though he was arrived at a very great perfection of knowing mens hands, yet he was not at all dexterous in opening and closing up letters, which caused great mutterings and many complaints to be made, which though in those loose times the Usurpers regarded not, yet now it would be of greater concernement if publick Ministers and other persons of quality should finde their letters constantly opened.

3. That which is yet more dangerous then the Generall letter Office is the correspondence which is conveyed by the hands of ordinary carriers and foot posts to and from the City: for here people thinke themselves much more secure then by the ordinary post, and therefore use the greater freedom. And here Cromwell's method was lame, for he had no other way of preventing this correspondency, then immediately before a rising to send 2 or 3 Messengers of his Council to seize and bring away all the packets and letters they could finde about all the carriers and foot posts throughout the City, which were most commonly throwne aside and never returned, and consequently many Bills of Exchange, Letters of Attorny, and many other businesses of concernement lost, to the utter undoing of divers poore people (as I well remember), besides that this search came for the most part to late, when the plotts were not onely contrived, but just ready to be put in action.

This I conceive was but to shoot at rovers, and seldome to hit the mark, and therefore for a better regulating and reducing this businesse, and the certain prevention of any mischievous designs, which may, and doubtlesse are dayly conveyed to and fro through the hands of these ordinary carriers and footposts, I humbly offer that there be a fit person chosen to whom his Majesty may give a Commission to take¹² cognizance both of the names, and usuall lodging places of all the ordinary carriers and footposts in or about the City, as likewise that the said person bee empowered to administer an oath of fidelity to his Majestie's service to every of them, and then give them licences, that so he may have some kinde of influence upon them, and the better opportunity to treat and deale with them in private, to make them willing to send him [the letters] sealed up about 2 houres before his setting out by

¹² This person if it be thought fit may beare the title of his Majestie's private post-master and have an office accordingly in some convenient place of the City.

some trusty messenger in a disguise (which ¹³ the said person may open and close up again, and send back carefully within the time limited), onely if he finde any lettres fit to be intercepted he may set some private marke on them, and then (that so the Carrier may not incurre the people's ill will and so loose his custome) this person knowing the just hower of his going out may send a Messenger openly in the King's name to seize and search the said letters, who may readily turne to all such lettres as have on them the private mark, and so returning the rest dismisse the carrier in a few minutes without the least prejudice either to him, or any honest people whom the rest of the lettres may concerne.

4ly. There is yet another sort of correspondence which is yet more dangerous then any of the former, which is this: there are and have been ever since his Majestie's returne a great number of subtil and sly fellowes in and about the Citty, who are paid each of them by a common purse of that respective faction by whom they are employed, whose dayly businesse is it to goe laden with Intelligence, and Instructions about once a month, from the heads of factions here in the Citty, and so to disperse them among their factious brethren abroad in the severall Counties, and by this way (as looking upon it as the surest of all) they take a perfect liberty to spit their venome, and when they can doe nothing else, they thinke it worth their while by this correspondency to bring an ¹⁴ evill report upon the King's person, his family, Court, Councill, and Governement and soe doe more mischiefe then can easily be imagined.

There were diverse expresses of this kind (though there errants were different) in Oliver's time who were frequently intercepted, there being spies, and messengers in disguises employed on purpose to dog these expresses from house to house, and from place to place, till they were apprehended with all their pacquets, which was most commonly done upon the road, that so no lettre might escape. Besides Mr. Thurloe had spies abroad almost in every County, and Citty, or town of note, who made it their great businesse to observe all such persons, and what houses they frequented: as likewise he held a constant correspondence with the Sheriffs, Justices, and Commanders almost of every County who acquainted him constantly with all that they could possibly learne, for indeed Thurloe prest him very much in Cromwell's name to doe it, and they were glad to gratify both the one, and the other. And if so, why should not your honour have a farre greater advantage then ever Thurloe had to engage all fitt instruments to be assistant to you in a businesse of this nature?

One thing I had almost forgot, that is for all such persons as were gained off from severall parties, they seldome or never came to Mr. Thurlo's lodging at Whitehall, unlesse sometimes in a dark Winter night, for his lodging was constantly watcht almost by all parties to see who came out, or went in, and consequently to finde who of their brethren probably betrayed them, and therefore for this, Morland (who managed the greatest part of these affairs) had always a convenient roome or two in some private places of the Citty, which he hired by the year in another's

¹³ MS. 'whom.'

¹⁴ I am confident there are to many of these messengers lurking about the Court daily.

name, on purpose to meet such persons in a disguise and receive their Intelligence.

The manner how he corresponded with spyes either beyond sea, or from the countries here in England was thus: the said Morland gave them some false adresse whereby to direct all their letters, as for example: [For John Adams at the Sugar Loafe in Milford lane] or the like; and at the same time sent the same adresse to Mr. Dorislaus at the post office to put it down upon his list, that so when he opened the maile, and found such an adresse, he might know whether to send them.

Another intrigue in the businesse of Intelligence is this: All Ambassadors and publique Ministers, are for the most part but great spies, and one of the most acceptable services they can doe their masters, is to gaine for mony some of the Ministers, Councillors, Secretaries, or other Officers of that Kingdome or state where they reside. And therefore there ought to bee a strickt watch upon them, and their lettres constantly opened, and it were not difficult to place in their houses by some other hand at a distance some trusty persons, who might be entertained as their domestique servants, and by that means discover who come into them at back dores in the night and the like.

[Endorsed.] About Intelligence.

ALLEGED FIGHTING IN LINE IN THE FIRST DUTCH WAR.

A PASSAGE from Pepys's 'Diary,' July 4, 1666, has been often quoted to prove the usage of fighting in line in the first Dutch war. In Penn's 'Memorials of Sir W. Penn' (i. 401) it stands thus: 'Sir William Penn came to me, and we talked of the late fight (of June 1-4, 1666). He says that we must fight in line, whereas we fought promiscuously, to our utter and demonstrable ruin, the Dutch fighting otherwise, and we whenever we beat them.' It has, I believe, never been observed that this claims that in the first war the English fleet fought in line in every action except one, as the Dutch lost every battle in that war except the one off Dungeness. At all events this passage should never again be used to illustrate the history of the first war, as Mr. Wheatley's edition (v. 353) agrees with Lord Braybrooke's in replacing the word 'fought' by 'fight.'

SAMUEL R. GARDINER.

CORRECTIONS TO JAMES MACPHERSON'S 'ORIGINAL PAPERS.'

THIS work of Macpherson is, from the year 1702, divided into Stuart and Hanover Papers. The present note refers only to the latter, which are copies, translations, extracts, or abstracts from a portion of the papers left by John de Robethon, confidential secretary to George I. These are now among the Stowe MSS. at the British Museum (vols. 222 to 232). They are mostly originals, and of unimpeachable authenticity. Macpherson extracted what he thought of most importance in relation to English domestic politics.

His copies are very faithful. Of the translations, some are close, some free, some loose, a few unpardonably careless; they would seem to be by different hands. The abstracts are sometimes close, but passages of importance are often omitted, and in general they are not to be depended upon. It must further be borne in mind, that passages which appear to be consecutive are often compounded of non-consecutive extracts.

The following list of corrections is the result of a careful comparison with the originals. Freedoms of translation and minor inaccuracies, where the sense is not affected, are not noticed. But the author believes that he has included in the list all errors of real importance, so that the student may by its help use the 'Hanover Papers' with confidence. Reference to the originals is made easy by the chronological arrangement carried out at the British Museum.

Certain letters to the queen which Macpherson gives are not taken from Robethon's drafts, but from the holograph or signed copies actually despatched. These are now included in vol. 4903 of the Add. MSS. of the British Museum. From a marginal note of Macpherson (ii. 109), they would seem to have been, when he saw them, in the possession of Sir John Dalrymple. They are the letters from the electress Sophia, vol. i. pp. 633, 694, 708, 709, ii. pp. 31, 52, 72, 196, 261, 351, 358; from the elector, ii. pp. 357, 358, 607, 623, 624; and from the electoral prince or princess, ii. pp. 50, 357, 625; and the memorial given to Thomas Harley on 7 May 1714, ii. 608.¹ But other letters from the elector (i. p. 711, ii. pp. 27, 51, 95, 109, 192, 195, 261, 262), and one from the electoral prince (ii. p. 91), are taken, not from the holographs in this collection, but from the drafts among Robethon's papers.

Lastly, certain letters are taken from a collection made by Thomas Astle, now in vols. 241, 242 of the Stowe MSS. These are—Addison to Lewis, original (ii. 58), Marlborough to St. John, original (ii. 252), the elector to the queen, two copies (ii. 621, 627), Clarendon to Bromley, copy (ii. 646), Bromley and Strafford to Clarendon, originals (ii. 628, 638, 646), Prior to Bolingbroke, copy (ii. 644), and Bolingbroke to Atterbury, copy (ii. 651).

J. F. CHANCE.

VOL. I.

P. 620, l. 7, for *Werpuse* read *Werpup*.²

„ 18. Abel Tassin D'Allonne was, like Robethon, a French refugee. He was secretary to Queen Mary, both before and

¹ This is a copy. The original, with the two seals, is at the Public Record Office, *Home Office Papers*, Regencies 8.

² George Ernest von Werpupp was a leading noble of Mecklenburg, and son-in-law to the Hanoverian minister, Bernstorff. He had gone to Denmark in 1701 on a mission from the elector of Hanover (Droysen, *Geschichte der preussischen Politik*, IV. iv. 302-303).

- after her accession, secretary for Dutch affairs to William III 1698 to 1702, then secretary (it seems) to Grand Pensionary Heinsius.³
- P. 621, l. 1, for the same read my; omit and attachment.
 „ 8, omit to the family.
 „ ll. 9, 10, are an abstract only.
- P. 622, l. 3, for received read is receiving.
 „ 8, after the full stop insert, This I shall always do with the greatest assiduity.
- P. 633, margin, for Hannover Papers read Original.
 „ l. 11, for Hannover, January 8, read Herrenhausen, June 2.⁴
 „ 22, for upon one read upon that one person in the world.
- P. 634, April 9 is old style.
- P. 637, l. 8, for the service read this service.
- P. 690, l. 32, for the semicolon read from.
- P. 691, l. 19, Beihl is Bühl in Baden.
 „ 32, for proposed read propose.
 „ 36, read the preceding ones have.
- P. 692, l. 12, for biass read break.
- P. 694, l. 24, for encourages me to presume read emboldens me to dare.⁵
- P. 705, l. 16, The signature, as in several other cases, is added by Macpherson.
 „ 22, Crusenach, i.e. Kreuznach.
 „ 27, for Crusenach read Creuzenach.
 „ ll. 31, 32, read whence I am now returning, arranging to be the day after to-morrow at Treves.
- P. 706, l. 4, for does not amount read only amounts.
 „ 22, Here, and in all subsequent letters of the elector to Marlborough, who was now a prince of the empire, for My Lord read Sir.
- P. 707, The Duke of Celle's letter is signed G. Guillé. Here again for My Lord read Sir.
- P. 708, l. 31, Poule, i.e. Poley.
- P. 709, The electress's letter would be of about the same date as that of the elector given on p. 711.

VOL. II.

- P. 26, margin, read Draft begun by Robethon, continued in another hand.
- P. 27, l. 7, for administration read administrator.
- P. 29, note, That Marlborough could not write French is not credible, The letter quoted⁶ need only be taken to show that he preferred to write in English.

³ See Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France*, ii. 80-83; Luttrell's *Diary*, iv. 320, 395, 453; Grimblot, *Letters of William III and of Louis XIV*, ii. 184, 314, 328.

⁴ Hanover, 8 Jan. 1703, is the date of a different letter, also in Add. MSS. 4903- (f. 10).

⁵ Cressett's illness took place in February-March 1703. He returned to England October 1703. The letter was perhaps written on the occasion of his return.

⁶ Macpherson does not print this letter, though the original is among the Robethon papers. It is printed by Lediard (iii. 99), and by Sir Henry Ellis ('Original Letters,' series II. vol. iv. No. 404).

- P. 31, l. 1, lit. a belief that you were on the wrong scent (*aviez pris le change*).
- P. 33, l. 28, for promoting read prosecuting.
- P. 34, l. 34, A line is missed; read by the act that is to be presented by my L^d Halifax. Nor have our endeavours to compleat this establishment rested here, we hope it will be farther carried on by the negotiation.
- P. 35, l. 2, for laid open read left open.
- P. 38, This letter from the queen is now missing from the Robethon papers. There is a transcript of it in Stowe MSS. 241, f. 63.
- P. 45, l. 7, for present read prevent.
- P. 48, l. 33, read should not take offence at his orders (*ne doit pas se formaliser de ses ordres*).
- P. 51, l. 31, for June 28 read June 20.
- P. 52, l. 8, with great zeal, read as a man very zealous for the good of England and for the Protestant succession.
 „ margin, for Hannover Papers read Original.
- P. 53, l. 10, for June 26 read June 20.
- P. 58, l. 4, for July 23 read, probably, July 27.
- P. 68, l. 6, October 15 is old style.
- P. 72, margin, delete Hannover Papers.
 „ l. 22, for parents read relatives.
- P. 90, ll. 5, 19, 22, for Feb. 14 read Feb. 17. Macpherson, having made the error, alters in the elector's letter to suit.
- P. 91, The electoral prince's letter is rather carelessly translated.
 „ l. 27, for veneration read devotion.
 „ 32, foll., read This is so glorious an episode (*endroit*) in your reign, that though it hath been but one continued series of wonders and great events, this seemed to be necessary to exhibit in its full light.
- P. 92, l. 3, foll., This paragraph is a libel on Sir Rowland Gwynne. He had served in parliament with distinction for twenty-four years, when on the queen's accession he retired to Hanover. Here he was held in much esteem, and gave frequent advice on English politics, until he was induced to write in 1706 the famous letter to Lord Stamford.⁷ He was banished indeed from Hanover, but after the queen's death he received a pension of 400*l.* a year.⁸
 „ 29. Probably James Scott, appointed in 1711 by the electress's influence British envoy at Dresden. A letter from him has been already given (i. 637).
- P. 93, l. 6, for July 20 read July 29.
 „ 20, for July 26 read July 25.
 „ ll. 22, 33, for Metz read Mentz.
- P. 94, l. 8, read obliges me, sir, to request you to order.
- P. 96, l. 32, This was George Murray, a nephew of Sir Robert, of the duke of Athole's kin. His father, Anthony Murray, was at a later time governor of the academy of Wolfenbüttel.

⁷ Klopp (*Der Fall des Hauses Stuart*, xii. 25-28) shows that the letter was drafted by Leibnitz in answer to one from Lord Stamford, which had been laid before the council at Hanover.

⁸ Record Office, *Treasury Papers*, ccvii. 15.

- P. 107, l. 4, for Hartch read Hatsch or Harsch.
- P. 108, l. 26, for pleasure read joy.
- P. 110, l. 23, for May 26 read May 20.
- " 29, for you might have discovered read you were able to recognise.
- P. 112, ll. 18, 34, for Rouslear read Rousselaer.
- P. 113, l. 17, for beginning read event.
- P. 138, l. 4, March 4 is old style.
- P. 141, l. 4, read Camp at Opatowiec, August 15, 1709.
- " 15, read show themselves so.
- P. 142, ll. 24, 25, read into quarters. You cannot too early think of recruiting them.
- P. 178, ll. 18, 19, read as some Circles would only allow their troops to be commanded by their own generals, it was not in my power to dispose of them.
- " 22, for so ill provided read weak and unprovided.
- " 30, for proposed read propose.
- P. 179, l. 11, for does read will.
- " 18, for honour read have honoured.
- P. 180, l. 31, for can read can't.
- P. 181, l. 14, for Accordingly read Also.
- P. 183, l. 8, for could read can.
- " 12, for great read happy.
- P. 186, l. 31, p. 187, l. 2, and p. 188, l. 9, for serene read most serene.
- P. 192, l. 10, for Sept. 14 read Sept. 24.
- P. 193, l. 25, read the very mark.
- P. 194, l. 15, and p. 195, l. 10, for gave read has given.
- " 20, for her read my.
- P. 195, l. 5, for loyalty read fidelity.
- " 21, Oct. 17 is the date of the autograph letter; Robethon's draft is dated Oct. 16.
- " 29, read extremely grateful.
- P. 196, l. 5, for Mr. read Mrs. James Cressett was lately dead.
- " 11, insert doubt.
- " 12, omit Electoral.
- " 20, for reported read brought.
- " ll. 21, 22, the original runs *dont la Personne m'a été considerable*.
- P. 197, l. 8, for greatest benefit read greatest of all my advantages.
- P. 199, This and the following letter are carelessly done.
- " ll. 10, 11, for having been read being.
- " l. 13, for last night read the night before last.
- P. 200, l. 3, for De la Motte read De la Mothe.⁹
- " 10, omit I imagined.
- " 20, in the original, *ou il est tout de son long*.
- " 23, for alone read quite, the original is *capable tout seul*.
- " 33, ostensible, that is, *ostensive*, open, or intended to be shown.
- P. 201, ll. 3, 4, read They do not want to miss getting you (*on ne veut pas vous manquer*).
- " 5, for for read with, putting a comma for the semicolon.

⁹ The well-known pastor Claude Grosteste de la Mothe, Robethon's maternal uncle.

- P. 201, l. 9, *read* prudence to avoid offending either of the two parties.
- P. 203, l. 7, *Traîtres et Rebelles* in the original is underlined.
- „ 23, for youngest *read* younger (*fils cadet*).
- „ ll. 25, 27, for serene *read*, and not in italics, most serene.
- „ l. 26, for so *read* entirely.
- P. 204, l. 7, for necessary dispatch *read* possible diligence.
- „ 20, for friendship *read* goodwill.
- „ 28, for Dec. 17 *read* Dec. 12.
- P. 205, l. 24, *read* I can boldly promise this.
- P. 206, l. 21, for have done *read* did.
- „ 22, *read* well known to me.
- P. 207, l. 2, for the laws of the land *read* simply law.
- P. 239, l. 19, An absurd statement. John Robinson was a distinguished and successful diplomatist of more than twenty-five years standing.¹⁰
- „ 33, Kreyenberg's barony is, I believe, an invention of Macpherson. He was the elector's minister resident in London.
- P. 240, l. 33, for are resolved to embarrass me *read* are only thinking of how to drive me to extremities.
- P. 241, l. 11, for expected *read* hoped.
- „ 13, The French word for exert themselves is *s'évertuer*.
for Prince Eugene *read* the Prince of Savoy.
- P. 242, l. 5, for happened *read* has happened.
- P. 243, l. 4, omit Electoral.
- „ 22, for his lady *read* this lady.
- P. 244, l. 5, for increase *read* double.
- „ 12, for necessary *read* suitable (*à propos*).
- „ 19, for system *read* army; the Corps de Neutralité is referred to, agreed upon by the Hague Convention of 31 March 1710.¹¹
- P. 245, l. 15, *read* well-received and agreeable here, should it happen.
- „ 16, for may be *read* were.
- „ 17, *read* and that you desired to send the said Sieur Robethon hither again.
- „ 26, for did *read* have done.
- P. 247, l. 12, the project had been concerted by Marlborough and Eugene in June.¹²
- „ 16, *read* I very humbly entreat you . . . to have the goodness to acquaint me.

¹⁰ His despatches, preserved at the Record Office (Sweden, Hamburg, Poland), are voluminous and interesting. For the circumstances attending his acceptance of the deanery of Windsor, see there Hamburg 16, June and July 1709.

¹¹ See Lamberty, v. 442, vi. 284-319. The original convention between the emperor, Great Britain, and the States-General for this purpose, dated 4 Aug. 1710, is preserved at the Record Office (Holland 353).

¹² It is described in a paper preserved by Robethon (*Stowe MSS.* 224, f. 77). It was not accepted, owing partly to Marlborough's own subsequent exploits, and partly to the opposite intentions of the English government and the lukewarmness of the Dutch. Its object was to maintain the allied cavalry on the frontier during the winter, in order to invade France in the spring before troops could be brought up in opposition. It seems to be unknown to historians, and references to it in Marlborough's and Bolingbroke's despatches have been misunderstood by the editors. The delay in sending the paper to the elector is curious; the date is carefully erased.

- P. 248, ll. 5, 6, *read* with the four or five battalions left me.
 „ 1. 8, *read* if you will kindly employ.
 „ 1. 11, *for* Hahe*r* *read* Hahn.
- P. 249, l. 2, *for* may *read* might.
 „ 17, *after* dominions *insert* after the campaign.
 „ 19, *for* influence *read* great credit.
 „ 24, *for* this precaution *read* so easy a remedy; the words in the original are partially obliterated.
 „ 26, *for* wrote *read* am writing.
- P. 250, l. 35, *after* Highness *insert* to inform you of our passage of the lines.
- P. 251, l. 9, *read* very humble.
 „ 26, *read* I cannot but applaud its contents in every way.
 „ 29, *for* is the life *read* must be the soul.
 „ 34, *read* the whole of the cavalry.
- P. 252, l. 8, *for* about, or, *read* at, and.
 „ 10, *read* in very good time.
- P. 253, l. 11, *read* the extraordinary expence.
- P. 254, l. 8, *for* distinguishing *read* striking (*éclatante*).
 „ ll. 22, 23, *for* will *read* would.
 „ 1. 29, *for* time enough *read* in very good time.
- P. 255, l. 17, *for* Monsieur de Bulau *read* General Bulow.
 „ 21, *for* the general *read* that general.
- P. 256, l. 4, *read* all her allies.
 „ 8, *for* and *read* but.
 „ ll. 30, 31, *delete* the marks of quotation, and *for* to the crown *read* to this crown.
 „ 1. 35, *for* person *read* persons.
- P. 257, l. 26, *for* success *read* ready success.
 „ 30, extensive knowledge is a translation of *lumières*.
- P. 259, ll. 18, 19, *read* as I have just learnt by the hand of Mr. Robethon.
 „ 20, 21, *read* between the sentiments of her Majesty and of your Electoral Highness with regard to myself. She
 „ 1. 23, *for* consent to her choice *read* pleasure thereat (*contentement*, not *consentement*).
 „ ll. 26, 27, *read* that it will always be with . . . that I shall do my best.
- P. 260, l. 6, *for* instruction *read* information.
 „ 11, *for* with *read* what was.
 „ ll. 14, 15, *read* which your Royal Highness used formerly merrily to tell me.
 „ 1. 23, *for* grown *read* grownded (grownded).
 „ 24, *insert* and.
 „ 25, *for* to the crown *read* to a crown.
 „ 26, divest, Strafford wrote have divested.
 „ 27, *omit* nigh, and *for* hand *read* hands.
 „ 30, *omit* turned.
- P. 261, l. 18, *read* and which will always be infinitely precious to me.
 „ 1. 29, margin, *read* original.
- P. 262, l. 25, *read* give entire credit.

- P. 262, l. 26, *for* had *read* showed.
- P. 263, l. 3, *for* of this which I testify *read* I testified thereat.
- " 15, *for* command *read* demand.
- " 34, *omit* all.
- P. 264, l. 24, *after* Scotland *insert* Your zeal for the service of the Queen and for the good of your country could not fail to inspire you with such sentiments.
- P. 265, l. 20, *for* in the funds of *read* *simply* to.
- " 23, *for* become *read* *suit* (*convient*).
- P. 266, l. 5, *for* of this money *read* in cash.
- " 10, *for* names *read* name.
- " 12, *for* ours *read* yours.
- " 17, *for* Nov. 11 *read* Nov. 15.
- " 24, *read* to the extent you were at the trouble to do.
- " 27, *for* monument *read* ornament.
- " 28, *read* will presumably go (*apparemment*).
- " 35, the French expression is *à outrance*.
- P. 342, Swift's partisan expressions here quoted were never intended to be true.
- P. 344, ll. 6, 7, This was Thomas Grote, eldest son of old Otto Grote.¹³
- " l. 24, *for* fault *read* faults.
- " 31, *for* your *read* our.
- P. 345, l. 20, *for* were *read* swear.
- " 21, *for* meets *read* met.
- " 34, *for* knew *read* know.
- " ll. 35, 36, *read* he objected the words the Protestant succession had been better than the present establishment. The capitals are Macpherson's.
- P. 346, l. 1, *for* the same *read* the same thing.
- " 8, succession is Macpherson's necessary interpolation.
- " 9, *for* first *read* fixt.
- " 10, *read* chose the Bishope and me to have made a treaty prejudicial to it, being they knew.
- " 18, *read* your illustrious house and family.
- " 24, *read* long silence.
- P. 347, l. 5, The original is, *on seroit sans crime contre eux*.
- " 12, *omit* natured.
- " 16, *for* forgot *read* not forgotten.
- " 19, *omit* sort of a.
- P. 348, l. 9, *for* since *read* some.
- " 24, *omit* one very.
- P. 349, l. 12, *for* observed in them *read* so well observed.
- " 27, *read* writing-desk or little coffer. He is not wanting in being especially grateful.
- P. 350, l. 18, *for* aquesse *read*, as Stafford wrote, acquiesce.
- P. 351, l. 14, *for* made *read* have made.
- " 22, *for* to depend upon *read* to wait only upon.
- " margin, *for* Hannover Papers *read* Original.

¹³ *Vaterländisches Archiv des historischen Vereines für Niedersachsen*, ii. 1836), p. 271, note.

- P. 351, l. 30, for Feb. 29 read Sept. 30.
- P. 352, l. 14, differed. Strafford wrote deferd.
 „ 17, for seek read look.
 „ 28, read nor yet against, and had for has.
- P. 353, l. 2, se'night. Strafford wrote sevenit.
 „ 23, read espoused very much (mal à propos) another party.
- P. 354, l. 12, after seems to wish insert and that she may ever find therein her safety and her advantage.
 „ 25, Macpherson begins in the middle of a sentence, which ends with a full stop at Jacobites in l. 26.
- P. 355, l. 10, after Highness insert be.
 „ ll. 23, 25, put a comma after present, and a full stop after Sinzen-dorff's. There is no need for Macpherson's note.
 „ This undated letter from Oxford belongs, I suggest, to Jan. 1714.¹⁴ The transcript in Stowe MSS. 242 has been marked 3 June 1714, and the original is placed accordingly at 227, f. 85.
- P. 356, l. 6, omit in.
- Pp. 357-8, Delete the marginal notes to these letters to the queen. They are all holograph or autograph, and not drafts by Robethon.
- P. 357, l. 27, for Hanse read Hann, i.e. Hannover.
- P. 358, l. 20, for a minister in whom I place confidence read a confidential minister.
 „ 33, for Garlow read Gartow. But Macpherson's translation of this important letter is so full of inaccuracies and omissions as to be useless.
- P. 360, Macpherson's extracts from Strafford's letter comprise the first few lines and the end.
 „ l. 21, for differ read defer.
- P. 361, l. 11, for the yacht read your yacht.
 „ ll. 23, 24, bolder dash (balderdash) is a translation of *galimathias*.
 „ l. 25, for in any respect read for evil or good.
- P. 362, l. 12, for I intreat read I am requesting.
 „ 16, read a great many of that noble character.
 „ ll. 21, 22, for It is principally necessary to see first read We must before all see.
- P. 363, l. 12, omit the dash; there is no break.
 „ 14, diversion is for 'gayeté de cœur.'
- P. 462, l. 6, for April read March, and after succeeded read after some months.
 „ 8, for Galke read Gaetke, and so throughout.
 „ 9, L'Hermitage was the Dutch minister resident in London.
 „ 13, for Sissen read Sipen.
 „ 15, for Klingraff read Klinggraeff, and so throughout.
 „ 22, Some were deciphered by Schrader, some by other secretaries.
- P. 463, par. 2, This is misleading. There are no despatches from Grote. The two series from Schütz (Sept. 1713 to May 1714) and

¹⁴ Thomas Harley reached the Hague on his second journey to Hanover, 27 Feb. N.S. 1714. Letters which he carried from the queen (Klopp, xiv. 697) and from Ormonde (Stowe MSS. 223, f. 9) are dated respectively Jan. 9 and 5 O.S.

- from Bothmer (December 1713 to September 1714) are very complete. Those from the others are occasional.
- P. 464, l. 18, The unknown hand seems to be Gaetke's.
- P. 465, l. 5, *read* it is a great point gained for our succession.
- „ 10, for a Barrier Treaty *read* the Treaty for the guarantee of our succession.
- „ 15, for of them *read* of the whole.
- „ 25, *delete* the quotation mark; the first part of this letter is an abstract. The translation begins l. 33.
- P. 466, l. 25, for treaty of peace *read* Barrier Treaty.
- „ 26, he always paid great attention; the original is, *qui s'estant toujours tres bien menagé*.
- „ 29, for our *read* your.
- P. 467, l. 2, for very anxious about *read* curious as to.
- „ 3, *add* I see by the manner in which Lord Bolingbroke spoke to you, that your Excellency will not want opportunities to insist upon (*faire valoir*) our notes on the treaty of guarantee of our succession.
- „ 20, a passage is here omitted, so insert a dash.
- „ 22, after your share of it *insert* and I also.
- „ 23, fill the blank with Mr. d'Eltz.¹⁵
- „ 32, *add* This is what will ruin everything.
- Pp. 468-9, The fragment of this important despatch which Macpherson gives is very carelessly translated, and the original must be consulted. The chief mistake is Queen for Pretender in p. 468, l. 7.
- P. 470, l. 2, *read* must only make.
- „ 11, for it is in this case clear *read* it is only in this case.
- „ 23, *read* even in case.
- „ 32, This short extract is very loosely translated.
- P. 471, l. 19, *begin* At the Council on Sunday the Elector.
- „ 20, after Fitz Walter *insert* Mr. Goertz had the assignment drawn this morning, so that this sum will be remitted to you at once.
- „ 25, for him *read* the latter.
- „ 30, *omit* probably, 60 stands in the cipher for Harley.
- P. 472, l. 15, for done nothing *read* kept our hands in our pockets.
- „ 25, *add* We cannot pay too much attention to the state of the Queen.
- P. 473, l. 9, *read* even from the party.
- „ 21, *read* a safe foundation.
- „ 23, for Jacobite lords *read* Jacobites.
- P. 475, l. 8, The words, the Pope's nuntio at Utrecht, are put in by Macpherson.
- „ ll. 16-19, *read* will say, perhaps, that we want to vex him. But we must by no means stop in the prosecution of this affair, or in that of removing the Pretender, on that account.

¹⁵ Baron Eltz or Elst was a member of the elector's council. He had been tutor to the electoral prince, had attended him when campaigning in the Netherlands, and had accompanied him on his private expedition to view his future bride at Anspach.

- P. 475, l. 31, *for* then, wherever it will be, *read simply* when.
- P. 476, l. 13, *for* changed *read* exchanged.
- P. 477, l. 9, *add* I await his answer.
- „ 14, *for* form of *read* forms *for*.
- Pp. 477-8, This abstract is very inaccurate, and omits important parts of the original, which must be consulted.
- P. 479, l. 4, *for* One of the magistrates *read* the master of the cathedral school (*l'escolâtre*).
- „ ll. 10, 11, *read* and who was called Remiremont (*par son nomme de guerre*).
- „ l. 12, *for* Sapporin *read* Joppain (?).
- P. 480, ll. 6, 7, *read* communicate the news to M. de Grote. There are also the following two papers, in Schrader's hand, marked on the top.
- „ 12, Sir James Abercromby, in the original *le Chevalier Abercrombry*.
- „ 19, *for* part *read* port.
- „ 29, *omit* frequent.
- P. 481, l. 15, Seldon; in the original Sheldon.
- „ 32, April 6 is old style.
- P. 483, l. 3, The correct date is April 21 O.S.; Macpherson has evidently altered intentionally, though mistakenly.
- „ 22, *read* I have received all these papers from Mr. de Bothmer, and have made.
- „ 26, *read* they shall be written out more clearly (*plus au net*).
- P. 484, l. 16, 'in Robethon's hand' is a note by Macpherson referring to the words 'and that during the Queen's life.'
- P. 485, l. 17, only the words 'a new one or new ones' should be in italics.
- P. 488, l. 32, April 14 is old style. The piece is only an abstract, very loose in the latter part.
- P. 492, l. 22, *after* paquet boat *insert* (in which there is no risk).
- P. 493, l. 24, *read* Friethinkers, on the subject of a new religion.
- „ 29, *for* not different from *read* in no way opposed to.
- P. 494, l. 7, *delete* the marks of quotation. Down to 'Elector's family' is an abstract.
- P. 495, l. 29, *for* deviate an inch from *read* quit his grip of (*ne demord pas de*).
- „ 35, *for* whom he does not favour *read* of whom he will have nothing (*duquel il ne veut point*).
- P. 496, ll. 4-12, 21 foll., Insufficient abstracts.
- P. 497, l. 9, *for* July 4 *read* July 11. This letter, again, is but abstracted, the first part closely, the last paragraph (p. 498) loosely.
- P. 498, l. 3, *after* secretly *insert* and if noise were made about his mission.
- P. 499, l. 2, the copy is not in Schrader's hand, nor the date in Bothmer's.
- „ 6, *after* first of August *insert* N.S.
- „ 9, *omit* 'of the family,' inserted as explanatory by Macpherson. The term *les amis* is habitually used in these despatches to denote the whig leaders.
- „ 14, *for* before the Queen's death *read* before that time.
- „ 20, *read* she lives, and the administration.

- P. 502, l. 1, This was George Helwig Sinold von Schütz, a nephew of Bernstorff, and son of the former envoy, Louis Justus S. von S., who had died in 1710.
- „ ll. 8, 9, L'Hermitage, as has been said before, was the Dutch minister resident.
- „ l. 20, *read* as more fit for that service than any one else.
- „ ll. 24, 25, *read* the more so as he is not a lord whose powers of reason enable him to resist.
- „ l. 31, *read* as much from personal hatred, as to satisfy.
- P. 503, l. 8, This was the Hamburg merchant and contractor, Francis Stratford, Swift's old schoolfellow.¹⁶
- „ 13, *for* enraged *read* in despair.
- „ 15, *for* Schrader's *read* a secretary's; and similarly pp. 514, l. 2, 564, l. 1, 587, l. 25, 592, l. 11, 594, l. 15, 614, l. 25, 619, l. 20.
- „ 21, *read* it is judged very difficult, not to say impossible.
- „ ll. 30, 31, *read* shall see *and* shall pretend.
- „ 33 foll., This is not true. Schütz often sent by the same post an ordinary despatch and a secret one in cipher. The former are in his own hand, not doctored copies by Robethon of the latter. Robethon did nothing more than decipher.
- P. 504, l. 24, *for* unreasonable *read* extreme (*outrés*).
- P. 505, l. 6, Christian Siegfried von Plessen was, after his displacement from office in Denmark in 1702, confidentially employed by Prince George, and consequently was very much in the queen's confidence.
- „ 24, *for* me *read* any one.
- „ ll. 25, 26, *for* me *read* him.
- „ l. 27, 'such a farce' is in the original *un tel manège*.
- P. 506, l. 25, *for* go *read* write.
- „ 37, *for* not *read* only.
- P. 508, margin, This is no 'translation from the High Dutch;' it is from the last paragraph of the French letter to Robethon.
- „ 21, *for* activity and zeal *read* *lit.* body and soul.
- „ 25, guineas *is for* 'pièces.'
- P. 510, ll. 8-10, abstracted. *Read* He thinks on the contrary that the Commerce Bill will be rejected, although he is persuaded that it will not be the same that was presented to Parliament last session, but that one less bad will be produced, the nation in general being all opposed to the former one.
- „ l. 12, *for* minister *read* ministry.
- „ ll. 24-28, Much garbled.
- P. 511, l. 30, *read* that he had always been outspoken with the Queen (*toujours parlé net*).
- P. 512, l. 16, the original has 40,000 *pièces*.
- P. 514, ll. 2, 3, *delete* who always . . . Bothmar.
- „ l. 7, *for* is here *read* is said to be here (*il doit avoir ici*).
- „ 21, *for* Nov. 28 *read* Dec. 5.

¹⁶ Cp. *Journal to Stella*, September and November 1710, September 1711, January and March 1712, February 1713. Kreyenberg had involved in the bankruptcy his own fortune, as well as moneys of the electress and others.

- P. 514, l. 25, *for* appeared *read* is said to have appeared.
 ,, ll. 32, 33, here again *delete* for it is . . . letters.
 ,, l. 35, *for* Sandrick *read* Soudrick.
- P. 516, l. 16, *read* Ld. T—— library keeper corrected. Ld. T—— *stands* *for* Lord Treasurer's.
- P. 517, ll. 14, 34. Both these dates are old style.
 ,, l. 30, *for* Robethon *read* Bothmer.
 ,, ll. 31, 32, *read* Deciphered by a secretary of Bothmer.
- P. 518, ll. 4, 5, *read* the protestant succession, all the Episcopalians being Jacobites without exception, great care must be taken. The italics are Macpherson's.
 ,, l. 7, *read* those of the Anglican church in England.
 ,, 9, *for* contrive *read* work at.
 ,, 11, *after* sterling *insert* per annum, and *read* giving two, three or even four hundred pounds.
 ,, 19, December 11th is old style ; and so again p. 519, l. 8.
- P. 519, ll. 4, 5, *read* Schütz to Bothmer, deciphered by a secretary.
- P. 520, l. 9, *after* likewise *insert* after the close of the session.
 ,, ll. 10, 11, *read* If we would do something to secure to ourselves the English succession, it is time, after this we cannot expect.
 ,, 17–30, This paragraph is from a postscript to Bothmer's letter of the 19th, mentioned in l. 32.
 ,, 17, *for* You recollect *read* He reminds you.
- P. 536, ll. 15–17, This is untrue. Schütz's demand of the writ in April 1714 followed from his misinterpretation of an ambiguous sentence in a letter of the Electress Sophia.¹⁷
- P. 540, A short and insufficient abstract of Ridpath's letter.
- P. 541, l. 12, *for* two *read* one or two. Peters is of course Petre.
- P. 542, l. 2, *omit* deciphered by Robethon.
- P. 544, l. 29, *for* the whole *read* much.
 ,, 33, *after* affairs *insert* he had proposed to her that, as a stronger proof.
 ,, ll. 33, 34, *for* his *read* her.
- P. 545, l. 1, *for* she was willing to *read* she should cause to be prepared (*elle voulust faire faire*).
 ,, 20, *read* yesterday or the day before.
- P. 546, ll. 1, 2, *read* that the Pretender has really adopted the Anglican religion (that is the term they use), and even received the communion on Christmas Day.
 ,, l. 7, *delete* O.S., and so again p. 547, l. 7.
 ,, 18, *add* and will act strongly against us if the Prince does not come.
- P. 547, l. 11, *for* a commission *read* commissions.
 ,, 25, *omit* for ever.
- P. 548, l. 2, *read* in the hand of a secretary of Bothmer.
 ,, ll. 4–11, This is an abstract, but a close one.
- P. 551, l. 6, *read* would put our succession on a perfectly clear footing, so that there should be nothing more to fear about it.

¹⁷ The affair is fully explained by Felix Salomon in his excellent work, *Geschichte des letzten Ministeriums Königin Annas von England*.

- P. 551, l. 27, *for saw read is said to have seen.*
- P. 554, l. 16, *for that he would take care read of the care he would take.*
- P. 555, l. 26, *for undoubtedly read probably.*
- P. 556, ll. 25, 26, *read one of the family, or by some other measure which will give them courage.*
- „ l. 28, *for without enfringing read without an attempt upon.*
- P. 557, l. 13, *Martines had not yet received credentials from Hesse-Cassel. He had long been a secret agent at Paris of the courts of Berlin and Hanover.*
- P. 558, l. 29, *for fate read sate, i.e. seat.*
- „ 30, *place in the original is ply.*
- P. 559, l. 34, *for write read writt.*
- P. 561, l. 9, *Lieutenant colonel George Douglas is Robethon's correction for Captain Moody, as directed in the letter. For Stuart read Stewart in all four cases.*
- „ 34, p. 562, l. 1, *This second paper is not in Schrader's hand, nor is there anything to show that it was addressed to Bothmer. It is an ordinary news-letter.*
- P. 562, l. 5, *opened is for destillez.*
- P. 563, ll. 19, 20, *read As however your friends are unwilling to perish, without employing.*
- „ l. 28, *read and if, after that, you neglect.*
- „ ll. 33-35, *A short abstract.*
- P. 564, *Kreyenberg's letter is loosely translated, and there are a number of mistakes, which render it advisable to consult the original.*
- P. 568, l. 31, *suppose ; Strafford wrote impose.*
- P. 571, l. 30, *for assign read resign.*
- „ 33, to p. 572, l. 4, *is an abstract.*
- „ 34, *for on his side read in their favour (de leur côté).*
- P. 572, l. 30, *for who are for us read who say they are for us.*
- P. 573, l. 9, *This letter is marked by Robethon Feb. 23, but it was not sent, as is explained in a postscript, till March 30.*
- „ 35, *read usually had them so.*
- P. 574, l. 18, *for parliament read particular.*
- P. 575, l. 3, *for three read four.*
- P. 576, l. 15, *for there is any read that one would be made.*
- „ ll. 27, 28, *read before one after another will file off.*
- „ l. 32, *for Oxford read Orford.*
- P. 577, l. 7, *read to Bothmer, in a letter of March 20.*
- „ 16, *for March 21 read March 20.*
- „ 21, *change the comma from question to majority.*
- P. 578, l. 13, *for every one read so many people.*
- P. 579, l. 15, *after ministers insert and to our friends.*
- P. 580, l. 8, *for the three articles read three of the articles.*
- „ ll. 9, 10, *for in particular, this billet, read this separate note.*
- „ l. 13, *read lead him into an endless expense, beyond his resources.*
- „ ll. 30, 31, *The undated letter must be the earlier one, since there is a note (Stowe MSS.226, f. 210) directing its tenor, which Robethon has marked June 6.*
- P. 581, l. 1, *for Dalay read D'Alais.*

- P. 581, l. 5, *for* even political *read* a good policy.
 ,, 6, *add* who is the Universal Antichristian.
 ,, 7, *for* sequel *read* other letter (*see above*).
 ,, l. 21, *for* 21st *read* 31st.
- P. 583, l. 18, See note to p. 557, l. 13.
- P. 584, l. 19, *for* the book of hereditary right *read* the other book.
 ,, 20, *will is* 'testament,' *not* 'volonté.'
 ,, 33, *reduced is for* 'reformez.'
 ,, 36, *for* Highlands *read* Highlanders.
- P. 585, l. 5, *begin* I was nearly having very important news.
 ,, 6, *for* a staff *read* the staff.
 ,, ll. 17, 18, an abstract.
- P. 589, bottom, This abstract is very insufficient.
- P. 591, l. 5, retained, *i.e.* kept back.
 ,, 20, *delete* Translation. The copy is in Schrader's hand.
 ,, 36, *for* information *read* intimation.
- P. 594, l. 13, *for* Robethon *read* Bothmer.
 ,, 35, *after* better than I *insert* that is all I could draw from him.
- P. 595, l. 5, *for* it is plain *read* they believe.
- P. 596, ll. 13, 14, *read* The original was forwarded by Bothmer on May 3, and with it probably the following note, which is in Schrader's hand.
 ,, l. 17, *read* the same thing, as will reach you from elsewhere.
- P. 598, l. 33, *after* yesterday *insert* for the second time.
- P. 599, l. 9, *for* vexed *read* in despair.
 ,, 23, This time Schrader was the decipherer.
 ,, 26, *for* by the advice *read* about the opinion.
 ,, 30, *for* too *read* very.
- P. 601, l. 5, *for* holiday *read*, as Strafford wrote, Holy Day.
- P. 603, l. 32, *read* wished to establish the Pretender in this country.
 ,, 35, The secret address, as appears from a study of the cipher, was L'Hermitage, whose number therein is 967.
- P. 604, l. 1, *for* Lord Halifax of everything *read* L'Hermitage in good time, and Kreyenberg will do for his part what he finds to be proper. The mistake in the name is due to hasty deciphering by Robethon.
 ,, 33, *add* There is then no time to lose, for the pretext furnished him by the writ, by which the queen invites him to take his seat in parliament, will not have so much weight when parliament has risen.
- P. 606, l. 4, *read* Had you fallen into this snare, it would have rendered.
 ,, 33, *lit.* that Lord Paget should find the Prince gone.
- P. 607, l. 30, The proper date is May 16.
 ,, 31, *for* 8th *read* 9th.
 ,, 35, *for* which is *read* which, you say, is.
- P. 609, l. 9, *for* begin *read* set out (*se mettra bientôt en chemin*).
 ,, 14, *for* religion *read* succession.
- P. 610, l. 8, May 7 is old style.
 ,, 9, *for* so *read* too.
- P. 611, l. 22, *after* last post *insert* more fully.

- P. 611, l. 29, *read* one which I have put in cipher. The mistake is again in Robethon's deciphering.
- P. 612, l. 30, This news-letter seems to be now missing from the papers.
- P. 613, l. 20, *for* enraged *read* desperate.
- P. 615, l. 9, *for* devoted *read* sold.
- „ 15, *for* insinuated *read* insinuate.
- P. 616, l. 7, *for* done so *read* acquitted myself of this duty.
- „ 36, *for* clearly *read* nearly.
- P. 617, l. 16, *for* Electoral Prince *read* Duke of Cambridge.
- P. 620, l. 18, *for* commanded *read* set on foot.
- „ 20, *after* answered *insert* plainly.
- P. 622, l. 2, *for* came back to this place yesterday *read* will come back here to-morrow.
- „ ll. 6, 7, *delete*.
- „ l. 15, *after* Saturday last *add* which was the 2nd of the month.
- P. 623, l. 1, The letter is marked 536 87, which signifies 'pour Robethon.'
- „ 26, *for* the spirits of their party *read* their spirits.
- P. 624, l. 14, *read* the contents of which gave me as much surprise as pain.
- P. 626, l. 22, *read* I shall reply in an obliging manner.
- P. 627, l. 30, June 19 is old style, and so is June 22 on p. 628, l. 7.
- P. 628, l. 29, Bromley wrote 'sitting.'
- P. 629, note, There is no reason to suppose that the letter of Duvendoorde translated on p. 616 is the one here referred to. He wrote a series of letters to Oxford.
- P. 630, l. 7, *omit* very.
- „ 12, The cipher *has* declare for the former, whose disgrace. 'Oxford's' is a correction by Robethon, and is no doubt right.
- P. 632, l. 13, *for* seems to have acted as Resident *read* was minister resident. The leaving of the elector's letter with him is not mentioned by Bothmer.
- P. 636, l. 29, *for* very *read* a.
- P. 637 [misprinted 638], ll. 14, 15, *read* To send him away speedily with a medal would be much the best. Macpherson made his hash by *reading* *servit* *for* *seroit*.
- „ l. 18, *for* resign *read* leave.
- „ 34, *read* of the letter from the person unknown.
- P. 638, l. 11, *for* I write *read* I think.
- „ 33, July 27 is old style.
- P. 639, l. 32, *for* Robethon *read* Bernstorff.
- P. 640, l. 7, he *signifies* Bothmer.
- „ 14, *for* Steel *read* Hill, and in l. 15, *for* Dr. Hill *read* him.
- „ 19, *read* who knows no more of the business than I do.
- „ 20, *for* yesterday *read* the day before yesterday.
- „ 22, *for* He is not pleased *read* He seemed to me a little out of countenance (*decontenance*).
- P. 641, ll. 25-28, This passage is not in this letter.
- P. 642, l. 3, *for* own *read* eldest.
- „ 5, *for* Santyan *read* Stanyan.
- „ 14, *fill the blank with* Ossulston.

- P. 642, l. 23, handsome *is for* 'fort polie.'
- P. 643, This 'present state' of the peerage must be referred to the end of 1710; *cp.* Macpherson's note. The original is in Stowe MSS. 224, f. 331. Macpherson frequently changes the orthography. *For* Aselstein *read* Oselstein, *i.e.* Ossulston. Derwentwater *is* in the original Devonwater. *For* Longdale *read* Langdale.
- P. 644, l. 10, D'Herville *is* a mistake in the original, which is a copy, *for* D'Iberville.
- „ 25, and p. 645, l. 2, *delete* 16 and.
- P. 645, l. 19, *for* dispute to be for us *read* strive to be in advance of us (*nous disputent le pas*).
- P. 646, Strafford's letter is among the Robethon papers; correct therefore in the margin.
- „ 19, *for* August 10th *read* August 20th.
- „ 26, that minister *means* Robethon.
- P. 647, l. 25, August 24th is old style, and so are August 27th on pp. 648 649, August 31 and Sept. 3d on p. 650, and the dates on pp. 652-3.
- P. 648, l. 20, *for* framing *read* forming.
- P. 649, l. 4, *for* lady Bristol *read* Mme. Britton.¹⁸
- „ 13, *for* directly *read* indirectly.
- P. 650, l. 35, *for* Paris *read* Fontainebleau.

¹⁸ Perhaps the wife of Brigadier-General Breton or Britton, Bolingbroke's friend, envoy at Berlin 1712-14.

Reviews of Books

Aetolia: its Geography, Topography, and Antiquities. By W. J. WOODHOUSE, M.A., F.R.G.S. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1897.)

By this work Mr. Woodhouse takes his place as one of a triumvirate of Aetolian topographers, the other two names being Leake and Bazin. There can be no doubt that his book, admirable alike in plan and execution, and accompanied by good maps and by illustrations showing the masonry of the chief fortresses, will permanently remain as the chief book on Aetolia. His treatment of the numerous problems which Aetolian topography presents (owing to the scantiness of the literary material) is, whether he solves them or not, as exhaustive as his exploration of the country seems to have been.

The truth contained in the statement, which Mr. Woodhouse quotes from Professor Ramsay, that 'topography is the foundation of history,' might have gained by being expressed in a less extreme shape. It will be readily admitted that to the comprehension of some episodes in history a knowledge of the scene is indispensable. Alexander's work in Central Asia will not be fully understood until the sites of his foundations have been explored and identified. So much of truth as the dictum contains is strikingly illustrated by Mr. Woodhouse's investigations. For example, he has set the history of the campaigns of Philip V on a new basis; he has cleared up, so far as it can be cleared up, the expedition of Demosthenes; and he has thrown a flood of light on the ancient history of Aetolia and the growth of the Aetolian league. In regard to his topographical discoveries, this is not the place to speak in detail, and perhaps one who has seen no more of Aetolia than her mountains from the opposite coast ought not to speak at all. But it may at least be said not only that Mr. Woodhouse has caught Professor Ramsay's topographical method—he acknowledges his debt in the preface—but that he possesses, what cannot be caught from any master, the faculty of seeing where a problem lies, and of asking the prudent question. And his acuteness in suggesting solutions is not more worthy of recognition than his reserve when he decides that the data are insufficient. I may refer to the problem about Prosehion, which he neatly enunciates and neatly answers (p. 140); to his exposition of the puzzle about Old Pleuron and Olenus, and his ingenious solution (although the motive of the transference of the name after B.C. 235 is not fully explained); to his examination of the lagoon question, which results in the conclusion that we have not material for determining the positions of lakes Uria and Kynia. In his willingness to leave things unsettled, Mr. Woodhouse has an advantage over Leake, who was

occasionally betrayed into special pleading for the identification of a site, and even, one is afraid, once or twice into misrepresenting facts. Mr. Woodhouse gives us an instance of this tendency in the attempt to identify Ghumaii with Aegition, and conclusively explodes this identification. His own view that Aegition is the fortress of Veluchovos on the right bank of the Mornos seems extremely plausible, though, as he admits, it is not absolutely certain. Mr. Woodhouse has extended his researches into the western region of Ozolian Locris, south of the territory of the Apodotoi, and has identified—convincingly I think—the sites of Oeneon (at Klima) and of Anticyra, and has proved Bekker's conjecture that Eupalion is Sulés. He has also shown that the temple of the Nemean Zeus mentioned in Thucydides iii. 95 belonged to Eupalion, and not to Oeneon.

In the account of the march of Demosthenes from Eupalion there is a slight difficulty. Mr. Woodhouse says (p. 353): 'Let us now follow Demosthenes into Apodotia. There is only one natural route leading from the coast into the interior; that is the narrow plain which runs *eastwards* from Sulés. . . . Potidania, the first place to fall before the invaders, must have been the nearest of all the Aetolian towns to Eupalion (Sulés).' But on the map (facing p. 53) Potidania, which Mr. Woodhouse places at Omer Effendi, appears *north-west* of Eupalion. The change of Δερείς into Ἀγραις in Diodorus xix. 67 (see p. 83) may be questioned; for *Derieis* may have been the name of one of the Theslian subdivisions (cp. p. 87). Perhaps it ought to have been stated (p. 189), for the benefit of those who are not familiar with the history of Greece in the fourteenth century, that Nicephorus II was not an emperor, but was despot of Epirus.

J. B. BURY.

Augustus und seine Zeit. Von V. GARDTHAUSEN. I. II. (Leipzig: Teubner. 1891, 1896.)

NOT many persons since Suetonius have attempted to write biographies of Augustus. In English, so far as I know, there exists no biography at all, nor even a decent edition of Suetonius; for I am afraid that I cannot regard Mr. Shuckburgh's volume as satisfactory. Yet the man plainly deserves attention. A mere lonely boy when we first meet him—*adulescens vel potius puer*, wrote foolish, scornful Cicero—he mounted before he was thirty-five to the dominion of the civilised world, and he kept his place for forty years till his death in extreme old age. He found chaos and anarchy supreme in nearly every department of the Roman state, and out of that chaos and anarchy he built the Roman empire. He enlarged its borders and organised its provinces. He gave it a constitution which lasted unchanged for three centuries, and which did not finally disappear from the world till Francis II resigned an outworn title some ninety years ago. But he was a cold-blooded, cool-headed man who cared for the reality but not for appearances, and preferred to show originality more by adapting old material than by new creations. Even to his contemporaries he was, in consequence, something impersonal. Virgil tells his praise, but it is the praise of his deeds, not of himself, and the provincials, who worshipped *Augustus et Roma*, combined him with an abstract goddess, and adored an abstract figure rather than a

living man. Rich, powerful, self-expressing individuality marked Julius but not Augustus, and the greatest living historian has labelled him, significantly if unkindly, as one who was not great but fitly played a great man's part. This character has affected his reputation. The cold, adroit, nonostentatious man who never tried impossibilities, has not attracted biographers, and historians have occasionally wondered whether such a one really founded the empire, whether (as recent Germans urge) the credit should not go rightly to Agrippa or to Mæcenas. Another reason has perhaps contributed to the absence of biographies of Augustus. Our authorities for the history of the Roman empire are throughout more or less unsatisfactory: they are certainly deficient for the lifetime of Augustus. They show us more or less clearly the achievements of Augustus: they do not show the process, the order, the development of his forty years' reign. Yet the period is strikingly important, and the student needs a trustworthy guide.

Such a guide the work named at the head of this notice claims to be. So far as it has at present appeared it consists of two octavo volumes of narrative and two of notes on the narrative; when concluded, I suppose it will comprise some fifteen hundred pages of the former and some nine hundred pages of the latter. The narrative is pleasant and readable, but popular in its aims and somewhat more superficial than one might wish. On the other hand the notes contain a very valuable collection of quotations and references, and are well worth the attention of historians. Some sections of the work are better done than others. That on the army is perhaps among the less satisfactory, both in text and notes. The comparison instituted between the Roman and English armies is, as stated by Professor Gardthausen, hardly complete or thorough, and some interesting points are missed—for instance, the recruiting systems in east and in west, which illustrate markedly the faculty of adaptiveness in Augustus. Indeed I think Professor Gardthausen hardly recognises sufficiently this side of his hero's character. On the other hand he writes soberly and sensibly about the supposed alteration in his character. He might, indeed, have emphasised his view of this, for it is surely true that the ruthlessness which marked Octavian did not leave him when he became Augustus, but slumbered because it was not needed or aroused. The emperor must have been very like Macaulay's picture of the medieval Italian, indifferent to human lives and to ordinary scruples when they stood in his way, but amiable and refined and interested in art and literature when no danger threatened.

F. HAVERFIELD.

Die geschichtliche Litteratur über die römische Kaiserzeit bis Theodosius I und ihre Quellen. Von Dr. HERMANN PETER. 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner. 1897.)

Dr. HERMANN PETER of Meissen, the son of the editor of the 'Fragmenta Historicorum Romanorum,' has produced an important and valuable book on a subject which lies rather outside the scope of the ordinary histories of literature. The ancient authorities, Dr. Peter remarks in his preface, have generally been regarded from too narrow a point of view. His object, he goes on to say, has been to describe the conditions, intellectual, literary, and political, which controlled historical composition under the empire; and then to estimate the results for history from the point of

view thus gained. This theme is worked out with considerable elaboration, and the treatment includes detailed accounts and appreciations of the individual writers. The book thus contains an immense amount of criticism and information of the most varied kind, and on the whole it is a very readable and instructive work.

We cannot do better than give a general idea of its contents. The first book deals with the attitude of the educated Roman public to the historical past, and the opening chapter is an account of the place taken by history in education. The Romans never thought of history as an independent science: it was a department of rhetoric. Education being mainly concerned with rhetoric, history was regarded primarily as a source of examples for use in the rhetorical theme. Even the examples are not drawn freely or originally: a conventional series comes to be established, which is rarely departed from. Political reasons coincided with this restrictive tendency. Juvenal stands almost alone in the use he makes of historical examples taken from imperial times. The result of all this was a sense of unreality.

The next subject is the historical interest of the public under the empire, a public now becoming increasingly cosmopolitan, and therefore less in touch with the old Roman tradition about the past, and brought up on the barren reminiscences of history which did duty in the schools of rhetoric. Its interest was consequently only in external events, descriptions of battles and the like. Among the emperors only Augustus can be said to have had any marked interest in historical writing, and that mainly from political reasons. He was willing to have his own work regarded as the continuation and consummation of the great days of the republic. A review of the emperors leads to the conclusion that while literature was so dependent on them, they were interested in any form of it rather than history.

But it must not be thought that there had not been a time when a desire to get at the truth about facts existed. The school of the great antiquaries founded by Cato reached its zenith with Varro, and though it continued to exist under the empire it was no longer in the hands of men who took part in public life, but of freedmen (*e.g.* Hyginus). Asconius, to whom the writer dedicates a warm eulogy, was indeed a worthy follower of the old school and on original lines, but he found no imitators, and gradually real research was abandoned by the antiquaries for comparatively frivolous investigations. The encyclopædia became the typical form of learned writing. Plinius and Suetonius are the last of the great collectors of facts. Though Suetonius may be called the Varro of his time, a third Varro may be sought in vain. Henceforward the taste for the curious and the marvellous divided with rhetoric the interest of intellectual society.

Having thus considered the influences by which the historian was surrounded, Dr. Peter gives an account of the contemporary materials at his disposal—pamphlets, memoirs, ‘proceedings,’ documents whether contained in inscriptions or in archives, and ‘monuments’ generally.

We now come to the kernel of the book; the distinction drawn between the imperial and the senatorial tradition in the history of the empire, and the ultimate supremacy of the latter.

There was plenty of activity on the imperial or court side to mould the tradition in its own sense. The conditions and tendencies of the writers are described—the spirit of servility, glorification of the reigning emperor, depreciation of his predecessors, &c. The character of the productions of the imperial chancery is then considered, together with communications by the emperor in public. Next the writers who may be classed as court historians are reviewed: Velleius, Josephus, Eusebius, &c. Finally the question of the disappearance of the bulk of the court literature in our tradition is dealt with, and the explanation is to be found in the absence of continuity between the emperors. Favourable accounts of predecessors were intentionally destroyed or obscured in order that the reigning emperor might be extolled, although his memory in its turn was destined to suffer a similar fate. The great exception is Augustus, who took special care to ensure the permanence of his own account of himself in the document known as the Ancyran Monument, the purpose and character of which are here fully discussed and its influence traced in subsequent writers. The only other emperor who made considerable, and to a great extent successful, efforts to ensure a favourable judgment for himself in history, was Julian. As Augustus had to secure himself against republican misrepresentation, so Julian had to contend with Christian. The results may be seen in Ammianus, Libanius, and Zosimus.

History under the influence of the senate was mainly determined by the relations of that body with particular emperors. It cannot be said that there was never any conflict of principle between emperor and senate. The senate was rather concerned with an outward show of respect, and with protection for its own members. But it had many points of friction with the emperors, and it was dominated by various illusions. In any case it is mainly through writers who represent the senate's point of view that the history of the empire has reached us, a result which is ascribed by Dr. Peter partly to the command of a wider circle of readers than the court historians; partly to the fact that, while there was indifference or even hostility to the preservation of the works of the latter, the writers who represented the senatorial tradition were sedulously cultivated and preserved, as is illustrated by the care bestowed on their texts by the learned members of the Roman senate in the fourth and fifth centuries. A detailed criticism of the 'senatorial' writers follows—Tacitus, whose ideal is *virtus*, exemplified in the members of an aristocracy; Suetonius, who, in spite of his personal relations with the court, is dominated by the illusions of the senatorial circle, and produces a picture which fundamentally agrees with that of Tacitus; Plutarch, Juvenal, Dio Cassius, Herodian, Marius Maximus. This part of the book, treated at considerable length, is full of valuable suggestion.

With the fourth century begins a new series of historians who write under somewhat different conditions. They have to face the new problems of religion and of the barbarians within the empire. But Ammianus, so far as we can tell, in his account of the earlier emperors, followed the senatorial tradition; and the same is true of the authors of the *Breviaria*, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, &c. Their account of the first two dynasties is drawn either from Suetonius or from other senatorial

sources, and that of the emperors from Nerva to Diocletian from sources which are either identical with or in agreement with those of the 'Historia Augusta,' *i.e.* they are 'senatorial' in character. Finally the later Greek imperial historians, Dexippus, Zosimus, &c., are reviewed.

In the last book there is a general estimate of the historians of the empire; and when we consider the absence of anything like a science of history in the ancient world, the classification of historical writing as mere literature (which implies its relegation to the sphere of art), the imperfect development of a sense of truth, at least among the Greeks, the domination of rhetoric, the lack of any width of horizon which resulted in 'all Roman history of the empire being more or less "Historia Augusta,"' the conclusions drawn cannot be favourable. The last chapters are devoted to the criticism and use of sources by the historians, and to the general and particular effects of the rhetorical tendency. Finally the methods of the authors of the fourth-century epitomes are explained.

The sketch of the contents of the book will show how wide is its range, and how various are the subjects of which it treats. In this perhaps is its chief weakness. Interesting and valuable as are the sections dealing with special subjects, one cannot help feeling that the unity of the whole suffers in consequence. Compression, in fact, would have brought the main theme into due prominence. As it is, there is a tendency for it to be obscured by the subsidiary matter. The extent and accuracy of Dr. Peter's erudition are remarkable, and apparently there are very few errors to detect. We may notice that in i. 166 'Mutina' is an obvious slip for 'Munda,' and (pp. 269, 270) it is pressing the argument too far to say that the incorporation of Trajan's sculptures in the arch of Constantine shows the absence of a sense of historical truth in the Romans. The reliefs surely are employed in a purely decorative way.

G. MCN. RUSHFORTH.

Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter. I. Band. 'Das italienische Königreich.'

VON LUDO MORITZ HARTMANN. (Leipzig: Georg H. Wigand. 1897.)

THIS book treats of the history of Italy from 476 to 565. The period covered by it is therefore less than a century, but such a century, so full of stirring events and bewildering changes that we can only admire the success of the author in compressing its history within the limits of a single volume of moderate dimensions. As might be expected from the author of the excellent monograph on the history of Byzantine administration in Italy,¹ the volume before us deals by preference with the juristic and administrative side of his subject. An introduction discusses with sufficient fulness the relations of landowners and *coloni* under the empire, the gradual transformation of the free and vigorous communities into tax-exhausted *curiae*, the position of the barbarian *foederati* in the army and the country, the official status of their leaders, Stilicho, Ricimer, Odovacar. He takes what might be called the legitimist view of Theodoric's *régime* in Italy, considering that as *magister militum et patricius* he held a certain delegated authority from the emperor, which, to use a phrase of current politics, 'regularised his posi-

¹ *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Verwaltung in Italien* (Leipzig, 1889).

tion' with reference to the Roman inhabitants, and that the kingly title which was given him by the acclamations of his Gothic followers did not in itself constitute an offence against the majesty of the Augustus. But of course, as the author would admit, this rôle of legality was worn rather thin before the end of Theodoric's rule, when he had for thirty-two years governed Italy as a virtually independent sovereign, and had been sometimes engaged in regular warlike operations against the successor of the sovereign from whom he received his mastership and patriciate. The history stops with the death of Justinian, on the threshold therefore of the argument of his previous work. It will be interesting to see how much ground he will be able to cover in his next volume, and especially how he will treat that much discussed question, the *Condizione de' Romani vinti dai Longobardi*, on which so many pages have been written by Savigny, Troya, Hegel, and others. It should be added that in the notes at the end of each chapter the student will find a useful digest of the chief authorities bearing on the period and a notice of the *Litteratur* connected therewith, but without that constant polemic against the conclusions of other scholars with which some German critics are apt to encumber their pages.

T. HODGKIN.

The English Black Monks of St. Benedict: a Sketch of their History from the Coming of St. Augustine to the Present Day. By the Rev. ETHELRED L. TAUNTON. 2 vols. (London: John C. Nimmo. 1897.)

FATHER TAUNTON treats his subject from the point of view of a Roman catholic priest who, though no regular himself, is yet in sympathy with the Benedictine rule. He wisely perceived that a useful book might be made out of the work known as Reyner's 'Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia' by reproducing its principal features in modern form, and by adding thereto an adequate account of the subsequent history of the English congregation abroad, and of the Benedictine foundations established of late in England. It was essential to the purpose of the book that the account of the work of the Benedictines before the Reformation should be disproportionately short, in order that space should be left for a detailed history of those post-Reformation events by means of which the continuous existence of the English branch of the order may be traced. The first 160 pages have to cover the Edgarian revival, Lanfranc's Concordia, the conciliar and papal regulations for the reform of the Benedictine constitution, a sketch of the life of an imaginary Benedictine in an imaginary monastery, and a chapter on women under the rule. In an appendix, an abstract of the Consuetudinary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, is given, drawn from a copy made by Mr. Edmund Bishop. The first volume concludes with a good life of Fecknam, exemplifying the fate of an abbot after the dissolution, and with a slight sketch of the archpriest controversy, 'a bitter experience,' which the author at first felt inclined to pass by. He decided, however, that 'more harm than good is done by catholic writers who entirely pass over the matter, for the story is known outside the church.' It is known in great detail to readers of Mr. Law's works, to which, oddly enough, no reference is made. The strength of the book lies in the second volume, which breaks new ground. Here, for the first time, the story of the Benedictine mission of 1603 is fully told

in English; in this story the central figure is Dom Augustine Baker, the true author of the 'Apostolatus,' who, being professed by the aged Buckley, the last survivor of Westminster, claimed the inheritance of the rights and privileges of the original congregation, and the power, by professing others, to hand on the inheritance to posterity. The story of the English Benedictine congregation in its settlements abroad, and finally in its settlements at home, is very skilfully told, in a pleasant popular style.

Certain passages in the book require detailed criticism. The tendency to depend too exclusively on the 'Apostolatus' has led the author to accept it as certain that the life at Christchurch, Canterbury, from its earliest foundation, was modelled on the rule of St. Benedict. No indication is given of the fact that this view has been hotly controverted. It is not, indeed, expressly stated that Pope Gregory and St. Augustine were Benedictines, but they are described as men 'full of the Benedictine largeness of mind.' If Augustine's claim to rank among saints of the Benedictine order is to depend on the width of his intellectual view, some may deem his position insecure. Next we are told that St. Hilda sent 'some of her monks to Canterbury to learn the discipline and rule of the Benedictines at Christchurch; ' a passage founded apparently on the statement of Beda that *Oftfor venit Cantiam ad archiepiscopum . . . Theodorum : ubi postquam aliquandiu lectionibus sacris vacavit, etiam Romam adire curavit.* Wilfrid, too, gets 'his earliest impressions of Benedictine life from Canterbury, whence he journeyed through France to Rome.' But Eddi, who alone treats of this question, makes no mention of his acquaintance with the rule till a much later period, and from what particular source he obtained his copy of the rule Eddi does not make clear. Again, it is stated that Benedict Biscop was one of the men who established 'monastic discipline throughout England after the pattern of St. Benedict.' But that St. Benedict was not regarded as the sole author of the rule pursued in his monastery is clear from those passages of Beda which speak of Ceolfrid's acceptance of a rule 'founded on the authority of the ancients; ' and again, in his sermon on Benedict Biscop, Beda says he laid down the best-established statutes of the ancients, as he had ascertained them during his pilgrimage. Eanswith, 'Hilda, Etheldreda, Mildred, Werburgh, Edith' (why is Edith in this group?), 'Osith of Aylesbury, Frideswith of Oxford, Osburg of Coventry, Modwen of Burton, Everild of Everingham' (ladies less obscure are omitted), all make their appearance in this history of English Benedictines. Further, it is taken as certain that at the time of the revival under Edgar the inhabitants of Glastonbury, Abingdon, and Winchester monasteries were Benedictines. But Ethelwold sent Osgar to Fleury, if not 'to bring back a copy of the rule,' yet *propter regulam Benedicti.* In the desire to trace unbroken continuity from Augustine's landing to the present day the state of monasticism in Alfred's days is passed over. The truth is, of course, that as long as there was no conflict of orders no hard and fast delimitation or classification of orders is possible, and the term Benedictine must either not be used, or must be used to describe only those who undoubtedly knew and adhered to St. Benedict's rule. The key to the earliest English monasticism is not the rule of St. Benedict. The con-

troversial war has raged long enough over the uncertain frontier of the respective orders. The dignity of the Benedictine order is not increased by the claim to an unhistorical roll-call. If the Benedictine life is simply 'the life of the evangelical councils,' as Mr. Taunton suggests, and not the life prescribed by the rule of St. Benedict, then the term Benedictine, or black monk, loses all significance.

The following remarkable statements occur : that Wilfrid brought to England the art of writing in gold ; that Barking was not a double monastery ; that after the Conquest women no longer held property. There are mysterious allusions to 'the famous antiquaries' 'Sir Richard Cotton' and 'John Seldon.' The last also appears as 'Sheldon' on tithes.

MARY BATESON.

L'Abrégé des Merveilles. Traduit de l'Arabe par le Baron CARRA DE VAUX. (Paris : Klincksieck. 1898.)

FOLLOWING on his translation of Mas'ūdi's 'Tanbih' (which was noticed in this Review, *ante*, p. 143), M. Carra de Vaux gives us another somewhat similar work translated from the Arabic manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The author of the 'Kitāb Mukh tasar-al-Ajāib,' as the original is called, is unknown ; the work has been attributed to Mas'ūdi, who wrote in the tenth century of our era ; other authorities ascribe it to Ibrahim, son of Wasif Shāh, a much later writer, who flourished at the close of the thirteenth century, but M. Carra de Vaux gives good reasons for doubting both these attributions. His opinion is that while the book is of the age of Mas'ūdi, it is not by his hand ; but the translator adds, *notre livre peut bien représenter l'état du Folklore dans le monde musulman au dixième siècle de notre ère.* The work consists of two parts, geographical and historical : the first describing the wonders of the seas and islands visited by Arab navigators in the east and in the west, while the second deals with the legendary history of ancient Egypt. This last, occupying more than half the volume, deserves notice, for it contains a version of Egyptian history which, as M. Carra de Vaux points out in his introduction, is evidently not derived from either Herodotus or the Lists of Manetho ; also biblical legends, such as the Arabs received from the Jews, are conspicuously absent, and its atmosphere is certainly not that of the ancient 'Egyptian Tales' which Mr. Flinders Petrie has recently brought into general notice. This quaint version of Egyptian history, as the anonymous Arab author frequently states, is derived exclusively from the ancient Coptic books, and seeing the entire absence of both Christian and Greek influences, there is every reason to believe that we have here a record of what was still remembered of the ancient glories of Pharaonic days in the popular tradition of the tenth century of our era. Many of the details recorded herein are extremely curious, and, to mention but a single instance among many, we find that the Hyksos or shepherd kings are stated to have been of a Canaanitish race, namely the Amalekites, who had taken possession of the land after overthrowing the native Pharaohs ; further that both Joseph and Moses lived under this foreign dynasty—a view which many modern Egyptologists have advocated, though working from totally different materials. The picture of the ancient civilisation found in these legends is most lifelike ;

the names indeed are Coptic or Arabic, but the atmosphere is that of times long past and gone, and M. Carra de Vaux deserves our thanks for making this curious collection of marvels available to western readers.

GUY LE STRANGE.

Hildebert de Lavardin, Evêque du Mans, Archevêque de Tours (1056–1133); sa Vie, ses Lettres. Par A. DIEUDONNÉ, Attaché au Département des Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale. (Paris: A. Picard et Fils. 1898.)

THE letters of Hildebert were commonly used as a reading book for the young latinist of the thirteenth century. They are not likely to be revived in that employment, but nevertheless we think that the labours of M. Dieudonné may make for them a utility beyond their mere value as so much second-hand diplomatic evidence for sundry minor historical facts. The greatest of all hindrances to the growth of medieval knowledge is the unreadableness—to the plain man, be it understood—of the sources from which most of that knowledge must come. Such a collection of letters as Hildebert's possesses many advantages both of matter and manner which cause it to stand on a different footing in this respect from either a monastic cartulary or a compilation of decretals. It is true that his Latin seems to have been rather overpraised, *e.g.* by Peter of Blois, whose testimony (Ep. ci., Migne, cvii.), we may remark, the editor does not mention. The language is that of a scholar and amateur in style. He does not commonly use barbarisms for want of the reading that had in his time to take the place of dictionaries, nor does he err from haste. His faults are rather of the opposite kind, a lack of natural taste and a slight pedantry. At his best he suggests Tacitus, on his ordinary level he is a weak imitator of Seneca. Even this is something to be thankful for when we compare him with Peter the Lombard or Hugh of S. Victor. But the subject matter, the diversity of his correspondents, and the historical events with which he was mixed up, are more important factors; and any one who reads through the book will come away with more of a picture of an ecclesiastic's life in that age and of the continental possessions of the Norman kings than can be got elsewhere with so little weariness. There was, however, much to be done before this was practicable. Beaugendre's collection, as reproduced in Migne, contained indeed practically all the letters that M. Dieudonné has been able to find (the letter printed in this Review in April 1897 being the only important addition); but in the identification of the correspondents and the interpretation of the facts alluded to it was hopelessly deficient. To supply this want M. Dieudonné has made an extensive examination of manuscripts and an elaborate study of external evidences both for the life and correspondence, and the result is the substantial volume of 300 pages before us. He has not reprinted the letters except where wanting in Migne, but he has corrected some errors in the text and has given all the aids to its comprehension that the unlearned can desire. For the style of such work M. Hauréau left to his countrymen an example of which M. Dieudonné seems a worthy imitator. English readers will note a few errors which show that the editor is not quite as much at home in affairs this side of the Channel. For instance, *Exoniensis ecclesia* is not

Hexham, as the bishop of Exeter testifies to this day whenever he signs his name, but the editor makes amends even on this ground by a correct emendation of *ep. Memoriensis* (*Menevensis*). The direct references to English affairs are not very numerous, and a few slips like the one cited above will not spoil the book; but we might hint that Lingard is not altogether a safe guide for English history in the Norman period.

J. P. GILSON.

The Scutage and Knight Service in England. By J. F. BALDWIN.
(Chicago: University Press. 1897.)

THE English student of medieval history will welcome the increasing signs of its serious study in America. Mr. Baldwin has given us something more than an ordinary doctoral dissertation; he has compiled a useful monograph on a subject still obscure, and has made distinct additions to our knowledge. It is not only as feudal institutions but as part of the financial system of the time that scutage and knight service are of real historical importance. Mr. Baldwin, perceiving this, has specially dealt with them as part of the financial system of the time, and has thus obtained some striking results. He has read not only widely but well, keeping in view continental developments, and commenting intelligently and judiciously on the evidence he has here collected. Of the patient and elaborate calculation that is required for its collection those who have attempted it are aware.

Mr. Baldwin accepts the new theories advanced by me in this Review, but, taking a wider field of inquiry and bringing down his researches much further than myself, he obtains results of which two at least strike me as no less important than novel. The first of these is that though the assessment based on the *cartae* of 1166 remained long in force, the crown ceased, after Henry II, to charge for 'the knights of the new feoffment,' as it had done in 1168. Thus the protest against the change then effected, as I showed, in the assessment was eventually made good against the crown. The second point, the fruit, as one might term it, of lateral extension of study, is that historians have hitherto been mistaken in assigning to scutage too prominent a part in the financial system of the time, other levies being more productive. In 1168, for instance, when all the knights' fees were placed under contribution for the marriage of the king's daughter, the total sum raised was less than that obtained from the towns alone. Again, for the king's ransom under Richard the sum obtained, we read, from the knights' fees was under 3,500*l.*, though Dr. Stubbs had imagined that it ought to have been 25,000*l.*, and was probably 12,000*l.* The temptation, however, to criticise our great historian for misapprehension on the subject should have been resisted, in view of the fact that the invaluable evidence of the Pipe Roll Society's publications, with the secondary evidence for the later rolls, now available in the Red Book, was not accessible to him, as it has been to Mr. Baldwin.

It must further be admitted that one can sometimes say of Mr. Baldwin's conclusions that where true they are not new, and where new they are not true. Several of them will be recognised as having been stated by me in the pages of this Review, while, on the other hand, there are two at

least which would certainly be both novel and important if only they were true. On p. 12 we read that 'in the customs of Berkshire the rate was 20s. for two months, which is also 8*d.* a day,' the wages of a knight in the 'Dialogus.' But the alleged figures give us 4*d.*, not 8*d.*, a day; and, moreover, they are quite wrong, for the Berkshire *miles* in Domesday (56*d.*) has only *iiii solidi ad ii menses*—less than a penny a day. So too we read that on p. 92 of the roll of 2 Hen. II (1156) there is this passage: *Abbas de Westm. deb. 20l. de scutagio suo*, which refers to an earlier and hitherto unknown scutage. But the entry will be found under the third, not the second year, which destroys Mr. Baldwin's argument. Madox also is unjustly charged with a mistaken statement as to the *cartae* of 1166; for he merely took it, as I have shown, from Swereford, a fact which has not been disputed. On p. 98 we see that Mr. Baldwin does not understand a normal scutage formula; nor, it seems, is he familiar with the peculiar Mortain fees. There are irritating mistakes in the spelling of names, and several careless ones in dates. And yet, allowing for all this, it is greatly to the author's credit that he should have produced a monograph of this character at a distance from England. If he would revise it with care, and consult the records for himself, he would, there can be little doubt, give us a valuable work.

J. H. ROUND.

Saladin; or, What befel Sultan Yûsuf (Şalâh ed-dîn). (1137–1193 A.D.)

Composed by the learned Imâm, Grand Kâfi of the Moslems, BEHÂ ED-DÛN ABU EL-MEHÂSAN YÛSUF, IBN RÂFÎ, IBN TEMÛM, generally known by the surname of IBN SHEDDÂD, Kâfi of the fortified city of Aleppo. With the permission of the (Khalif) Commander of the Faithful. (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society. London: Published by the Palestine Exploration Fund. 1897.)

The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1291 A.D. By Lieut.-Col. C. R. CONDER, LL.D., M.R.A.S., R.E. (London: Palestine Exploration Fund. 1897.)

It is strange that Bahâ-ed-dîn's Life of Saladin should only now appear for the first time in English. Schultens's Arabic text with a parallel Latin translation was published at Leyden so long ago as 1792, and was freely used by Marin in his excellent 'Histoire de Saladin,' 1758. No further edition seems to have been published until the work was incorporated in 1884 in the great 'Recueil des Historiens des Croisades,' with a revised Arabic text, a French translation, and notes. The Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society did well to add Bahâ-ed-dîn to their series of translations, though why the fanciful title 'What befel Sultan Yûsuf' was invented is not apparent. The work is edited by Sir Charles Wilson and Colonel Conder, and probably no two names could be suggested which imply a more ample acquaintance with the subject. Both are well versed in the language and history of Saladin's country, and both are exceptionally familiar with the ancient sites and present topography of Palestine and Syria. The value of their special knowledge appears in many of the notes, where distances and modern identifications of crusading sites are laid down with authority. Nevertheless, in spite of their peculiar qualifications, it is impossible on the whole to felicitate the two geographers on their work as editors. To begin with the text, they have

taken the extraordinary course of getting some one, apparently unacquainted with Arabic, to translate the French translation, instead of going straight to the Arabic. It is true that Sir Charles Wilson states that this translation at second hand 'has been carefully revised and compared with the edition of Schultens by Lieut.-Colonel Conder, R.E., and in several passages, especially those relating to the death of Salâh ed-Dîn, the rendering has been very materially altered.' It is not clear, from this sentence, whether Colonel Conder compared the translation with Schultens's Latin version or his Arabic text, but in either case it will appear strange to any one accustomed to the editing of historical documents, that a translation based upon certain manuscripts should be 'revised' by a comparison with an edition or translation based upon different manuscripts. A collation of the two texts, with marginal *variae lectiones*, is one thing; but a jumble of both without distinction is scarcely scholarlike.

In the present case, however, the two texts differ so little that no great mischief could be done. The 'material alterations' referred to by Sir Charles Wilson seem to resolve themselves mainly into a disputed translation of a couple of sentences relating to the last illness of Salâdîn, where the text is said to be corrupt. The difference, however, consists almost solely in the rendering of one phrase, *wâ`hâla beynahu wa beynanâ 'n-nisâ'u*, which the French translator interprets in the simple sense 'the women intervened between him and us,' *i.e.* the nurses did not allow Bahâ-ed-dîn and his companion to approach the patient. This rendering is supported by the recurrence of the phrase a few lines further on, when the position of the Korân reader is described as *beynahu wa beyna 'n-nisâ'i*, between the patient and the nurses. Schultens, however, very freely rendered the first passage *additus ei fuerat, qui Alcoranum praelegeret, ad aberrationem mentis quantum pote regendam, quae nos ab ipso sciunxerat*. Apparently he referred to chapter iv. (*En-Nisâ*) of the Korân, used as a charm; but on what authority he founded this use is not stated. Following this hint, Colonel Conder renders the passage, 'He remained sometimes with us, and sometimes wandering,' apparently reading *en-nisyu* for *en-nisâ'u*, and thus converting 'the women' into 'wandering' or oblivion.

Beyond this single change, which is at least open to criticism, no improvements of any consequence appear to have been made upon the French translation. Indeed, so closely has it been followed, that even its oversights have been scrupulously reproduced in the English. On p. 103, for example, we find 'the last day of Zu el-Hijja (23 Feb. 1186).' It is so in the French, but it should, of course, be 23 *March*. The translator has retained or adapted French spellings, not always with judgment. He did not notice the cedilla under Niçan, for instance, and Colonel Conder has allowed the erroneous transliteration Nikan to remain. Naşîbin is written Nisibe by the French, and from this the translator has evolved the form Nisiba; and Nisiba and Nisibin are actually indexed as separate places. Syra for Syrie is probably a misprint, but the too faithful copying of the French is apparent in such names as Raoul Coggeshale, Arnat, Honfroi, though Ralph abbot of Coggeshall is not unknown in English, and the Arabic Arnât becomes in other places French Renaud, and Honfroi English Humphrey. These French forms, it should be added,

happen in this case to occur in a note which is reproduced from the 'Recueil' edition. According to Sir Charles Wilson's preface 'the notes with the initial W. are by the editor; all other notes are by Lieut.-Colonel Conder, R.E.' As a matter of fact a large proportion, probably more than half, of the notes are literal translations of the notes to the French edition, but not a word is said in acknowledgment of this indebtedness. This must be of course an oversight on the part of the editor, but it gives an ungenerous impression which is entirely foreign to Sir Charles Wilson's mode of work, and should be remedied as soon as possible.

This reproduction of the French translation is the more to be regretted, since French is a language singularly ill adapted for retaining the force and flavour of Arabic. One sees French turns and graces in every page of the English version, which could not have come there had the translation been made directly from the Arabic. Here and there the very slight 'revision' it has undergone has removed a few of the more glaring licences and free expansions of the version in the 'Recueil'; but, as a rule, the French phrasing has been only too carefully preserved. It is not asserted that the French is not a good, though rather free, version, but the necessities of French style compel a wide departure from the Arabic, which a direct English translation would have avoided. In the following sentence the words in square brackets (which, however, are not in square brackets in the translation, as they should be) do not occur in the Arabic: 'I myself saw their knights gathered together in the midst of [a protecting circle of] infantry; they put their lances [in rest], uttered a [mighty] [war]-cry, and the [ranks of] infantry parted [to allow them to pass].' 'They shouted a shout like one man' is the literal rendering.

Apart from the translation, the editing leaves much to be desired. It was surely advisable to compare Bahâ-ed-dîn's history with those of other contemporaries, such as Imâd-ed-dîn and Ibn-el-Athîr, especially for the earlier portion, where Bahâ-ed-dîn is both slight and inaccurate. This has not been done, nor have the crusading chroniclers as a rule been consulted, except the 'Itinerarium Regis Ricardi,' which is referred to as 'Geoffrey de Vinsauf,' with a few references to Jacques de Vitry. One sees the danger of this reliance upon a single authority in Sir Charles Wilson's note on Saladin's campaign against Lesser Armenia (p. 78), in which the editor says 'the course of this campaign cannot be clearly followed.' Had he consulted Ibn-el-Athîr, he would have understood why Saladin went as far north as Ra'bân—in order to protect the prince of Ḥiṣn Keyfâ. The joining of the Aleppo contingent is less clear; but the Arabic sentence about 'a' (not 'the') fortress is not 'incomplete.' Another campaign seems to have needlessly puzzled the editor—that on the Nile in 1167, on which Bahâ-ed-dîn is especially vague. For some reason unexplained, Sir Charles Wilson places the scene of the battle of el-Bâbân (the form commonly adopted, el-Bâbeyn, is in the oblique case) between Shîrkûh and Amalric, 'near Tûra, about six miles south of Cairo.' No such place seems to be known near Turâ, but the site of el-Bâbân is distinctly stated to be near Ushmûneyn, about ten miles south of Minya (so Ibn-Khallikân and William of Tyre). Sir Charles Wilson says that Shîrkûh's 'army arrived in a crippled state before *Atfilh*

on the right bank of the Nile above Cairo. The Franks, whose policy it was to lengthen the war, remained near Cairo, and gave Shirkûh's men time to recruit. At last they attacked Shirkûh, and forced his entrenchments, but did not follow up their victory. Shirkûh commenced his retreat to Syria, but, suddenly retracing his steps, fell upon the combined force of Franks and Egyptians whilst it was encamped at *el-Bâbein*, near Tûra, about six miles south of Cairo. He gained a complete victory . . . and all Egypt fell into his hands.' No authority is given for this version of the campaign, and it is at variance with what has hitherto been published. So far were the Franks from giving Shirkûh time, that he had barely got his men *across the Nile* at Atfih (a material fact omitted in the preceding account) when Amalric appeared on the east bank, which he had just quitted. The Franks could not get at the Muslims, and the two armies marched down the opposite banks to el-Fustât and el-Gîza respectively. Nor did Shirkûh think of retreating to Syria; he retreated up the Nile, when Amalric at length succeeded in crossing by night to his side of the river at a point below Cairo; the Franks pursued, and it was they who attacked at el-Bâbân, near Ushmûneyn. Nothing is said about entrenchments, and the attack was apparently too sudden to admit of an entrenched camp. Shirkûh had the best of the encounter; but so far was the victory from being 'complete,' that he did not venture to pursue the enemy to Cairo, which remained in their hands. Such, at least, is the story as one finds it in Ibn-el-Athîr's 'Kâmil,' compared with the nineteenth book of William of Tyre.

On the same page another note states that 'Nûr ed-Din was regarded as a Turk by the Arabs;' but surely nobody ever regarded him as anything else but a Turk or Turkman? On the opposite page (48) the 7th of Zu-l-Ĥijja A.H. 558 is said to correspond with 6 Nov. 1164. It should be 1163, and a note should be given on Bahâ-ed-dîn's error of a year in the chronology of the expedition. In the same way a note is needed on p. 63 to explain the confusion between Saladin's different sieges of el-Karak. Bârîn ought to be also given its Latin name of Mons Ferrandus, but how it could possess a 'castle built by the crusaders about 1090' passes comprehension; there was not a crusader in existence at that date. On p. 68 Gumishtikin is mentioned as the guardian of the child-king eṣ-Ṣâliḥ, but on p. 69 it is Ibn el-Muḡaddam who was appointed to the office. The Balian mentioned in the note to p. 21 cannot be the first of the name: it was Balian II who defended Jerusalem and fought at Acre. When it comes to so important an event as the battle of Ḥiṭṭîn, it is well to be exact in the date. Bahâ-ed-dîn says the harassed march of the Franks took place on Thursday, and the battle itself on Friday, the 23rd of Rabî'a II, 583, which was the 3rd, not the 2nd, of July, as here stated. Bahâ-ed-dîn is wrong, however; he was not then in Syria in attendance upon Saladin, and his fondness for making the sultan's victories happen on Fridays has led him astray. Ibn-el-Athîr is right in fixing Saturday as the day of the battle, and Ernoul's precise information that the day was the feast of [the translation of] St. Martin makes Saturday, 4 July, practically certain. Yet not only is there no note about this, but Bahâ-ed-dîn's wrong date is carelessly made still more wrong, and a Friday is made to fall upon a date which any chronological table would show to be a Thurs-

day. At another place a slip of Bahâ-ed-dîn's is accepted as a correct date : for there can be no question but that the 27th Rabî'a I on p. 341 (about the Franks at Beyt Nûba) is a copyist's blunder for 27 Jumâdâ I, *i.e.* 9 June, which agrees with the 'Itinerarium Ricardi.' Had the editor considered the context, and especially the presence of Dolderim, this would have been obvious. In the same way 11 Shawwâl, where Colonel Conder again supposes that 'the narrative reverts,' is almost certainly a mistake for the 21st. Raymond of Tripoli is said in a note to have been 'killed soon after [Hiṭṭîn] by the Assassins.' No doubt Colonel Conder was thinking of Conrad of Montferrat: Raymond of Tripoli died of grief, according to Ernoul. In oriental history no one seems to think much of careless slips like these, yet most readers would be astonished if an English historian wrote of the execution of George I in 1649. As for the spelling of oriental names, it is enough to mention the three varieties given in different places of a single name—Ildukuz, Yeldokûz, and Aildekez, and such mistakes as el-Ghâzi for İl-Ghâzi (where il is a Turkish word, and not the Arabic article), Khâtib for Khatib, en-Nejeb for en-Nejib, &c. There are very few references, but one of these—to Röhricht's 'Regesta Regni Hierosol.'—is wrong. The maps are good, being founded upon the survey of Western Palestine, and Sir Charles Wilson's epitomes of some of Ibn-Khallikan's biographies are useful. Had he and Colonel Conder been able to devote more time and care to the edition, there is no doubt that it might have been very well done. As it is, one can only regret that so excellent an opportunity should have been wasted. Except the geographical notes, there is nothing in the volume that comes up to the standard of scholarship which the editors' previous work entitled one to expect.

Colonel Conder's 'Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem' is a brightly written, eminently readable sketch of the subject; and here, as in his notes to Bahâ-ed-dîn, whenever he has to deal with topography, roads, sites, and scenery in Palestine, he is excellent. The footnotes testify to a much wider reading than was apparently thought necessary for the preceding work, but the constant references to Röhricht's 'Regesta' might be misleading to general readers. The 'Regesta' is a most useful calendar of crusading documents, but it does not publish the texts, and the dates it gives in parentheses are derived not from the documents, but from other and sometimes conjectural sources. Hence a reference to this valuable list does not necessarily establish the chronology or imply acquaintance with the original documents. Unfortunately Colonel Conder has not revised this volume much more carefully than the Bahâ-ed-dîn, or he would not have passed such a statement as this—'the Atabeg brothers ruled, from Mosul and Damascus almost to the Afghan borders,' when, as a matter of history, their power scarcely extended east of the Tigris. Dirgham was not slain in the battle (p. 120), but killed in the streets by the populace; the Syrian allies arrived at Cairo in 1164, not 1163, and so far were they from occupying it and then refusing to give it over to Shâwar, that it was Shâwar who held the city and refused to admit them. In pp. 122-3, one expedition in January is multiplied into two in the autumn and spring; and Alexandria, instead of being 'taken' by Amalric, was surrendered to him for 50,000 dînârs. If 'Saladin held out boldly' at the siege of Damietta in 1169 (not 1170), he 'held out' from outside,

and Colonel Conder writes of 'an attack by sea on Alexandria in 1174' as if it were another version of the Damietta siege; but he must surely have heard of the Sicilian expedition? Nisiba again does duty for Naşibîn; 'Hishâm ed Dîn' appears as the name of the admiral Husâm-ed-dîn, and generally speaking the mistakes in the translation of Bahâ-ed-dîn are reproduced here. Ernoul's story of the knights who deserted to Saladin at Hitîin is marred by putting the well-known speech into the sultan's mouth (p. 152). Ernoul writes that the knights said, '*Sire, c'atendés vous? Poignies sour aus, qu'il ne sepueent mais aidier; il sont tout mort.*' Colonel Conder's rendering is, "'Fall on them," he said; "they cannot help themselves: they are dead already."' Raymond of Tripoli is credited with doing 'good service afterwards at Tyre,' though he died about a fortnight after the battle. Despite sundry inaccuracies, it is a lively sketch, and the author's personal knowledge of the country makes it more vivid than such sketches usually are.

STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth. Edited by AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D., and MONTAGUE R. JAMES, Litt.D. (Cambridge: University Press. 1896.)

THE fate of Thomas of Monmouth's 'Life of St. William' has been somewhat remarkable. It was written, we now learn, between 1172 and 1174, within thirty years of the tragedy which it records. Until recently, however, it was only known from the mention made of it by Leland and Bale; no manuscript was in evidence, and even the fact that it was the exclusive source of Capgrave's account of the boy-martyr in the 'Nova Legenda' was as yet unrevealed. The credit of bringing so valuable a work to light belongs to Dr. James. A unique copy, it appears, had long lain buried in a small parish-library at Brent Eleigh in Suffolk, and in 1889, when (with one notable exception, already secured by the Bodleian) the Brent Eleigh MSS. were removed to Cambridge, Dr. James had the satisfaction of identifying it. To atone for its long seclusion, it has now been fortunate in its editors, whom we have to thank not only for the Latin text and an admirable English version, but for preliminary matter of great interest. In anything that relates to Norfolk, Dr. Jessopp is on his own ground. Thus, besides his share of the translation, he contributes instructive chapters on the author, on Norwich cathedral priory, where he served as sacrist at the martyr's tomb, on East Anglia in the reign of Stephen, and on the Norwich Jews; while Dr. James gives the history of the work, and a lucid and impartial analysis of the evidence on which the legend was built up, together with a well-informed chapter on the cult and iconography of the saint. The last subject is illustrated by five panel portraits from rood screens, and a useful plan of Norwich about the year 1150 accompanies a note by the Rev. W. Hudson. A facsimile of a page of the manuscript would have been a welcome addition, but no doubt the editors are justified in the belief that, although not the original, it was written before the end of the twelfth century.

The story of the poor boy whose corpse was found in Thorpe Wood outside Norwich on Easter Eve, 1144, derives its historical importance from being the first of a long series of alleged ritual murders by Jews. As is

well known, the belief that, in travesty of the Passion, the Jews annually crucified a Christian child was one of the most widely spread and terrible of medieval superstitions, and it may be feared from a lamentable outbreak in Hungary not many years ago that it is not even yet quite extinct. In tracing its origin Dr. James quotes a curious passage from the fifth-century Greek chronicler Socrates, describing how the Jews of Inmestar in Syria were attacked by the Christians for having bound a boy to a cross and done him to death. In this case, as he remarks, the ritual element is wanting, the affair having seemingly begun in rude sport and only ended fatally because the Jews were drunk; but, as the story was copied into the 'Historia Tripartita,' it may nevertheless have supplied the germ which later produced such noxious fruit. At the same time, the myth may also have originated from popular church-tales, two at least of which are highly significant of the line that anti-Jewish feeling would be likely to take. Dr. James himself mentions the story, as old as the sixth century, of the Jew glass-blower of Constantinople (later of Pisa or Bourges) who threw his son into a furnace for receiving the eucharist. A more pertinent example seems to have escaped him. It tells how once during mass in the cathedral at Toledo the Virgin's voice was heard from heaven (or, in some versions, from her statue), denouncing the Jews for still persecuting her Son, and how, on search being made, they were found assembled together outraging a waxed image of the Crucified, and were all put to death. This story was certainly current before 1144, and William of Malmesbury's collection among others includes it. That it influenced the myth, if it did not actually suggest it, can hardly be doubted, the only change, from wax to a living victim, being a natural, though momentous, development. Even the voice from heaven has its parallel in St. William's case in the light from the sky pointing to the spot where he lay; nor is it improbable that the same Toledo story was the sole basis for the atrocious charge against the Jews of Spain which Thomas of Monmouth puts into the mouth of the convert Theobald of Cambridge.

As Thomas himself did not enter Norwich priory until after 1144, the earlier part of his narrative down to 1149 was not derived from personal knowledge. Although it is dramatic and full of interest, as an indictment of the Jews it is far from conclusive. Much of the evidence, indeed, is mere gossip, while the strongest of all, that of Ælwerd Ded, was at most a dubious deathbed revelation five years after the event. One of the many curious features of the case is that, after John the sheriff had saved the Jews from the clergy and populace, and the boy's body had been laid in the priory cemetery, the affair so narrowly escaped oblivion that within two or three years 'the memory of the blessed martyr' had, as we are told, 'almost entirely died out.' The author dates its revival from a singular miracle of which a girl at Dunwich, courted by a demon lover, was the heroine; but an undoubted murder of a Jew by Christians evidently had a good deal to do with it. When Eleazar was brutally killed by followers of Sir Simon de Novers, one of his debtors, it was the turn of the Jews to cry out, and a graphic, though 'conjectural,' account is given of the hearing of their plea at Norwich by the king in person. They had a bitter antagonist in Bishop William Turbe, lately

the prior. As Sir Simon held lands under the see, the bishop hotly defended him, insisting that the earlier charge against the Jews themselves must first be purged. The result was that Stephen adjourned the trial to London, but when the day came, having been bribed, it is said, like the sheriff before him, by the Jews, he again put it off, and the proceedings on both sides eventually came to nothing. The rest of the story, which describes the author's opportune visions in Lent 1150, and the martyr's consequent translation into the chapter house, the opposition of Prior Elias, and the ultimate triumph of the bishop and Brother Thomas when, after the prior's death, a fresh translation in 1154 into the church itself completed the process of popular canonisation—all this makes extremely curious and instructive reading. The same may also be said of the miracles by which St. William's fame was spread; for, although there is much in them that is trivial, grotesque, or even disgusting, the vivid light which they throw upon the manners, beliefs, and general social history of the time renders them only less valuable than the main narrative. Whether they still went on after his sacerdot ceased to record them we cannot tell, but the extracts given by Dr. James from the church accounts show a significant decline in the receipts at his tomb until they sank in 1343 to fourpence. It is a more interesting question how far St. William's story instigated other charges of child-murder against the Jews. The view of the editors is that it was not only the earliest and strongest case of the kind, but 'the foundation of all subsequent ones,' both in England and abroad. This is a heavy responsibility to lay upon the people of Norwich, and one would prefer to believe that similar causes, in the ever increasing unpopularity of the Jews, may have produced the like effects. The subject, however, is a large one, and Dr. James does not profess to have treated it exhaustively. To the half-dozen cases he mentions as having occurred within the twelfth century that of the boy Adam, son of William the Welshman, of Bristol, may be added, full details of which are given in Harley MS. 957.

Of the excellence of the editing I have already spoken, but a few points call for remark. Thus, Dr. Jessopp is surely wrong (p. xxxiii) in holding that the name of Cheyne (de Caineto) with its variants is a corruption of Caen (de Cadomo). The names and families were in fact quite distinct until they were united by the marriage of Robert, son of Walter de Cadomo, to Sibilla, sister of John de Caineto. It was their son John who, as the sheriff, figures in Thomas of Monmouth's work; and if he bore the name of Cheyne, of which there is some doubt, he got it from his mother. Again, whether he or Mr. Hudson is right as to the functions of the *decanus*, Dr. Jessopp has no warranty for speaking of William de Hastings, dean of Norwich, as *Sir William* (p. xiii); nor is it possible to reconcile his statements that the martyr's translation in 1150 took place 'with a pompous function and ceremony' (p. xii) and 'without any ceremonial' (p. xxii). Lastly, the editors differ as to the date of the death of Bishop William Turbe, which, as the work was dedicated to him, fixes a limit of time for its composition. Dr. James (p. liii) dates it in 1174, Dr. Jessopp (p. xxiv) more correctly in 1175.

G. F. WARNER.

Les Etats de Normandie. Leurs origines et leurs développements au xiv^e siècle. Par ALFRED COVILLE. (Paris : A. Picard et fils. 1894.)

THE obscurity of the origin of the provincial estates in France is clearly indicated by the divergent theories on the subject which M. Coville has summarised at the beginning of his book. But it is by the patient bringing together of the scattered scraps of information that bear on the genesis of each one of these institutions that the general theory will be found at last, and the method of M. Coville, though less ambitious and rapid, is at least more sure and scientific than the brilliant guesses of M. Callery. The chief materials for the history of the estates of Normandy are to be sought not in the province itself, but in the fragments of the archives of the Parisian *Chambre des Comptes*, which are now mostly to be found in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. From these remnants, from the uncertain and halting testimony of such few chroniclers as notice the estates at all, and from occasional indications in municipal and departmental collections, M. Coville has constructed, with great skill, patience, and method, a history of the origin and early development of the Norman estates which is likely ever to remain the authoritative book on the subject. He has done for the estates of the northern duchy all that M. Cadier has done for the estates of Béarn. His excellent book, read in connexion with M. C. de Beaurepaire's '*Etats de Normandie sous la domination anglaise*,' which was published so long ago as 1859, will tell us all that we can hope to know on the history of representative institutions in mediæval Normandy.

The three estates of Normandy had no connexion with the ancient baronial councils of the Norman dukes. These assemblies ceased after the absorption of Normandy in the royal domain, and for more than a century there is no trace of any assembly of the Norman magnates. Some pains had, however, been taken, both by Philip Augustus and St. Louis, to secure for the Normans the enjoyment of their ancient franchises, but the grasping and aggressive policy of Philip the Fair paid no heed to their promises, and imposed *maltoltes* and other impositions that were bitterly resented. Hence Normandy took a conspicuous part in bringing about the feudal reaction that marked the short reign of Louis X. It obtained as its reward the *Charte Normande* of 1315, by which the royal right of taxing Normandy was strictly limited. M. Coville's close examination and explanation of this document should have prevented it being described by the recent historian of Philippe le Long as a stillborn charter like those given at the same time to the Burgundians and the Picards.¹ But for the moment it had no very great results, until in 1339 Philip of Valois, on the eve of the Hundred Years' War, was forced to ratify the charter by the pressure of the prelates and barons of Normandy. Henceforth the occasional and scattered meetings of the Norman magnates crystallised into the three estates of Normandy. At their first full meeting in March 1339 the estates granted Philip and his son John, now duke of Normandy, men and money destined to bring about a new Norman conquest of England. The grandiose expedition never came off, but the danger to England did not altogether pass away until 1340, when the great fleet collected and equipped by the Normans for this purpose was

¹ Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philippe le Long*, p. 9.

destroyed by Edward III before the harbour of Sluys. For the rest of the reign of Philip VI and for the whole of that of John the estates of Normandy were in constant operation, anticipating in their plans and policy some of the boldest of the schemes of the national estates in the days of Etienne Marcel. Under Charles V, however, the Norman estates lost their chief importance. A brief revival marked the early years of Charles VI, but Roosebecq was as fatal to Norman as to general French feudalism. The estates almost ceased to exist until they were actively revived by Henry V and the regent Bedford in the period between 1421 and 1449. M. de Beaurepaire has long ago shown us the significance of this period in their history.

The three Norman estates were the *gens d'église*, the nobles, and the *bonnes villes*. The clerical estate included none but 'the prelates or in their absence their vicars, and from all the colleges, abbeys, and conventual priories two, three, or four persons.' The *noblesse*, 'counts, barons, knights, and squires,' were convoked individually; they never amounted to more than 150 and were often hardly a third of that number. It was not until the period of the English domination that the nobles were called upon to elect representatives, one or two for each *vicomté*, and even then important individual magnates continued to receive a special summons. The third estate consisted entirely of the *gens de bonnes villes*, the single reference to the *gens de plat pays*, as something distinct from the nobles, being too isolated to have any importance. The towns represented during the fourteenth century were extremely numerous. On one occasion eighty-one towns were summoned. But during the fifteenth century the English lords of Normandy reduced the number of represented towns. A large number of royal officials and magistrates also attended the estates.

Irregular in composition, the estates of Normandy were still more irregular in their place, time, and methods of meeting. They were summoned to whatever town seemed most convenient. Full meetings were rare. Sometimes each estate met at different times and treated separately with the royal representatives. More often than not the estates of a particular district alone assembled. Sometimes the estates of Upper and Lower Normandy only were summoned; on other occasions the representatives of one or two of the five *bailliages* of the duchy, Cotentin, Caen, Caux, Rouen, and Gisors, and occasionally even smaller local divisions, such as the *vicomté*, had a little meeting of their own, or the king's agents treated directly with the several towns for grants of money. All depended on the royal convenience and pleasure, for the estates were only convoked to get subsidies, and it was often easier to wring grants from a feeble local gathering than from the assembled magnates of a great duchy. There is no instance of a categorical refusal of the royal request for an aid, though there were often arguments and remonstrances as to violated privileges and extorted promises of future amendment. But the estates were often free to determine the form of their aid, and in the moments of greatest weakness of the crown the collection of the grants was sometimes entrusted to agents appointed by them. There was, however, a certain unreality about the whole thing. The clergy and nobles were exempt from most of the taxes imposed, and it was no great hardship for them to agree to impose taxes on their vassals. The ordinary meetings were so

little numerous and so unrepresentative, that, like most provincial estates, they stood out for class privilege and particularism against a king who was not only a despot, but a representative of order and nationality. It was doubtless this aspect of the estates that induced the Lancastrian rulers to utilise this local feeling to build up, in Normandy and the adjacent parts that were conquered by Henry V before the tragedy of Montereau had led to the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, a separate administration that might remain loyal to England, even if the provisions of the treaty of Troyes became a dead letter. Yet with all their limitations the Norman estates played no unimportant part in history. Their constant exertions saved Normandy from English conquest under Edward III, and even in their decline the heroic efforts of the estates of Lower Normandy, which led to the reconquest of Saint-Sauveur le Vicomte and of Cherbourg, form important episodes in that dulllest part of the Hundred Years' War, the early periods of the reigns of Richard II and Charles VI.

Besides discussing the origin and history of the Norman estates, M. Coville treats at length of their organisation and competence, dealing under that head with their summons, elections, sessions, subsidies, and of the methods by which the subsidies were administered. In very copious appendices he collects the texts bearing on the old feudal assemblies of the Norman duchy, furnishes lists of fourteenth-century estates and of their members, and gives biographical notices of the royal commissaries and lieutenants who held the estates in the names of the kings and dukes. Then comes an abundant store of *pièces justificatives*, mainly from unpublished manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and lastly there is an excellent index. There is little to do in reviewing such a book save to give a *compte rendu* of its contents, and there are very few points in M. Coville's book which a foreign reviewer can venture to criticise. But does not M. Coville in the early part of his book a little over-emphasise the weakness of the English kings under whom representative parliaments grew up? Surely they were not merely extorted from weaklings, but owe their solid establishment to kings like Edward I recognising that within certain limits the estates were helpful to the royal authority against its worst enemies, the greater barons? On p. 82 it is an error to say that 'la bataille de Poitiers vit la chevalerie française se briser pour la seconde fois contre les hommes de pied d'Edouard III.' The French men-at-arms at Poitiers dismounted before the battle, and fought on foot just like the English and Gascons.

T. F. TOUR.

L' Archivio Comunale di Cagliari. Per Cav. Dott. SILVIO LIPPI (a spese del municipio). (Cagliari: Muscas di P. Valdès. 1897.)

THE author has bestowed infinite pains upon these indices, which are shafts to a mine of monograph. The first, resembling those of our record office, gives the dates and the general character of the documents contained in 829 volumes. Among these are the proceedings of the parliament of Sardinia from the reign of Alfonso V, the charters of Cagliari from 1327 to 1766, the minutes of the town council, and papers of every conceivable branch of municipal administration, down to those of the committees for public festivities, musicians, and singers.

The second index consists of short abstracts of the documents, arranged chronologically from 1244 to 1802, with many extracts given in the original Latin or Catalan. The fourteenth century is peculiarly rich; no less than 147 parchments belong to the reign of Alfonso IV, 116 to that of Pedro IV. The next most fruitful period is that of Alfonso V, with thirty-eight interesting documents, while Juan II can claim thirty, and Ferdinand the Catholic eighteen. From this time onwards our index gives but scanty scraps of information. Indices III. and IV. comprise documents exhibited in cases, and already included in the above. Index V. consists of abstracts of autograph royal letters of much interest, from 1376 to 1351. Facsimiles of the kings' signatures, with plates of their seals, and of the arms of the time of Cagliari in the Aragonese and Savoyard periods, complete a very handsome volume.

It is believed by the author that the Aragonese kings intentionally destroyed all documents of the Pisan and Genoese periods. But the importance of the *fidelissima ciutat de Caller* would seem to date from the transference of the population of Buonaria to its walls (1327), while it was largely peopled by Aragonese and Catalans. Pedro IV gave a free pardon to all criminals, certain classes excepted, who would settle in Cagliari, depopulated by the war with the judge of Arborea (1366). Cagliari was clearly a military colony, the centre of Aragonese power in Sardinia, the *tuicio ac fortitudo locius insule Sardinie* (1338). The town was guarded as closely as any garrison; death was the penalty of those who let themselves over the walls at night by ropes (1441); Spanish subjects of the king married to Sardinian women were not allowed to pernoctate (1471); frequent documents relate to the precautions for victualling the town, and for its protection against both natives and Barbaresques.

Jealousy between municipalities and feudatories was, of course, common to Aragon and Valencia, Catalonia and Majorca. But in Sardinia the dualism between the Aragonese kings and their fortress on the one side, and the native and Italian elements on the other, intensified the hostility. The documents refer to open war between the crown and the great feudatory, the judge of Arborea (1366), and to the formal peace made with his widow, the *giudicessa* (1388). The feudatories undoubtedly represented Italian traditions. Thus Pedro IV engaged that on the reversion of a fief held *virtute moris Italie* it should never again be alienated (1348). The neglect of this pledge led to trouble. The crown sold a fief formerly belonging to the troublesome counts of Donoratico; the new feudatory refused to surrender to the vicar of the town, one Johann Manuel, who had slapped a lady's face in Cagliari (1361). Shortly afterwards the crown abandoned its rights of alienation, 'in order not to create a rebellion in Sardinia' (1366).

In 1358 we find it ordained that no feudatory is to hold royal office in the capo di Cagliari, or municipal office in the town; the alternative is dismissal or renunciation of the fief. The law was not always kept, for it was repeated in 1417 and 1455, while in 1471 Juan II, on petition of the municipality, ordained that no baron or feudatory after the decease of the present governor, the judge of Arborea, should hold that office in capo di Cagliari or Gallura. Even as late as 1554 Giovanna, acting as

agent for Charles V, ordains that no nobles, officials, or ministers of the Inquisition may be candidates for municipal office. Upon the feudatories devolved the duty of provisioning the city. They were allowed to hold shops upon their fiefs, but for sale for their vassals only (1328); surplus produce must not be shipped except from Cagliari (1427); under severe penalties they are ordered not to forbid but to encourage their subjects to bring supplies to Cagliari (1475).

The municipality received all the privileges of Barcelona, and the charters extend from 1244 to 1766. The Barcelonese type was accurately followed; we find five councillors and fifty good-men (1327); royal interests are watched over by the vicar and the bailiff, but the difficult question of the respective competence of these two offices was ultimately avoided by their fusion, which is stated in 1399 to have been of long standing. The municipality had the power of legislation, of regulating import and export, of raising taxes upon comestibles; it possessed its own mint; it elected its own mostazaff, the official who had control of the streets and markets and weights and measures (1331); all produce, except in the case of the feudatories above mentioned, must be sold within the castle (1328). Civil cases of the first instance must be tried by the vicar or bailiff, and the royal governor of Sardinia had no right to evoke these to his court or to allow appeal to the king (1328). Similarly criminal cases were tried by the vicar or sub-vicar with the aid of the good-men, *more solito*, and the governor could only interpose in very grave cases, where the power of the accused seemed likely to warp justice (1328, 1363). The councillors and good-men were empowered to make civil and criminal ordinances, to punish by death and mutilation, and to call upon the vicar, the bailiff, and their lieutenants to execute the sentences (1331). An appeal from the feudal courts was allowed to the king, the governor, and the vicar of Cagliari. The municipality, with the archbishop's approval, boldly resisted even the king's demand for the surrender of two brothers who had murdered a nobleman (1422).

The vicar was the champion of the town against feudatories or governor, but he was himself jealously watched. The vicar and bailiff, instead of appointing assessors, were ordered to grant commissions of oyer and terminer to lawyers of Cagliari itself, who must undergo a previous examination (1342). The practice of selling or leasing the office is forbidden (1359). No vicar may be related to the archbishop or governor (1455). Characteristically Spanish is the dispute as to the vicar's liability to render account of his administration. He insisted that his conduct could only be scrutinised at the close of his three years' term; but the town procured an ordinance that any one at any time could bring a charge before the competent authorities (1469). More successful than their Castilian contemporaries, the people contrived to reduce the period of the vicar's office to two years (1475), and then to one (1479).

There was jealousy also between the municipality and the archbishop. This reached a climax in 1442. The archbishop had imprisoned a Florentine merchant in defiance of the town's safe-conduct, whereon the municipality retaliated by impounding the archbishop's vicar and several canons and priests of the cathedral. The natural result was ex-

communication, and it was resolved to appeal against this sentence to the pope, and, if necessary, to the king. It is unfortunate that only one reference is made in the documents analysed to the parliament of Sardinia. On this occasion the three estates are found to consist of (1) two archbishops, two bishops, and two representatives of chapters; (2) one marquis, one count, and seven knights; (3) four members for Cagliari and fifteen representing eight other towns and districts. There are several miscellaneous documents of interest. An ordinance (1244) common to all Catalonia is directed against clandestine marriages, a crying evil throughout Spain and the subject of repeated petitions of the Castilian cortes in later centuries. Other decrees, also recalling later Castilian legislation, exclude from Aragonese ports Lombard, Florentine, Siense, and Lucchese traders (1265, 1325). An early sumptuary law forbids the ladies of Cagliari to wear gold, silver, or pearls (1333); but in 1545 the town secures a modification of the *pragmatica* of Charles V on dress, upon the ground that it was carried in the absence of the representatives of Cagliari and was ruinous to the town's trade. A law existed against disorderly houses in certain districts, but after a two years' suit a respectable citizen found it as difficult to enforce the law as it is at present in England (1404-5). In 1353 an excellent law respecting 'ancient lights' is directly abrogated, probably with the view of increasing the population, the area of the castle being limited. An example is given of a conveyance by a citizen to the municipality. He takes the councillors by the right hand and admits them to the house; they then formally open and shut the door; on the following day a notice orders adverse claimants to state their case.

Is it due to accident or to monarchical centralisation that only five documents relate to the administration of Charles V, and one to that of Philip II? In 1562 a petition deals with the destruction of twelve convents of the Vergine del Carmine of Sardinia by the French Lutherans of Languedoc and Provence. Another document of interest shows the island in conflict as to a subsidy with the queen regent (1667). The predominance of family over public interests is marked by the apparent monopoly both of civil and ecclesiastical power by the house of Carcassona (1606-1736). The juxtaposition of two royal deeds, just two centuries apart, in one of the cases curiously illustrates the zenith and nadir of municipal liberties in Spain. On 12 July 1479 Ferdinand II granted all the liberties, immunities, graces, and privileges of his predecessors to the municipality and castle of Cagliari. On 6 May 1679 Charles II gave to the chief councillor the right of decorating his breast with a medal hung by a crimson cord, the obverse of which bore the portrait of his majesty, the reverse the city arms. This trivial privilege has been strangely permanent. The syndic of Cagliari still wears a medal, with the portrait of Vittore Amedeo III substituted for that of Charles II, and the cross of Savoy quartered on the arms of the Castell de Caller.

E. ARMSTRONG.

The Romance of a King's Life. By J. J. JUSSERAND. (London: Fisher Unwin. 1896.)

The Authorship of the Kingis Quair; a New Criticism. By J. T. T. BROWN. (Glasgow: Maclehose. 1896.)

Jacques I^{er} d'Écosse fut-il poète? Etude sur l'authenticité du Cahier du Roi. Par J. J. JUSSERAND. (Paris: Extrait de la *Revue Historique*. 1897.)

M. JUSSERAND'S 'Romance of a King's Life' is a translation, in dainty guise, of 'Le Roman d'un Roi d'Écosse,' which was reprinted from the pages of the first number of the *Revue de Paris* (February 1894). This marked attention of a scholar of M. Jusserand's authority, together with the discussion raised by Mr. Brown, has given an unexpected importance to some special points in Scottish literature and history. As the question is primarily one of criticism, to a large extent philological, I must reserve for other pages than these a full statement of the matter. And now that M. Jusserand has replied to the anti-Jacobean in such a telling way in his *Etude*, further discussion may be as unnecessary there as it is impossible here.

The 'Romance' is a sketch of the reign of James I, king of Scots, *un petit essai littéraire consacré à la vie tragique du roi.* M. Jusserand's interpretation of the king's life by the familiar political and literary facts is as just as it is pleasing. We may feel inclined to say that in his opening passage on the condition of Scotland in the early fifteenth century he has over-emphasised our ancestral savagery, just as the painter Pinturicchio, with a charming indifference to facts, made it quite too sunny a pleasance. Students of Scottish history will be grateful to M. Jusserand for introducing to them what is practically a new 'authority,' the knight Regnault Girard, who was sent on an embassy from the king of France to fetch the Princess Margaret for marriage with the Dauphin de Viennois. His account of the mission, 'with his instructions and a number of official documents,' is extant in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (MS. Fr. 17330, No. 9) and is at present unpublished. M. Jusserand has given some extracts which are of a most interesting character, and of first historical importance. Here surely is an opportunity for the Scottish History Society.

Mr. Brown's book and M. Jusserand's reply deal chiefly, as I have said, with critical matters; but one of Mr. Brown's arguments of attack is historical. In a chapter, under the journalese title, 'Autobiography on its Trial,' Mr. Brown practically asserts that if James did write the *Quair* he did not know his own age or the date of his capture by the English, and that he was indebted to the 'Chronicle' of the prior of Lochleven for these personal details. Mr. Brown's deduction from this premiss, which he says is 'sufficiently ludicrous,' is quite inconsequent; and M. Jusserand has, on pp. 37-46, supplied material and argument which justify us in accepting with him the accuracy of the dates in the poem. Chronology, like statistics generally, may be the excuse of many a queer conclusion; but when we find an editor interpreting the line,

That from the deth hir man sche has defendit,

as a reference to the 'Bar-lass' incident, and therefore proving the

retrospective character of the poem, we may be sceptical of the sceptic. Professor Skeat touches the extreme limit of commentary when he says— 'By a singular coincidence it was literally true that she defended the king when he was being assassinated;' and this is all that can be said by way of annotation, unless we illustrate, even from less rhetorical centuries, the *destroying* sorrow of rejected love.

G. GREGORY SMITH.

The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. The Black Books. Vol. I., from A.D. 1422 to A.D. 1586. (Lincoln's Inn : Privately printed. 1897.)

THERE is, perhaps, no more serious gap in the history of medieval England than that which should be filled by the tale of the Inns of Court. They have a fair claim to be the most purely English of all English institutions, and the influence that they exercised over the current of our national life could not easily be overrated. For let us ask, What was it that saved English law when the day of strain and trial came in the sixteenth century? Why was there in England no 'reception' of Roman law? We ought to pause before we answer these questions. We ought to look not only at Germany, but also at France and Scotland. The danger was very great. In 'the new monarchy,' as Mr. Green called it, the monarch must often have felt that his legal tools were clumsy, and there were plenty of people to tell him where to look for apter instruments. As it was, our common law had a bad time under Henry VIII. In all directions its province was being narrowed by the new courts, the Star Chamber, the Court of Requests, the Council of the North, and so forth. There comes a moment when the stream of law reports, which has been flowing ever since the time of Edward I, seems to be on the very point of running dry. Reginald Pole, the highly educated young man who is not far from the throne, is saying that the time has come for Roman law; every well-ruled nation is adopting it. The Protector Somerset is keenly interested in getting a great 'civil law college' founded at Cambridge. To praise 'the civil law' is a mark of enlightenment, and sometimes of advanced protestantism, for your common lawyer is apt to be mediævally and even popishly inclined.

But there was a difference between England and other countries. For a long time past English law had been taught; it had been systematically and academically taught in and by certain societies or 'fellowships' of lawyers. Did not that mark it off from every other mass of legal rules with which it ought to be compared? Roman law had been taught and canon law had been taught; they had been taught in England, as elsewhere; but had German or French or Scotch law been taught, taught systematically and academically? If the answer to this is No, then surely we have here a difference of the first importance. The taught system will be very much tougher than the untaught. In England the struggle is not between doctrine and traditional practice, but between doctrine and doctrine, and when the tyranny is overpast English mediæval doctrine has its wonderful renaissance in the Elizabethan courts and the pages of Sir Edward Coke.

If this or anything like this be true, then every scrap of information

that we can obtain about these Inns of Court should bear a high value in the eyes of all who care for English history. Happily at this moment the rulers of more than one society seem disposed to do all that in them lies towards stimulating and satisfying our reasonable curiosity. A sumptuous volume comes to us from Lincoln's Inn. It is edited by Mr. J. Douglas Walker and Mr. W. P. Baildon, and their work has been well done. We must not omit to say that this book contains an enormous mass of miscellaneous information bearing on the life and manners of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Merely as a record of prices and wages it would be valuable, and there are instructive and amusing anecdotes. But the main matter is that we can now know pretty thoroughly the constitution of this honourable fellowship of Lincoln's Inn as it was between the years 1422 and 1586. In a careful preface Mr. Walker has said almost everything that can as yet be said with any certainty. During this period the framework of the society remains marvellously stable. What it was in the days of Elizabeth it had been in the first year of Henry VI, when it suddenly appears before us in the first of its Black Books. 'The system of government,' says Mr. Walker, 'remains unaltered; admissions are made more regular, education more effective, but the changes are slight, so that it is possible from the casual notices to say that the constitution which existed in 1422 was in force in 1586.' This being so, we shall agree with Mr. Walker in thinking it 'safe to infer that so early as the former year the constitution had become well suited to the wants of the society, and that this completeness had been the growth of many years of use and wont.' On the other hand, there is a limit beyond which we must not carry even the embryonic history of this or any kindred society. As a prerequisite we must have granted to us a considerable number of professional lawyers. Nor only that, for these societies consist not of fully graduated lawyers (if that phrase may pass, but of *apprenticiei*. The 'benchers' of these inns who give degrees (*vel quasi*) by calls to their bars and their benches are themselves mere apprentices. The full-blown *servientes* have an inn of their own; and would that its history were known! All this seems to imply a demand for and supply of professional pleaders and advisers such as we should scruple to postulate for any reign earlier than Edward II's, or at earliest Edward I's.

Mr. Walker holds out a little hope that about the time before 1422 he may have something to tell us in a future volume. He is postponing an account of the site, the local habitation, of the society, and it may be that there are leases or conveyances of land and buildings which will lighten the darkness. At present we end with a difficult problem. In 1422 we see a highly organised society. What has been its model, or to what other institutions may we liken it?

We are impelled to ask some such question, for the absolutely new grows rarer the more we read. It would be folly to rush in where Mr. Walker has declined to tread, but it seems to me that we are more likely to find the germinal idea in the gild than in the college or in the university. Lincoln's Inn is acephalous; it has no head, no master, or warden, or provost; it has four annually elected 'governors' or 'rulers.' In this it is unlike a college, but not unlike some gilds. The gild, though often it has a single 'alderman' as its head, has often four, just four, elected

skevins (*scabini*). If the primary object of the association is that of providing lawyers with a common hall and common meals, and with chambers in which they can live cheaply, and for the time being celibately—they do not bring their wives to town—then a certain resemblance to the college seems to follow of necessity, and it is increased by the common store of books and the chapel. And then in the gild of the craft or ‘mastery’ there seems to be an element which is potentially educational, and which may become academic if the craft in question is a craft rather of the head than of the hand. The gild seeks to regulate apprenticeship. It assumes the duty of protecting the public against bad work and its own members against undue competition. Moreover there was a good deal of gild-like festivity in the inn. Its ‘revels’ were prolonged and its records are tinged with the roseate hue of good wine. Apparently it knew of no ‘founder,’ of no foundation charter or founder’s statutes. It seems to have made its rules as it went along. Also it was unendowed; it held the site upon lease; it was self-supporting; it lived from hand to mouth; there was no corporate revenue to be divided among fellows. But it is easy to make wrong guesses, and after all it is only for points of connexion that we can ask, for the honourable fellowship is not a craft gild, and the corporation (*vel quasi*) which begins to teach English law by means of ‘readings’ and ‘moots’ does something that is very new and very important. Perhaps nothing so important was done by any medieval parliament.

That *vel quasi* is one of the oddest points in the whole story; the ‘fellowship’ or ‘society’ never becomes corporate. It is as if English lawyers had said, ‘We will show you how all this can be done without any of your Italian trickery: we have no need of “incorporation;” we can get all that we want by means of our own home-grown trust.’ One would think that at times the unincorporatedness of the inn must have occasioned difficulties and expense, but I suppose that lawyers knew how to avoid litigation, and, in the days when *quo warranto* was a terror, an inn may have been the safer because of its impersonality.

Be this as it may, the honourable society of Lincoln’s Inn never acted more worthily of its illustrious past than when it decided to publish its records. We may hope that it will not be weary of well-doing and that we may soon know all that can be known of one at least of the Inns of Court.

F. W. MAITLAND.

Letters and Papers relating to the War with France, 1512-13. By ALFRED SPONT. (Navy Records Society. 1897.)

STUDENTS of English naval history will welcome the assistance of the able young French historian who has edited for the Navy Records Society the English, French, and other papers bearing on the naval war of 1512-13. Some of the English papers here printed are well known, others are given for the first time, but the especial importance of the book lies in the fact that through M. Spont’s researches in the French archives we are now enabled to regard the contest from both sides and compare the efforts and resources of the two powers. Henry VIII, rejoicing in the vigour of youth, a full treasury, and an undisputed accession, light-heartedly commenced the usual war with France. He

had not recognised that within little more than half a century France had developed from a congeries of feudal states into an organised kingdom, and that the era of raids or invasions supported by rebellious vassals was over. Still less did he recognise that the union with Brittany would henceforward compel the employment of a vastly increased naval force. Hitherto there had been no blockades of the French ports; hardly treated by nature, there is none on the Channel coast line offering adequate shelter and support to a fleet of inferior strength. But this war, the first since 1492, and the acquisition of Brittany begin with an attempt to blockade Brest or to force an action on the fleet protected there, the first of the long series of such blockades in which our seamen learnt the endurance, disciplined patience, and professional skill that bore glorious fruit on the day of battle. To command the Channel, to attack Brest, and to keep up communications required a force greater than English sovereigns had been accustomed to commission; that Henry had to find out from experience, but the lesson was learnt but slowly, because the English fleet was ready long before that of the French, and in his first cruise Sir Edward Howard practically met with no resistance. Theoretically too Henry was entitled to rely on the assistance of Ferdinand of Aragon, but that slippery ally 'was too selfish to keep his engagements:' his contemporaries would have said 'too politic.' It is a matter of extreme interest to observe that, on the other side, Scotland, for the first time, was strong enough to assist France by sea. A Scottish squadron joined the French early in September 1513. The late date, and other circumstances, prevented it doing any service, but it was ominous of what might be expected if the progress made under James IV was to continue. Englishmen had been taught to respect the Scots' dogged fighting capacity on many hard-fought fields in their own island and in France; with a navy barely strong enough to hold its own they might well fear the appearance of another maritime power closely united with France. England possessed the advantage of acting on interior lines, but to have a strategical advantage and to know how to use it have with English governments rarely been synonymous. In this instance the effort to crush the Scots before they reached a French port seems to have taken the form of 'tarrying in the Downs for the Scottish flete,' while the Scots sailed at their leisure round the west coast, sacking Carrickfergus on their way.

Turning to the question of administration, M. Spont notices that the French victualling arrangements were, as a whole, more successful than the English. That is true, but—and it is a large exception—the French fleet was never away from its base, and drew its supplies direct from the country around the various ports in which ships were lying. On the other hand the English fleet was the largest that had been sent to sea for a century, and it was the first employed under conditions approaching modern methods—that is to say, intended to maintain continuous operations at a distance from its base of supplies. There was doubtless some incapacity and some dishonesty, but the chief reasons of the English failure are to be found in difficulties of communication and lack of organisation and experience. There was even less of administrative organisation in France than in England; there was no 'clerk of the

ships,' and Malet de Graville, the admiral of France, hardly appears except to countersign some appointments and to receive payment for the hire of his ship, the 'Louise.' We find Pierre Gautier, a receiver of the *taille*, Jean Lalemant, receiver-general of the finances of Normandy, Philippe de la Primaudaye, as well as René de Clermont, vice-admiral of France and commander-in-chief of the French fleet, all commissioned to superintend the French victualling. In this, as in other matters of equipment, preparation was slow, and Louis XII was not really ready to fight until the war was over. The English system was incomplete, and an impossible amount of work was thrown on the clerk of the ships during war time; but he was a permanent official, with trained assistants, and that alone was an immense advantage. It was an approach to a centralised administration; but there was nothing similar in France, where officials, with no previous training and new to their duties, were temporarily appointed for each separate province. I think, therefore, it is somewhat misleading to head a document (p. 56) 'Wages of the Controller of the French Navy.' Again, on p. 191 we find 'Warrant of Louis XII directed to the Treasurer of the Navy,' while the editor himself tells us in another place (p. 39) that there was no treasurer of the French navy until 1517. It would have been instructive if M. Spont had given us the exact title and duties of this treasurer (? Jehan de Bymont) of 1517. These points are of some importance, because if France had possessed a navy department we should know where Henry found his original of the navy board of 1546. The absence of a navy department makes it safe to infer that there were few or no royal ships. With the exception of those belonging to Anne of Brittany and the galleys, all, or nearly all, the vessels mentioned in the book were obviously hired.

It may be noticed that the French seamen were more liberally supplied with provisions than were the English. They were given biscuit and fresh bread, cider, beer, and wine, fresh and salt beef, mutton, and vegetables. Whether this healthy variety could have been maintained if a French fleet had been blockading the Thames may be doubted.

English readers will turn with interest to the French papers bearing on Howard's defeat and death on 25 April 1513. M. Spont considers that 'the enterprise was a mere folly,' but he shows that Howard had to choose between an attack and a retreat from want of victuals, and, according to Holinshed, he was sharply commanded from London to do his duty. Such an order was itself a reprimand, and would have stirred a less high-spirited man than Howard to action. Moreover on the mere question of odds we must remember that Agincourt and Verneuil were hardly beyond living memory, and that English generals were not yet accustomed to count heads when it was a matter of fighting Frenchmen. According to Sir E. Echyngam (p. 146) Howard purposed using only his own and four other vessels, 'with help of the boats,' and it is evident from Prégent's despatch (p. 137) that there was some severe fighting with these four vessels after the admiral's death, and that for a short time Prégent felt success uncertain. The remainder of the English fleet retreated. More desperate cutting-out expeditions are recorded in English naval history, and have been successful; a comparison of the English and French accounts seems to show that but for the accident of Howard's galley

breaking loose and being unable to make fast again to Prégent's in time, and the consequent death of Howard and want of leadership, the attack might have succeeded, and came so near success as to justify the attempt.

It would be well if the council of the Navy Records Society would make it an invariable rule to issue maps of the scene of action in works like this one, dealing with the military side of naval history. Every member of the society does not possess charts of the French coast. As a substitute the book is liberally illustrated. Two of the illustrations, the burning of the 'Regent' and the 'Cordelière,' and a plate of the 'Louise,' Admiral Malet de Graville's ship, are from contemporary manuscripts, and are curious if not particularly instructive. The other two plates, of ex-votos—if they are ex-votos—of sixteenth-century ships from Roscoff church, are infinitely more valuable to the archæologist. The two illustrations from the manuscripts, like all such productions, remind one of the famous camel of the German professor. The Roscoff ships, being modelled by men who had lived and worked among ships, are evidence, if it were wanted, that the conventional drawings usually accepted as representing the fourteenth to sixteenth century ships are worthless. The hull and lines of one of these vessels are almost modern in type; the other shows square gun-deck ports, a low fore-castle and poop, and perhaps a stern gallery, and altogether very much resembles a typical Elizabethan ship of the second half of the reign.

It only remains to add that the editor's notes show close research, and that, on the English side at any rate, no paper relating to the subject appears to have been neglected. Probably no one but M. Spont himself knows what there is in the French archives, and we may assume that he has given us everything to be found in them. M. OPPENHEIM.

Drake and the Tudor Navy, with the History of the Rise of England as a Maritime Power. By JULIAN S. CORBETT. 2 vols. (London: Longmans. 1898.)

MR. CORBETT has here given us a book which at once takes its place as a standard work on the history of the rise of England as a maritime power. In his opening sentence Mr. Corbett enunciates one first cause of it—'the maritime revolution which in the sixteenth century transferred the focus of the naval art from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.' The history of this transition is, he says, 'the history of the rise of the English naval supremacy.' It is thus that the introductory chapter is mainly devoted to an examination of the way in which this transition was brought about—the transition from galley warfare to warfare under sail, and thus also to a sketch of the methods of galley warfare. How closely the two came together will be best illustrated by pointing out that Lepanto, the last great battle between galleys, was fought in 1571; Gravelines, the first great battle between ships under sail, in 1588; and that minor actions between galleys were fought long after the first of these dates; minor actions between sailing ships had been fought many years before the latter. But in western seas, indeed, galleys of the Mediterranean type had never come into general use; and centuries before the great battles just referred to, the ships which fought off Sandwich in 1217 or

at Sluys in 1340 were, for the most part, sailing vessels with auxiliary oar power.

Bearing this in mind, more stress might perhaps have been laid on the development of ocean navigation following on the invention of the mariner's compass. Until this had passed beyond the rudimentary form of a needle in a straw floating in a basin of water, the knowledge of the polarity of a magnetic needle did not do much to render long voyages possible. When the needle was adjusted to a card, the adventurous mariner had his chance. But the longer voyages—down the coast of Africa, and later on to India and the West Indies—made him acquainted with heavier seas, and led to important modifications in naval construction. These first affected Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian ships; in England they were scarcely noticeable till towards the end of the fifteenth century, and they made their greatest progress during the first half of the sixteenth. It is scarcely too much to say that the change from the ships of 1500 to the ships which fought against the Armada was greater than it was from these to the ships which fought at Trafalgar. It is the progress of this change, the meaning of it, the originals which guided it and directed it, that Mr. Corbett has examined and brought out with rare skill and industry. So also the essential differences between the handling of squadrons of galleys and of ships under sail, and the gradual but slow development of an entirely new system of naval tactics.

Later on, this development is held by Mr. Corbett to form itself round Drake as a central figure, and so leads directly to what is the main contention of the book, considered as a biography, that 'in his career as admiral and administrator Drake stands alone as the creator and inspiration of a force that was new to the world.' This seems to me rather exaggerated. I know of no sense in which Drake can be said to be the 'creator' of this new force; I know of nothing which points him out as pre-eminent as an 'administrator.' But Mr. Corbett goes on:

As the perfecter of a rational system of sailing tactics, as the father of a sound system of strategy, as the first and unsurpassed master of that amphibious warfare which has built up the British empire, as an officer always ready to accept the responsibility of ignoring unintelligent orders, he has no rival in our history but Nelson.

It is quite fair to liken him to Nelson in his fearlessness of responsibility; I think it is correct to speak of him as 'the father of a sound system of strategy;' but I do not know when or where he showed himself to have any particular ideas on fleet tactics, beyond those which he shared with all the English seamen of the day, the ideas of keeping the enemy at a safe distance, and trusting to the weapons of the ship rather than to those of the men. Mr. Corbett, indeed, broaches the opinion that he devised, or at any rate introduced, the formation so long known as 'the line of battle'—the close hauled line ahead. His argument in support of this opinion seems to me fanciful. He thinks that the instructions given out by Raleigh nearly thirty years later must refer to the fighting against the Armada. Probably they do; but it is difficult to see the connexion between them and the 'line of battle.' I should interpret them, rather, as prescribing the attack in groups of four ships each—perhaps five; such four or five ships following each other,

each in turn delivering her fire, and turning in succession to renew the engagement on the other attack. Everything that is recorded of the fighting against the Armada seems to me to lead to the conclusion that the formation was by groups, by a principle of natural selection rather than of prescription. That the 'line of battle' was even dreamt of in 1588, and completely forgotten by 1653, will appear most improbable, if we remember that there must have been many men in the fleet in 1653 whose fathers had fought against the Armada, and who must have heard the tactics then followed discussed over and over again. But whatever these tactics were, whatever the formation, I know of nothing that points out Drake as their author in any manner more particular than as one of the lord admiral's council.

Again, Mr. Corbett says, 'Never once, when in sole command of an expedition, did he [Drake] fail to achieve success.' This is not quite accurate, even in the letter. He was in command in 1596, did not achieve success, and died of dysentery aggravated by mortification and disappointment. That the failure was not his fault does not alter the fact. He succeeded in 1586, and more brilliantly in 1587; his voyage round the world, too, must be laid to his credit; but the voyage of 1589—whoever was to blame—was a failure. I agree with Mr. Corbett that the responsibility of the failure does not rest on Drake; if he had been in sole command, the result might have been very different. Where I do differ from Mr. Corbett is in his supposition that Howard felt hurt by the command being given to Drake and Norreys. 'To have had the conduct of the war thus taken out of his hands and placed in those of his second in command, can only have appeared to him as an unmerited slight.' This rests on no authority, and is put forward by Mr. Corbett as an inference from the sparing notice of Drake in the 'Relation' of the defeat of the Armada drawn up by Howard's direction.

For, in fact, Mr. Corbett's contention throughout is that Drake was the guiding spirit of the campaign, the virtual commander-in-chief; and that, being so, the full credit of all that was done ought to have been awarded to him. His words are: 'Drake, by whom Howard says in his letters [the reference is not given and is unknown to me] he was guided throughout, is hardly mentioned. When he is, it is merely as a prominent captain with others, or else where it appears he was doing something discreditable'—to wit leaving the watch, to which he was appointed, to pursue certain hulks. Mr. Corbett seems to consider that the omission and the commission discredit the 'Relation of Proceedings,' which he criticises adversely as the work of a man who did not know what he was writing about. 'It contains,' he says, 'several blunders of seamanship; leeward, for instance, is written for windward'—the passage not indicated; but a similar blunder occurs in the account of Trafalgar in the 'Victory's' log, which was certainly written by a seaman—'the points of the compass are mistaken, and ships are made to sail impossible courses.' Here I venture to think the criticism fails: it appears on a later page as, 'Howard says that on a north-east wind he "cast about to the eastwards,"' which he speaks of as an 'obvious error.' It seems to me, on the contrary, perfectly correct. Howard's words—or rather the words of the 'Relation'—are: 'The wind sprang up at north-east, and then the Spaniards had the

wind of the English army, which stood in to the north-westward towards the shore. So did the Spaniards also. But that course was not good for the English army to recover the wind of the Spaniards, and therefore they cast about to the eastwards.' The amendment 'cast about to the west,' which Mr. Corbett by implication approves, renders the passage nonsense. Even supposing the direction of the wind accurately given, 'to the eastwards' may properly mean ESE., as 'to the north-westward' clearly means NNW.

Again: 'Howard says Frobiser got left "far to the leeward" when he really was to windward,' and the correction 'to rereward' appears to be accepted. The evidence of Frobiser being 'to windward' is not mentioned; and 'to leeward' appears to me more likely to be right. With the wind at north-east, and the body of the fleet standing to the NNW., it was an easy matter for ships separated from the fleet to be far to leeward.

Other instances might be adduced, but these are sufficient. Mr. Corbett is inclined to consider the imperfect 'second edition' of Ubaldino's Narrative as altogether more authoritative than the first. The first was, he thinks, based entirely on Howard's 'Relation,' which is of no count; the second is corrected by information received from Drake and others, and may be relied on. This seems very doubtful. No distinction is made between what came from Drake and what came from others; and some of them seem to have amused themselves by hoaxing the foreigner; for what else than a hoax is the well-known and often repeated story to the effect that in the 'Revenge'—Drake's ship—'about the conclusion of the fight, the bed of a certain gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from under him with the force of a bullet'? Does Mr. Corbett really suppose that English gentlemen are in the habit of lying down on their beds in the heat of a battle, even if they happen to feel somewhat weary?

J. K. LAUGHTON.

Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1625-49. Addenda. Edited by the late W. D. HAMILTON and S. C. LOMAS. (London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1897.)

THIS volume contains miscellaneous papers omitted in the published calendars of the reign, or acquired by the Record Office since their publication. It is difficult to summarise the contents of so mixed a collection, but Mrs. Lomas has, fortunately, given an extremely good account of the chief papers in her preface. Nearly half the volume deals with the first five years of the reign of Charles I, and there is much new matter concerning the duke of Buckingham and his quarrel with the earl of Bristol. There is a very curious love-letter, supposed to be from Buckingham to Anne of Austria, from the Conway Papers (p. 721). As the Conway Papers did not come into the possession of the Record Office till Mr. Bruce had published the Calendar for 1625-26, those relating to the first two years of the reign are entirely included in this volume of addenda. For the middle period of the reign there are a number of papers concerning Williams, bishop of Lincoln, and his administration of his diocese, and an interesting series of letters by Sir Thomas Roe; for the civil war there are some miscellaneous papers concerning military affairs, and a considerable series dealing with the measures taken by the parliament for

the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, including some of the order books of the committee appointed for that object. The most complete and extensive series of papers calendared in this volume is that comprising the documents relating to Jersey and Guernsey. They are now included for the first time in the Charles I 'Domestic State Papers,' as they have been in the recently published volumes of the series for the reign of Charles II.

Turning from public affairs to private correspondence, the papers relating to the Conway, Porter, and Morton families deserve attention, and a little collection concerning the courtship of Mr. Arthur Pyne is amusing. A small number of papers are of literary interest. There is a letter from James Howell to Conway, differing a good deal from the version of the same letter which Howell afterwards printed (p. 77). Edmund Bolton writes to Buckingham, urging him for political purposes to favour literary men (p. 129). Falkland lavishly praises a masque just performed, which was probably Carew's 'Coelum Britannicum.' There are a number of papers relating to Cambridge affairs, but the most curious is one concerning the lectures of Dr. Dorislaus, lecturer on history at Cambridge, who gave great offence by his commentaries on the 'Annals of Tacitus' (p. 236). A petition from William Lithgow, the traveller, misprinted 'Cithgow,' is of some interest (p. 321). Another petition proves the fact of John Hampden's imprisonment in the Gatehouse in 1627, which has been doubted (p. 198). A letter from Cromwell to the sequestrators of the Isle of Ely in 1645 is of some interest (p. 77); it is on behalf of two divines, one of them the lecturer for whom he pleads in the first letter in Carlyle's collection.

C. H. FIRTH.

Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1729-1730, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Prepared by WILLIAM A. SHAW. (H.M. Stationery Office. 1897.)

THE present volume is a continuation of the Calendars of Treasury Books and Papers from the years 1557 to 1728. But this Calendar is far more complete than any of those which preceded it, as, besides the Treasury Board papers, to which the previous calendars were confined, it embraces not only the extremely important series of Treasury Minute Books, but most of the other books recording the work done in the treasury, such as the King's Warrant Book, the Lord Chamberlain's Warrant Book, the Register of Papers, the Public Disposition Book, and so on. The importance of this innovation becomes obvious when it is remembered that though the Treasury Board papers were professedly papers to be considered and minuted on by the lords of the treasury, yet often they have no record of the minute written on them; and further, several of those other records mentioned, though within the scope of treasury business, are not alluded to either in the Treasury Board papers or the Treasury Minute Book. There are, it is true, a few classes of records preserved among the treasury papers which are not here calendared, either because they are merely account books and supply no important information, or because they have no very direct bearing on the real work of the treasury. But, from what is here selected, an almost complete picture is given of the immense and varied work transacted by the treasury in a given year. Although to any one who knows the actual

work of the treasury to-day this will not perhaps appear very excessive, it is nevertheless a matter of surprise that the treasury was occupied with so much business then ; for besides the purely financial work with which it dealt, it was occupied with the most surprising amount of detail connected with almost every branch of national life. Smugglers, the water supply of London, the use of oil in houses, relative values of French and English coinage, stealing a wife, the rebellion of 1715, robberies on the highways, seditious pamphlets, captives in Morocco, the difficulty of obtaining convictions in Scotland, and so on, are some of the countless subjects dealt with in these pages, of which the variety may be gathered from the fact that the general index covers all but a hundred pages of very close type. The editor, Mr. Shaw, speaks of this volume as an experiment in this new method of including all the treasury work. As a single volume giving a complete view of treasury work during a given year this calendar is invaluable, but it is much to be doubted if the value of a continued series on the same scale would be so great. Seeing that these two years alone take up over 700 large pages, the amount of labour and the quantity of volumes required to do the same for every year are something stupendous to think of, and would hardly be adequately repaid by the value of such an undertaking. A more rigid selection might certainly be exercised for succeeding years. But it must be repeated that this volume, as giving a practically complete picture of two years' work, is a thing by itself of very great value.

In looking through this volume one is considerably struck with the great frequency of the meetings of the treasury board, and it is a matter of wonder that the enormous mass of work dealt with could have been performed at all by a board that held formal meetings. It appears, however, that the practice of really settling all important treasury business at meetings of the lords of the treasury was continued as late as to about 1830, when it was found more convenient that the chancellor of the exchequer should assume all the functions of the board ; so that the board which succeeded to the functions of lord treasurer eventually handed them over again to a similar single minister. In these years, 1729-1730, when the standard of public duty is not generally considered very high, the board seem to have met every other day for the transaction of business, which seems very frequent considering that several of the members must have had other duties as well.

There are countless subjects of interest which occur more or less at haphazard in these pages ; sometimes a thread is started and it is impossible to follow it out, but this is by no means always the case. Mr. Jezreel Jones, for example, is an amusing person who is constantly obtruding himself. He apparently had something to do with the entertainment in England of a genuine Moorish envoy and of a spurious envoy from the same country, and was constantly complaining to the treasury that he had been inadequately remunerated : he also seems to have induced others to pester the treasury, until finally he was called in and severely reprimanded for giving so much trouble ; however, he had previously succeeded through an agent in extracting some money from the treasury. It is curious to find some of the arrears of Queen Anne still unpaid so late as this, but this makes it the more intelligible that some of the

late king's tradesmen were still complaining that they had not been satisfied. The morality of Eton boys is safeguarded by the treasury, who hearing that a starch-maker sells wine to them from a ship on the Thames, tell the commissioners of wine licenses to stop it. Among the royal officials may be noted as quaint survivals the 'herb-strewer to his majesty,' the 'rat-killer in ordinary to his majesty,' both of them ladies, the royal 'mole-catcher,' and the 'keeper of his majesty's private roads and guide of his royal person in all his royal progresses.' Perhaps one of the most curious pieces of information, however, is contained in the following extract from the King's Warrant Book:—

Privy Seal directed to the lords of the treasury, authorising the payment to Spencer, Earl Wilmington, keeper of the privy seal, of 4*l.* per day in lieu of the ancient diet of 16 dishes of meat heretofore settled and allowed to the keeper of the privy seal, 'and for which we have now thought fit rather to grant the said daily sum than the said diet should be taken in kind,' and additional 1,175*l.* per annum to commence from 8 May last.

As in the last Calendar the commissioners for selling lands at St. Christopher recur with some frequency, often with demands for money; and it is interesting to read that out of the proceeds of these lands Bishop (then Dean) Berkeley was paid the 20,000*l.* for his Bermuda scheme.

The volume, as far as can be judged, is edited with extreme care and judgment, and the index is monumental in its exhaustiveness; if anything it is too exhaustive. *Most*, for example, as a heading under which fall *catholic king* (which is wrong also, as the king of Spain was called 'the catholic king') and *Christian king*, is somewhat of an absurdity, but even excessive exhaustiveness in an index is a fault easily excused.

BASIL WILLIAMS.

Le Comte de Vergennes : son Ambassade en Suède, 1771-1774. Par LOUIS BONNEVILLE DE MARSANGY. (Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1898.)

M. BONNEVILLE DE MARSANGY's present work is a continuation of his previous successful volumes on the comte de Vergennes's diplomatic mission at Constantinople, whence he brought with him a reputation which this record of his further experiences cannot be said to go far towards justifying. He also brought with him a wife, a Greek lady whom he had married for love, and whom the sensitive morality of his sovereign (Lewis XV) would not allow to accompany him on his Swedish embassy. When in a still later period—under Lewis XVI, and nearly down to the outbreak of the Revolution—Vergennes administered the department of foreign affairs in France, his policy was one which it might not prove a very easy task to vindicate from the charge of rashness. In the records of his Swedish embassy, however, it is impossible to perceive the slightest trace of any such quality. On the contrary he here appears before us as the very embodiment of methodical caution, accompanied by unmistakable pettiness of disposition, and corresponding pretty closely to Carlyle's portrait of the clerk out of his depth. It must at the same time be allowed that his patience was sorely tried at Stockholm, and by no means only by climatic inconveniences. Though the

dispenser of large subsidies, he was constantly himself in difficulties for money, and no crisis was so serious as to make him forget this want.

He had the keenest sense of his ambassadorial dignity, as was certainly excusable in the representative of the protecting power; and such affronts as an undistinguished seat at court private theatricals, or detention in an antechamber while the senators were in the presence, went very near to his heart. Indeed, their usual effect was to impart a very sombre hue to his next despatch concerning the political situation and the future of the Swedish monarchy. But of the worst of his trials (as is at times the case) it was impossible for him to make a grievance. Vergennes was a conspicuous victim of the double system in the management of the foreign affairs of France which since the publication of the *duc de Broglie's* memorable '*Le Secret du Roi*' is generally known to have prevailed during part of the reign of Lewis XV. The foreign minister, the *duc d'Aiguillon*, was in the present instance privy to the personal wishes of the king, of whom the *comte de Broglie* was the confidant in ordinary. But the French ambassador at Stockholm was left in the dark as to the full designs of the policy of which he was the avowed organ; in his instructions (which are printed in an appendix to this volume) these designs were obscured to such an extent as to be unrecognisable; and in his ignorance of the real wishes of his government he was obliged to resort to the humiliating expedient of obtaining from the sovereign to whom he was accredited a letter equivalent to a release from responsibility in the act which he was helping that prince to accomplish.

This act, which forms the centre of interest in the volume before us, was the celebrated *coup d'état*, by which in three days (19-21 Aug. 1772) Gustavus III of Sweden changed the system of government in his kingdom, and emancipated the monarchy from fetters which during more than half a century (since 1720) had kept it in a condition of something worse than impotence. Ample admiration has justly been accorded to the completeness of the young king's preparations, to his swift decision in changing the preliminaries of action, to his extraordinary coolness and courage when the hour had arrived for his own appearance on the scene, to the eloquence of his direct appeals to army and people, and to the moderation which enabled him to achieve a victory as bloodless as it was complete. But it is only after taking note of the details, as given in the present volume, which illustrate the indignities accumulated by the existing political system upon the Swedish monarch and monarchy that this moderation is likely to be estimated at its true value; and it is only by a study of the 'new' Swedish constitution, which in point of fact enforced little more than the condition of things that had obtained in the kingdom down to 1680, that the true significance of the 'revolution' becomes apparent. This instrument of government, which that friend of freedom outside her own frontiers, Catharine II, was pleased to treat as a proclamation of despotic rule, is printed at length in another appendix to *M. Bonneville de Marsangy's* volume. An examination of its articles without a knowledge of the system of government which it superseded might very possibly lead to the conclusion that it propounds the basis of a constitutional monarchy of a very liberal type. But when we remember that during the 'hats' and 'caps' epoch neither had the choice of the senate

been really in the king's hands, nor the assembling and dissolving of the diet even legally so ; when we find that his preference had been ignored even in military appointments, and, above all, that his assent had been unnecessary for the completion of any act of legislation—the immense importance of the change effected by Gustavus III becomes sufficiently apparent.

For the time the success at home of his courageous act was absolute ; and although, as we know, this success bore in it the germs of a renewal, some fourteen years afterwards, of the king's struggle with his estates, and of the tragic catastrophe which, yet six years later, put a sudden end to his career, yet it would have been the reverse of surprising had his people, in a very considerable measure at least, been educated up to the reasonableness of the political changes that had signalled the beginnings of his reign. Of course, although it proved singularly easy, as Voltaire sang,

De ne plus distinguer ni Bonnets ni Chapeaux
Dans un trouble éternel infortunés rivaux,—

factionousness is not to be suppressed by a royal ordinance ; and the corruption of a *régime* such as that which had been rampant in the days of Adolphus Frederick was not to be extirpated by a thunderbolt. But in a government where the person of the king was no longer a cipher much depended on the relation between his subjects and himself individually ; and already Vergennes had, soon after the *coup d'état*, expressed his regret at the inability of Gustavus III to make himself popular. He was devoid neither of noble qualities nor of brilliant gifts ; nor was he without bowels for the sufferings of his sorely tried people. But, notwithstanding his devotion to the excellent Madame d'Égmont, his temperament was cold—to what degree it must be left to the student of scandalous chronicles to determine ; he was incapable of sustained labour in carrying out the projects which his brain so readily conceived ; and he was unfortunately fond of a lavish and frivolous expenditure ill suited to the sovereign of a naturally manly and perforce frugal race. The little theatre at Gripsholm may touch the modern visitor as the relic of a refined and at all events harmless form of amusement ; but no doubt Gustavus was unwise in flaunting his operas and masquerades before the population of his capital, to which in the crisis of his destinies he had appealed as their immediate arbiter. (M. de Marsangy, by the way, rather absurdly attempts in this connexion to improve the occasion of the assassination of the king.) Thus, if the reign of Gustavus is regarded as a whole, the great achievement with which it virtually opened remains after all, from more points of view than one, a *coup manqué*. Nevertheless, the recognition due to the determination of the royal conspirator—all but solitary in his audacious scheme, and far from really selfish in his purpose—rises to a still higher level if account is taken of his bearing towards the foreign powers which looked upon his attempt, when accomplished, with coldness or with unconcealed ill-will.

A survey of these relations occupies the concluding, and perhaps, in view of the novelty of some of its matter, the most interesting, portion of M. de Marsangy's volume. Against the satisfaction with which his achievement had inspired his French ally and protector Gustavus III had to set the wrath of Catharine II, the sarcastic disapproval of his uncle Frederick II, and the historic jealousy of Denmark, then under the impotent Christian VII. (Incidentally it may be noted that Vergennes

had reported Gustavus to have been encouraged to his *coup d'état* by the success of that which had a few months previously overthrown the Struensee régime at Copenhagen.) The Swedish king had reason enough for fearing a coalition between these powers against any endeavour towards recovering for his country something of her former position in Europe; and for resisting such a coalition he could count neither upon the support of Austria, hampered by her interest in the Polish partition, nor even upon the most effective kind of aid from France, who, greatly to Broglie's disgust, was too much afraid of Great Britain to be prepared to send a fleet into the Baltic. There remained the Ottoman Turk. Sweden's own defensive power (her effective land forces amounted to not much above 40,000 men) could hardly have sufficed to enable her to hold her own when her allies, as Frederick II sarcastically reminded his nephew, were so far away. But a combination of courage and caution enabled the Swedish king to weather the peril. Frederick II never abandoned his waiting attitude, and it had probably been an adroit step of Gustavus to place the queen mother, Louisa Ulrica, the Prussian king's own sister, at the head of the government of Swedish Pomerania, upon which Frederick's first blow must have fallen. Denmark, as is shown by her protests against the supposed tampering with the fidelity of her officers on the Norwegian frontier, was full of fears for her own safety. Catharine's hostility was a more serious danger. The democratic 'caps' had long been the henchmen of Russian influence (I need not follow M. de Marsangy in pointing out modern political analogies to this paradoxical relation), and the reinvigoration of the Swedish state ran counter to tendencies from which Russian policy never swerved. But on the present occasion the counsels of prudence prevailed; Catharine, with another Turkish war on her hands, and with a Franco-Swedish alliance on the tapis, determined to leave Sweden to herself, and, as Frederick wrote to his sister, the breeze blew over. The Franco-Swedish defensive treaty had never been actually signed, because, without violating his own constitution, Gustavus could not have concealed such an agreement from his senate. But to the naval preparations at Toulon Gustavus gratefully attributed the success of his foreign policy in 1773, which seemed to crown the triumph of his autocratic domestic reform of the preceding year.

A. W. WARD.

Contemporary Opinion of the French Revolution. By CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN, Ph.D., Professor of History, Smith College. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1897.)

THE first part of this book summarises opinions expressed on events of which they were eye-witnesses by the distinguished Americans who represented their country in Paris from 1785 to 1797. A reader interested in the subject is not likely to be unacquainted with the fervent republicanism tempered by practical sense of Jefferson, with the critical and judicious self-complacency of Morris, with the blind and headlong enthusiasm of Monroe. The 'Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris' is one of the best known authorities for the earlier stages of the French Revolution, and although an abstract of his views may be useful it cannot lay claim to any novelty. The second and unfortunately the shorter part of

Professor Hazen's book is more instructive, as well as more entertaining to the British reader, who may not have previously realised how greatly American feeling was stirred by events in France, and how greatly these events contributed to deepen the division between political parties in the States. The events of 1789, which in Europe excited lively sympathy from the Neva to the Liffey, were naturally hailed in America with an enthusiasm even more ardent and more unanimous. But—and in this the United States differed from the rest of the world—it was only after the fall of the monarchy that this fervour rose to the highest pitch among the populace, was publicly manifested by civic festivities, and filled the newspapers with wonderful effusions in bombastic prose and hysterical doggerel, full of sound and fury. 'It would be difficult,' says Professor Hazen, 'to colour too highly the picture of the enthusiasm for the cause of France that found expression in this country in 1793 and 1794. It was the real French frenzy. There was much talk of the rights of man, of hydras and despots and cleansing of Augean stables. Every supposed lover of liberty, from Cato and William Tell to Thomas Paine, was toasted at a hundred convivial boards. Many were the wishes expressed at these banquets that 'the rays of liberty might penetrate with the rapidity of light the remotest corners of the earth,' that 'the reign of philosophy might succeed to that of superstition and only end with time,' 'that the thrones of tyrants might be changed into guillotines and the heads of all those who refuse to acknowledge the sovereignty of the people be levelled.' Clubs and societies whose object was to propagate love of France, 'the sublime nation,' and to instil hatred of England and of the English prejudices of the federalists, spread throughout the land, not less among the slave-owners of the south than among the sober citizens of New England. Indeed, this democratic fervour was nowhere greater than at Charleston. In 1793 the Republican Society of that town petitioned the Jacobin Club for the honour of affiliation. Like Mr. Biglow's 'pious editor,' the southern gentlemen 'believed in freedom's cause ez far away ez Paris is,' but, like him, were convinced that 'libbaty's a kind of thing that don't agree with niggers.' The Jacobins received the overtures of their Transatlantic brethren rather coldly. Monarchical France had spent her blood and treasures on behalf of American independence; surely sympathy and gratitude which went no further than words, however fervid those words might be, was a poor return from a sister republic. No doubt there were in America extreme democrats, who did not agree with the gentleman who inserted the notice of the Boston civic feast in the *Columbian Centinel*, 'that, as the French citizens have rendered essential services to the establishment of liberty and independence in America, a return of the compliment might be enjoyed by a convivial dinner.' Feasts and toasts and sentiments were all very well, but they would have had their gratitude and their sympathy with the cause of freedom shown in a more practical way. To such enthusiasts even the renaming of the streets and repudiation of the aristocratic titles of 'mister' and 'esquire' appeared to fall short of what the occasion required. But even among the democrats those who were prepared for a crusade on behalf of republican principles were a small minority. With all their loudly expressed fervour for France and the

principles of the Revolution, the vast majority of the nation remembered that they were 'neither Britons nor Frenchmen, but Americans.'

The rant and fustian of the newspapers and public speakers seem to prove that an Anglo-Saxon community can lose its mental balance as completely as the people of a more excitable race. But although the Americans, and in a less degree the English, are not exempt from attacks of what may be called contagious democratic hysteria, the malady with them, however alarming the superficial symptoms, has never been so deeply seated as to expel all common sense and moderation in action.

It was both excusable and natural that the massacres of September, the execution of the king, and the atrocities of the Terror should scarcely chill the sympathy of the democrats. The facts were misrepresented and imperfectly known. Lewis XVI was believed to be a traitor. Such excesses as could not be ignored were excused on the plea of necessity and self-defence. The federalists, on the other hand, who were in theory constitutional monarchists rather than republicans, had warmly welcomed the attempt to establish a limited monarchy, and were eager to detect and unwilling to extenuate the faults and crimes of the faction by whom it had been overthrown. Fisher Ames, Hamilton, Noah Webster, and his son, besides many men eminent in their time and place, carried on a vigorous polemic against Jacobinical principles and the excesses which they believed to be the necessary outcome of such doctrines. They made less noise than their opponents, but they addressed themselves with great effect to an audience less likely to be influenced by noise. As Professor Hazen shows, the French sympathies of the majority in the States gradually cooled. The most permanent and important effect of the French Revolution on American parties was to emphasise the conscious opposition of principle between the democrats and the federalists. The former were led to cling to democratic republicanism with the fervour of a religious conviction, while the latter became more conservative through their fear of anarchy, fatal to all true liberty, and in their abhorrence of French theories almost justified the nickname of 'Anglomen' by their respect for British precedents and institutions.

Professor Hazen traces and illustrates the successive phases of American opinion in a clear and entertaining manner. His language may occasionally seem a little strange on this side of the Atlantic, as, for instance, when he says that 'Morris's attitude was not determined by personal sympathy or affiliation, but was the natural dictation of his general political creed.' But small blemishes may be pardoned to a writer who has the cardinal merits of impartiality, industry, and vivacity. There is a wondrous jumble of printing on p. 225, some names misspelt here and there (*e.g.* p. 50) have escaped correction, and a little more care might have been spent on the index; *e.g.* Jefferson's character of Necker is not indexed, because the minister's name does not happen to be mentioned in the text.

P. F. WILLEBT.

Studii Storici sulla Rivoluzione Napoletana del 1799. Da BENEDETTO CROCE. (Roma: Loescher & C. 1897.)

THIS book is a reprint with considerable additions of matter previously published. First, it contains a biography of Eleonora de Fonseca Pimentel, a lady

born at Naples of Portuguese parentage, learned in mathematics and physics, and not unversed in political science. She was an admirer of Pombal and enlightened despotism. But when it was evident that the Bourbon government had utterly and for ever abandoned the policy of Charles III and Tanucci, her ideal became republican instead of monarchical, and she, who had obtained poetic fame by writing courtly odes in the style of Metastasio, became the editor of the *Monitore Napoletano*, the organ of the short-lived Neapolitan republic, and was one of the victims of the vengeance of King Ferdinand. Next follows a sketch of the life of Vincenzo Russo, a Neapolitan liberal who dreamt of a socialistic agricultural state composed of small self-sufficing village communities without trade, manufactures, or religion beyond what would suffice to create some feeling of fraternity, 'centred in a conception of sublime obscurity.' This enthusiast, after living in exile in Switzerland, followed the French to Rome and Naples, where he fought and died bravely in the cause of freedom. Lastly, we have the romantic story of Louisa Sanfelice, who, seeking to save the life of a lover, was instrumental in disclosing a royalist plot to the republican government, and was exalted, against her will, into a popular heroine and martyr. The volume concludes with an appendix containing particulars about Neapolitan liberals and conspirators, of interest only to minute students of the subject.

Signor Croce refuses to believe that Lady Hamilton—or Emma Lyons as he delights to call her—could have had influence over a man so great as Nelson sufficient to induce him to act a part so unworthy as that which he plays in Neapolitan history. Either, he says, the great admiral was carried away by his fanatical hatred of the French and of the name of Jacobin, or he but executed out the orders of the English government. We know that the latter supposition is baseless, but Nelson's gallophobia was no doubt extreme, and he had something of the feeling which made the pickled head of a Jacobin appear a not unsuitable present to a British officer. Even had he not been blinded by prejudice, he was hardly in a position in which he could recognise the justification and the virtues of the Neapolitan reformers. Nowhere else in Italy was there a minority among the nobles so enlightened and liberal, so cultivated and intelligent a middle class. The misfortune of these friends of the people, of these democrats, was that the populace, ignorant, superstitious, and degraded, was their most determined opponent; hence the existence of their republic depended on the presence of the French troops. It was an exotic with no roots in the soil, and it could not stand unsupported; but the liberal nobles, the men of letters, and patriotic citizens, who were called Jacobins at Naples, had nothing, except the name by which their opponents held them up to execration, in common with the blood-stained leaders of the Parisian mob.

P. F. WILLERT.

Mémoires du Comte Ferrand, Ministre d'Etat sous Louis XVIII. Publiés pour la Société d'histoire contemporaine par le Vicomte DE BROG. (Paris: Picard et fils. 1897.)

ALTHOUGH this new volume of memoirs has received the *imprimatur* of M. de Lanzac de Laborie, the commissioner of the French Society of Contemporary History, it may be doubted whether its publication throws

any fresh light upon the reign of Louis XVIII. For M. Ferrand did not play a very important part in the events of that period, and his comments and observations are merely those of the average royalist, who had been devoted to the Bourbons during their exile, and expected them to take his advice after their restoration. Although his memoirs go down to 1824, his actual career as a minister lasted only ten months altogether in 1814-1815; for on the second restoration he was, owing to the influence of Talleyrand, left out in the cold in the distribution of offices. He was accused of carelessness in letting Napoleon's letters from Elba be carried by the mails and in the naval supervision of that island, when he had previously held the double position of postmaster-general and minister of marine. He denied the charge emphatically in his memoirs, but he did not regain the full confidence of the king. After his exclusion from office he continued his practice of writing memoranda on points of public policy for the guidance of Louis XVIII; but it at last became clear, even to himself, that his sovereign looked upon these admonitions as a bore, and towards the end of the reign his physical infirmities compelled him to lead the life of a recluse, and thus made his political views mere conjectures. His most important piece of work was his collaboration with Dambray in drafting the *Charte* of 1814. His own ideal was an absolute monarchy, and he thought that Louis XVIII had committed himself too deeply by his proclamation from Hartwell before returning to France. But, although he had no love for a constitutional monarchy, he was politician enough to see that, as he puts it, *il faut toujours partir du point où l'on est*. Now and then he betrayed a somewhat puerile obstinacy about outward forms. The word *citoyens* filled him with horror, and he urged Louis XVIII to imitate our Charles II, and date the first year of his reign as the nineteenth. Unlike some more eminent men, he had at least the merit of consistently sticking to his principles. Under Napoleon he had lived quietly and unostentatiously, and his memoirs contain hardly anything about the Napoleonic period. When the emperor's escape from Elba became known, he strongly opposed the king's departure for Lille, thinking that he should have gone to Toulouse instead. He also thought that the French ultra-royalists were wrong, in 1822, in urging an attack upon Spain. His foresight in prophesying the importance for Europe of the South American trade was to his credit; but he was not usually statesmanlike in his ideas. No one reads his historical essays nowadays; his tragedies are absolutely forgotten. In fact, he was a worthy gentleman of mediocre talents. By training he belonged to the last century, about which, however, his memoirs have little to say. His editor has written an introductory sketch of M. Ferrand's career, and M. de Lanzaac de Laborie has added brief biographical notes of the chief persons mentioned in the book.

W. MILLER.

Kaiser Wilhelm I. Von ERICH MARCKS. (Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot. 1897.)

THIS book is an expansion of the article on the same subject which the author contributed to vol. xlii. of the 'Allgemeine deutsche Biographie.' The publication of the emperor's military writings and the literature which appeared last year on the centenary of his birth have enabled

Dr. Mareks to make additions to his original work, which was based upon all the principal printed authorities, notably upon Heinrich von Sybel's monumental history. But, as the author warns us in his preface and as we soon discover for ourselves in the course of his narrative, his views differ considerably from those of that great historian. Like most biographers, he is an enthusiast for his hero, but at the same time he fully admits the limitations, chiefly intellectual, of the emperor William I.

The book falls into natural divisions, corresponding to the various epochs in the emperor's long life. It is perhaps easier to write Prussian history than any other on this simple plan, because of the great personal influence of the Hohenzollerns upon the events of their time. The first section, however, that of the emperor's childhood, is disappointing. Of course the story of his early and bitter experiences during the Napoleonic era, of his baptism of fire at Bar-sur-Aube, and of his mother's influence over him, has often been told. But this picturesque period of his life, which formed such a striking contrast to the events of 1870 and 1871, is rapidly dismissed in a few pages, and we are hurried on to his work as an officer during the last twenty-five peaceful years of his father's reign. Except to the military reader this chapter is uninteresting, for the future emperor was entirely occupied in technical matters, save for his love affair with Princess Elisa Radziwill and his marriage, into which love certainly did not enter. But even at that period his aim was 'an independent Prussia, a great power of the European system,' even at the cost of one or more wars, for which his purely military interests then made him eager. During the revolutionary era of his brother's first decade on the throne he showed the same narrow Prussian spirit, and was identified in the eyes of the reformers with the reactionary party. His compulsory sojourn in England in 1848 and his conversations with the duke of Wellington, who, soldier and monarchist that he was, had known when to yield to popular sentiment, seem to have disposed him more favourably to the new ideas; but, like most practical men in Germany, he saw at last that nothing could be hoped from the theorists of Frankfurt. 'He who wishes to govern Germany must conquer it; Gagern's plan is impossible. . . . But that Prussia is intended to take the headship of Germany is clear from our whole history; the only question is *when* and *how*.'

The emperor's later career may be said to have begun with the summons of Bismarck to his councils in 1862. The author lets us clearly see that, for a long time previous to this memorable event, the future chancellor had been both politically and personally unacceptable to the sovereign with whom he has to be so closely identified. Bismarck had blamed his policy as being too timid, and he had refused in 1859 to have Bismarck as his foreign secretary, with the remark that such an appointment would 'turn everything topsy-turvy.' It is curious to find the statesman complaining that he was too rough for the royal taste. But in 1862 the king of Prussia had really no choice between Bismarck and abdication, for he refused to give up his cherished military schemes at the bidding of the Prussian parliament. From that moment the public life of the king was indissolubly united with that of his great minister, and the former was no longer the central figure of the drama. It cost Bismarck some trouble in 1866 to commend his policy towards Austria to his master; but

when once the king had allowed himself to be convinced, he gave his minister a free hand, in spite of all the influences that were at work against that war. He had become 'the first pupil' of his adviser, and, even when he had opinions of his own, he accepted that adviser's policy. The author brings out clearly the divergent views of the king, the crown prince, and Bismarck with regard to the assumption, or perhaps we should say the resumption, of the title of *Kaiser* in 1871. The crown prince was very keen about it, and went so far as to urge the compulsory adhesion of the southern states to the new empire. The king, on the other hand, regarded the Prussian kingship as the highest honour in the world; he would not hear of putting compulsion on the other German princes. It is to Bismarck, however, that the author ascribes the success of the imperial idea. It was Bismarck, too, who argued in favour of the title *Deutscher Kaiser*, as a concession to Bavarian particularism, instead of the more complete *Kaiser von Deutschland*. But, even when all was settled, the old sovereign wrote: 'My son's whole soul is in the new order of things, while I cling only to Prussia.'

The last chapter of the book, which contains the seventeen *Kaiserjahre*, falls into two natural parts, before and after 1879, a date which the author justly regards as a turning-point in modern German history, as marking the abandonment of the liberal policy in favour of state socialism and protection at home, and the inauguration of the Austro-German alliance and the colonial policy abroad. From 1871 to 1879 we find the emperor supporting his chancellor's foreign and domestic policy with some misgivings. He was at heart opposed to Bismarck's theory, that a monarchist restoration in France would be a disadvantage for Germany; he rejoiced at the *Dreikaiserbund* of 1872, but his last great difference with the chancellor was on the alliance with Austria as a protection against Russia in 1879. Nor did he approve of Bismarck's government on liberal lines during those eight years. But from that time on he was thoroughly at one with all that his great adviser did. The author, writing from a conservative point of view, evidently thinks that this change of policy in 1879 was desirable. But it is clear now that the restrictive legislation against the socialists between 1878 and 1890 only increased their numbers, while it has yet to be seen whether the resumption of the Great Elector's colonial enterprises in Africa will benefit Germany as a whole.

W. MILLER.

Nominations for Elective Office in the United States. By F. W.

DALLINGER, Member of the Massachusetts Senate. (Harvard Historical Studies, vol. iv.) (New York: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1897.)

THE authors of this excellent series are turning the dry light of historical research upon practical questions of great importance. Mr. Dallinger contributes a careful and impartial study of the caucus; and we in England, who praise or blame that institution without knowing much about it, have now no excuse for ignorance. It seems that when the United States began their independent career, nominations to high office were usually made by meetings composed of congress men or members of the state legislature. The congressional or legislative caucus has been superseded by a system of 'primaries,' *i.e.* meetings of the voters of one

party in a town or district, and 'conventions,' *i.e.* meetings of delegates chosen in the primaries. Mr. Dallinger holds that this system is sound in principle; he finds that it works well in some places, especially in country districts. He makes no attempt to palliate the shocking abuses to which the system is liable. In large cities, the primary is the field in which the 'boss' and the 'machine' are accustomed to operate. Lists of party voters are falsified, so that honest voters are excluded, while gangs of hired 'repeaters' go round and turn the scale in one ward after another. 'Pudding ballots,' consisting of twenty or more papers rolled together, are introduced into the boxes; or the count is taken by some person who can be trusted to 'count his man in.' A 'snap caucus,' called on very short notice, or a packed caucus, filled with selected roughs, commits the party to a candidate whom the respectable majority detest. In the effort to escape from boss rule, some of the states have been led to make a new departure in legislation. Until the other day, the great parties were merely voluntary associations; like the prime minister and the cabinet in England, they were 'unknown to the law.' But in Massachusetts and elsewhere party meetings are now regulated by statute; no doubt in time courts of law will have to consider what is a 'party' within the meaning of the act. We shall watch the results of these legislative experiments with interest, but we agree with Mr. Dallinger that the chief hope of improvement lies in raising the standard of duty among the general body of citizens. Where the machine is in power, it can only be displaced by persevering hard work. Mr. Dallinger has traced with a firm hand the lines on which the campaign will have to be conducted.

T. RALEIGH.

Ulysses S. Grant. By C. W. CHURCH. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1897.)

Robert E. Lee and the Southern Confederacy. By H. A. WHITE, Professor of History in the Washington and Lee University. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1897.)

It is at once an advantage and an incumbrance to Colonel Church to have before him one of the first autobiographies ever written by a man of action. On all the non-controversial aspects of Grant's career—and there are not many controversial points in a life so direct in all its purposes, so open to public scrutiny—he has before him the best of all witnesses. On the other hand almost any biography would seem tame and flavourless beside one so informed with independence and originality of thought. Mr. White's book, on the other hand, has as its only predecessor and rival the sober and sympathetic but somewhat inartistic life of Lee by General Long.

It cannot be said that either Colonel Church or Professor White has exactly the gifts which make a book worth reading, not only for the subject told but also for the fashion of the telling. Colonel Church's is a clear business-like account of the events of Grant's life, in which the writer never allows his hero to be overlaid by the characters and incidents of general history. It is one of the most honourable features of Grant's own work that he shows no wish to evade or reduce the blame due to him for the worst blot on his military career, the profitless and reckless sacri-

life at Cold Harbour. Colonel Church plainly describes it as 'the least excusable of the series of desperate and unsuccessful attempts to carry Confederate intrenchments by direct attacks.' One incident, perhaps the most impressive and dramatic of Grant's military career, is hardly brought out in its fulness by Colonel Church. So acute a military critic as the late General Chesney was misled into believing that Grant's combined attack of 29 March 1865 was the result of 'that sort of inspiration which in such great events precedes or presages success, and that, *changing his first plan*, he resolved to turn his left inwards and crush the enemy where they stood.' Grant's own memoirs clearly show how matters were. 'I said to him, "General, this portion of your instructions I have put in merely as a blind." "Him" was Sheridan; the "blind" the order to march southward and co-operate with Sherman against Johnston.' Colonel Church understands this, but he does not bring it out with the same directness and force as we see in Grant's own account.

Colonel Church's treatment of Grant's political and private life is direct and clear, though somewhat conventional and unimpressive. And the tale of the clouded and tragic but not unheroic end is told with thorough sympathy and dignified self-restraint. One is reminded of Scott in reading of the courage and cheerfulness with which the old soldier betook himself to his pen to retrieve the losses due to overtrustfulness and unbusinesslike habits, and of the determination with which he toiled on through physical agony under the shadow of impending death. Every reader of Grant's autobiography must have been surprised that a man of affairs, a hard fighter with little of book learning, could have produced work so happy in arrangement and expression. Colonel Church's account of the conditions under which the work was done adds to one's wonder and admiration.

Professor White certainly cannot complain that Grant's biographer had any advantage over him in the way of subject. Great soldiers cannot, any more than great men in any department, have places assigned to them on that direct competitive method in which undeserving stupidity finds a cheap and ready answer to its difficulties. Circumstances assuredly forbid anything like an exact comparison between Grant and Lee. The task assigned to each, and the resources with which it had to be achieved, differed. Grant's first aim was invasion and conquest. Lee's aggressive operations were controlled by defensive conditions and had their ultimate purpose in defensive policy. Even more did the resources differ. Grant's warmest admirer will hardly claim that here the comparison would be a fair one. Grant, at least in the later and most critical phases of his career, had the full support and confidence of a government dominated by the strong will of Lincoln. Lee, like Grant's predecessor, Maclellan, was hampered by the action of a president personally brave, but ignorant of military matters, and influenced by political apprehensions for the safety of the capital. In the early part of the war Lee no doubt had the advantage alike in the fighting power of his men and in the knowledge and efficiency of his subordinates; but towards the end he was checked at every turn by thinned ranks and an empty chest, while Grant could strike blow upon blow with a Napoleon-like indifference to loss of life. One thing, however, we may at least say by way of comparison. Lee was, as unanimous testi-

mony makes quite clear, one of those who at once and instinctively impress others with a sense not necessarily of effective power, but of distinction and perfection of character. Grant was a man to be liked, respected, trusted; Lee was a man to be worshipped. He had in a full measure the virtues of the southern aristocracy, from whom he was sprung—sensitiveness, self-respect, repose, and sobriety in his view of passing events. From its defects—arrogance, sensuality, and indifference to the rights of others—he was conspicuously free. And, be it remembered, the Virginian squire was a somewhat different person from the cotton-growing planter of the south, almost forced as it were by association into habits of licence and tyranny.

It cannot be said that Professor White has made his hero a very living figure. He has also somewhat overloaded his pages with preliminary matter not wholly relevant. Lee's biographer is taking a wide view of his province when he descants on the rights and wrongs of the disputes which led to the war of independence and the separation of the colonies. So too Professor White's treatment of the slavery question seems somewhat disproportionate. With his view in itself no one can quarrel. He is severe in his condemnation of slavery as a system, merciful in his judgment of those who were bound by inheritance and tradition to that system. It is, by the way, rather startling to read that 'the great body of the slave-holders were devotees of the religious faith handed down through pious ancestors from Knox, Cranmer, Wesley, and Bunyan.' The details of this rather curious spiritual parentage would be interesting.

In the latter portion of his work Professor White has rather fallen between two stools. The scope and space of his work did not allow anything like a full military history of the war. Yet he has rather overlaid his central figure with details not essential to the purpose. Despite these drawbacks, the book has real and substantial merits. Evidence is fairly weighed; the writer's judgments are sober alike in substance and expression. The biographers both of Lee and Grant move without bitterness amid angry memories and lately extinguished hatreds; they illustrate that spirit which has been on the whole the keynote of American feeling and policy since the war. Nor should it ever be forgotten that this was largely due to the promptly working judgment and masterful will of Grant. In the hour of victory he pledged his country to generous counsels, and set a crowning example of that capacity for reconciliation and forgiveness which is perhaps the best and most hopeful attribute of the American character.

J. A. DOYLE.

Lehrbuch der gesammten wissenschaftlichen Genealogie. Von Dr. OTTO-KAR LORENZ. (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz. 1898.)

THE title of this book would not convey to the ordinary reader a correct idea of the work itself. By genealogist we generally understand the man who provides the historical student with correct tables of descent. His work is not merely mechanical, but involves a considerable amount of science. He should be well acquainted with history; he should be able to decipher inscriptions and records, and to distinguish coins. His labour, if accurately performed, will then, in conjunction with that of the chronologist and of the political geographer, convert history from a con-

fused mass into a clear and consistent whole. But there is also another idea attached to genealogy, viz. that of finding pedigrees. When persons grow in opulence and importance they naturally wish to connect the present with the past and to discover the traces of their long lost ancestors. They will find learned men ready to place at their service vast stores of historical, antiquarian, and philological knowledge, and, if necessary, to prove, as Porson did, that cucumber is descended from King Jeremiah. This is not what Dr. Lorenz means by *scientific* genealogy. He does not undervalue the importance of accurate tables; in fact, they are for him absolutely necessary in order to enable him to pursue his scientific investigations. The ordinary genealogist is content to take the infant at its birth and to place it on his lists. Dr. Lorenz goes further back, and he finds in embryology and zoology a field for important discoveries.

His subject is *γενεαλογία*, the science, within certain limits, of generation and descent—not indeed an exact science, but one capable of indefinite improvement. He explains to us the connexion of genealogy with history, law, physiology, psychology, and many other sciences; but we shall not follow him into this wide field. We shall also pass over those sections in which he deals with the rules for testing titles of nobility, as they contain much more to interest the German than the English reader. But the work abounds in useful lists and tables. The reader may choose between the theories of Sadler and Hofacker as to the relative number of boys and girls likely to proceed from a marriage according to the relative age of the parents (p. 351). The author supplies us (p. 188) with an alphabetical list of more than 140 names to express various degrees of relationship. In this list the Latin and the German have to help each other out. In another place (p. 206) he borrows thirty-three distinct names by which we may address our ancestors for thirty-three generations, so that when the duke of York's children learn German they will be able to apply a separate term of filial endearment to each of their ancestors almost as far back as Egbert.

The professor deals fully with the question of marriage between near relations. Every one must have two parents, and, as marriage between brother and sister is not allowed, every one must have four grandparents. Every one ought also to have eight great-grandparents, but, as some persons marry their near relations, this number is sometimes reduced. Dr. Lorenz supplies us (p. 310) with a list of forty persons living, chiefly members of ruling families, who fall short in the number of their ancestors. We shall confine ourselves to the third degree. Only five out of the forty have six great-grandparents instead of eight. The royal genealogies of the Spanish peninsula supply cases of persons who had only four great-grandparents—Peter the Cruel of Castile, Don Carlos of Spain, and Sebastian of Portugal—but they were all of them mad.

By far the most interesting portions of the work to the general reader are those which deal with the transmission of qualities from parent to child. We inherit not only our bodily frame but also our moral and mental peculiarities from our ancestors, and it is the business of the genealogist to trace the descent. The most important cases are those of hereditary insanity, and in these the professor does not appear to us to be always successful. His theory may be sound, but

when he comes to deal with facts he sometimes goes astray. We may instance the case of Johanna of Castile, in which he fastens the responsibility upon persons who were certainly sane, and loses sight altogether of others who were notoriously mad. But, as the discussion of this question must be of considerable length, we propose to return to it hereafter. The account given by the author of the origin of the malady of George III is highly improbable, and, if true, would be very discouraging. If the great-grandfather of George I was the cause of the insanity of George III, he may have been the cause of that of Christian VII of Denmark, who was also a grandson of George II and a D.C.L. of the University of Oxford.

The professor regrets that since the death of Gatterer, more than a hundred years ago, so little has been done for the systematic study of genealogy, and he hopes that governments may be induced to break through the thick *Scheuleder* of the faculties, and to give their aid towards establishing schools for the purpose. We hope that Dr. Lorenz may be successful in Germany, where his treatise will supply students with a good and useful handbook for prosecuting their studies. His work gives evidence of conscientious labour, diligent research, and extensive knowledge, and we hope that he may meet with the encouragement that he deserves.

X.

Medals and Decorations of the British Army and Navy. By JOHN H. MAYO, late Assistant Military Secretary to the India Office. 2 vols. (Westminster: Constable & Co. 1897.)

MR. MAYO'S two solid volumes are pleasing to the eye from their beautiful phototype illustrations, and the merest glance at their contents fills the reviewer with admiration for the years of patient toil among forgotten records which were spent in their compilation. They will probably serve for many years as the complete official register of British military decorations. But it must be confessed that they are not easy or interesting to read, in spite of the enormous amount of new and curious information which is scattered through their pages. Books of this kind should be either catalogues or commentaries, and it is fatal to halt between the two alternatives. Mr. Mayo has made his work a good deal more than an illustrated catalogue by his plan of printing under the description of each medal the official despatches which were written with reference to it. But he gives no more than these formal, and often ill-written and unintelligent, documents. Thus his book falls far short of being a commentary; the long extracts which he prints are usually destitute of precisely those pieces of information which the reader most requires.

There are, we take it, two classes of persons to whom the book was intended to appeal, medal collectors and military historians. But the former will not gather from it the points on which they are anxious to obtain information, viz. the rarity of the medal, and the names and numbers of the regiments which were entitled to it. Supposing for example that a collector is offered an Egyptian medal bearing the clasps with Toski or Gemaizeh, he knows that he has before him rather a rare article, but its exact scarcity can only be ascertained by looking at a list of the corps engaged and the number of men in each. This he will not

find in Mr. Mayo's book, which contains only the official document promising the medal to all officers and men engaged in the actions in question. Or, let us take a more complicated instance: the collector comes upon a Peninsular medal with six or seven clasps, with the name of a soldier of the 88th inscribed on its edge. Knowing that a great number of these medals have been tampered with by unscrupulous dealers, who add surreptitious extra clasps in order to enhance their value, the collector will at once wish to find out whether it is possible that a man of this regiment can have been present at Barossa (let us say) or Albuera. If he starts to look up this simple fact in Mr. Mayo's manual, he will get no help whatever.

The other class of inquirers to whom the book might conceivably be useful consists of persons interested in the more obscure corners of military history. Let us suppose that a member of this fraternity comes upon the name of Corygaum in his reading, or chances upon a medal bearing the name (the last incident is not likely to occur often in one man's life). He may be seized with a desire to know something about the fight, and turn to the work which we are reviewing. He will there find no more than a bare mention of the fact that the clasp with Corygaum was granted to some members of the old Indian army in 1851, more than thirty years after the day on which it was earned. But he will not discover where Corygaum lies, what troops were engaged in it, or what was the enemy against whom it was fought. Thus he will go on his way the poorer for not knowing the details of one of the most heroic exploits which have ever taken place under the British flag.

The part of Mr. Mayo's work which may really prove useful to a limited class of readers is that in which he collects lists of the grants of private medals to individuals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The decorations themselves are not likely to come into the collector's hands, but he will be glad to know of their existence; while the inquirer into military history will certainly be put on the track of many curious and obscure incidents which would otherwise escape his notice. Accounts of the deeds themselves he will not, as we said before, discover in these volumes, unless they chance to be related in official despatches. Artistically speaking, the book is a great success: the photo-types of the earlier medals are admirable, and though we do not like the reproductions in colours used for the later ones, we must grant they are very good specimens of their kind. C. OMAN.

The fragmentary essay of Rudolf von Ihering, which Mr. A. Drucker has translated under the title of *The Evolution of the Aryan* (London: Sonnenschein & Co., 1897), was published posthumously by Dr. Ehrenberg in 1894, and is sufficiently well known as a brilliant and suggestive attempt to interpret the institution of the *ver sacrum* and a number of other observances of Roman ritual as survivals of the periodical migrations of the undivided Aryan race, and as indications of its state of civilisation. The translator has followed in detail the arrangement and subdivision of the original fragments, omitting Dr. Ehrenberg's introduction and appending an index, which is fairly full. It is not quite clear to what public the translation will appeal. Most students of Roman

law, or of primitive Aryan civilisation, read German enough for their own purposes; and the general reader who does not read German will hardly find Ihering's speculations of much value, even when they do not directly handle philological evidence. But if a translation was to be done, it is a pity that it was not carried through in a manner more worthy of the original. The rendering, in itself usually close, often too close, to the German, betrays frequent lapses from idiomatic English, and is marred by a number of blunders which suggest inexperience of the subject matter. The Aryan widow did not 'mount the stake' (p. 30) to rejoin her husband; nor were *gentilicia* performed by 'the gentlefolk' (p. 276); nor does 'Gr. $\mu\upsilon\tilde{\alpha}$ =goldmine' (p. 180). The 'institution of the campaign' (p. 314) hardly expresses *die Einstellung der Heerfahrt* in this context; especially as Ihering insists on the *close* of the campaign just before. Nor did 'The Nearch and his fleet' sail from the mouth of the Indus: *der Nearch* is a personal name. 'Ulpias' (p. 343), 'Chawilah' (p. 203 n.), and the 'Cossaer' (p. 103) are simply untranslated: while the Piceni appear as 'Picts' (p. 300), and Mesopotamia as Macedonia (p. 217). 'Pell-el-Amarna' in the index (p. 409) reproduces an unfortunate misprint of the original German, which has, however, been corrected in the text of the translation. Foreign languages fare even worse: *quarum annus est usus* should read *annuus* (p. 105); *singulus* (p. 370) should be *singulis*; $\chi\alpha\iota\ \mu\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\nu$ appears on p. 344: all these are correctly given in the original. These slips are the more regrettable, as the volume is well printed on good and very light paper, and in other respects handsomely presented.

J. L. M.

The third volume of *C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii ex recensione B. Kübleri* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1897) has some special interest for historians, for it contains good texts of the three tracts on the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish wars, which are not always accessible in good editions. It further contains what are called 'Fragments' of Caesar—stray words from his speeches and literary writings, his calendar, and what survives of his laws and decrees, with a convenient index. Altogether it is a most convenient collection of obscure and important items. That the editing is sound and scholarly is agreed upon by Latin scholars.

F. H.

The object with which Mr. H. Tipper's small book entitled *England's Attainment of Commercial Supremacy* (London: Elliot Stock, 1897) has been written is one with which it is impossible not to sympathise, for the writer tells us that his aim has been to instruct and interest persons engaged in commercial life by placing before them a short sketch of the steps by which England has attained commercial supremacy. The value of such knowledge, as tending to lead to more intelligent comprehension of present-day problems, cannot indeed be over-estimated. But to give within the compass of one hundred and sixty-five pages a thoroughly satisfactory and interesting sketch, ranging in point of time from the period of Phœnician civilisation to the battle of Waterloo, would be a triumph of genius and scholarship, and it is not altogether surprising that the author should have failed somewhat in the execution of his task. There are a good

many inaccuracies of fact, while a lack of vividness and proportion in the general treatment is a serious fault in a 'popular' presentation of this sort. On the whole it seems doubtful whether the book will stimulate the interest of the class for whom it is designed, and it cannot be recommended as a very trustworthy introduction to the study of a fascinating but complicated subject.

E. A. M.

After the lapse of only four years a second edition of Mr. Medley's *Manual of English Constitutional History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1898) has been called for. Mr. Medley's aim being 'to place within the reach of the young student the results of the most recent work,' he has found it necessary to rewrite large portions of his book; for the great 'History of English Law' has appeared since the first edition was published. The chief results of this work, as of Professor Maitland's 'Domesday Book and Beyond,' Mr. Thayer's 'Development of Trial by Jury,' Mr. Pike's 'Constitutional History of the House of Lords,' and other new publications, are carefully incorporated in this edition, and Mr. Medley is to be congratulated on the successful accomplishment of a laborious task. He is, perhaps, rather too ready than otherwise to adopt new theories; Professor Maitland's explanations of the Domesday manor and of the origin of English boroughs, for instance, are still *sub iudice*. An appendix of cases in constitutional law, chiefly of the seventeenth century, has been added, but it is to be hoped that this is not to take the place of the volume of illustrative extracts from documents which Mr. Medley mentioned as a possibility in the preface to the first edition.

Y.

The *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, edited by the Abbé A. Bouillet (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1897), has a distinct interest of its own. We know very little of the social history of the south of Gaul in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the 'Liber Miraculorum' is full of interesting detail as to the wild lives of the rough lords of Rouergue and Quercy, Auvergne, and Languedoc. The body of St. Faith, filched from Agen after the ingenious fashion of medieval relic-stealers, gave sanctity to the monastery of Conques in Rouergue, made it a convenient resting-place for pilgrims on their way to Compostella, and eventually gave it one of the richest treasuries in Gaul. A book of miracles was drawn up by two hands, Bernard of Angers early in the eleventh century, and a monk of the house who continued his work. It is rich in quaint stories, and gives additional details as to the lives of persons of whom we otherwise know little. The wife of Roger de Toëny (pp. 128, 129), for instance, was one of those healed by St. Faith. The abbé Bouillet in his note on her husband has omitted to refer to the history of his exploits given by Ordericus Vitalis. The saint healed animals as well as men—the ass of a servant of the monastery, and two mules, one of them 'prestantissimus peneque incomparabilis.' The book has been published before incompletely by Labbe and by Migne, but the abbé Bouillet gives the most complete text from five new manuscripts which he has been the first to collate.

W. H. H.

The Lives of the Troubadours, translated from the Provençal by Miss Ida Farnell (London: David Nutt, 1896), is a useful and unpretentious piece of work which ought to do something to give the general public

sound ideas as to Provençal poets and poetry. That it is needed is clear when a book was written so recently as 1895 on 'Troubadours and Courts of Love' by a writer who never so much as clearly grasped what the troubadours really were; and even so serious a writer as Professor Saintsbury seems to have very little to tell us in his recent manual on the subject of Provençal literature. The form of Miss Farnell's book is so beautiful that scholars will willingly turn to it in preference to the hideous and illegible original text which Mahn published in a form equally destructive to eyesight and good temper. Miss Farnell has contributed a short but interesting introduction, though it does not pretend to go very deeply into the subject. We can better gauge her knowledge from the copious explanations and notes that she has appended to the various biographies. These show that she has read extensively and judiciously, though her acquaintance with medieval history and geography is not wide enough to prevent her from making here and there a little slip, as when on p. 60 she puts Chinon in 'Turenne' instead of in 'Touraine.' 'The Austrian prison into which Richard, on his return from Palestine, was cast by the emperor' (p. 61) is a phrase showing some confusion as to the real facts. And it is a pity that she does not give the North-French form of a place name like 'Autafort,' lest perchance the inquirer should fail to identify it with the Hautefort of the modern map. But it is more important to note that her prose translations are clear, accurate, and pointed; and the verse translations of specimens of troubadour poetry, which is another feature of the book, are, as a rule, graceful and adequate. On p. 222 ought not 'Black Monks' and 'White Monks' to be read for 'Black Friars' and 'White Friars'? There were plenty of similar attacks on Benedictines and Cistercians at this period, but Dominicans and Carmelites had hardly time to develop the vices they are charged with in such early days as Peire Cardinal's time.

T. F. T.

Mr. J. Willis Clark's work on *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of St. Giles and St. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge: Macmillan & Bowes, 1897), is a most valuable contribution to the comparative study of religious customs in the middle ages. Not content with giving us the text of the Barnwell consuetudinary of the end of the thirteenth century, with an accurate translation, the learned registry of the university of Cambridge has prefixed an elaborate and highly interesting dissertation on the manner of life of the Austin canons, based primarily upon the Barnwell book, but illustrated also from the customs of the Abbey of St. Victor at Paris and from many other sources. It is possible that the author has taken his materials from too wide a field, since we have no right to assume that the rules which held good—for instance, as to periodical bleeding—among Benedictine monks were also valid for canons; but Mr. Clark is always careful to specify his authority and shows no disposition to press analogies. We think that in one instance he has misread his text. He mentions among the three classes of persons who resided in the almonry at Barnwell 'clerks who lived on charity, apparently young men whose education was incomplete and discipline defective' (p. li). But the text of the *Observances* (p. 174) shows clearly that these clerks were university students who were maintained by the house:

Clericos qui de elemosina pascuntur, et in elemosinaria commorantur, debet frequenter elemosinarius per se vel per alium de partibus suis opponere, et sub virga tenere, ut melius adiscant, et diebus festivis, quando non vadunt ad scholas, ut legant et cantent in ecclesia districte precipere, &c.

The words *opponere* and *vadunt ad scholas* appear decisive. It is curious that we find no reference to the benefaction made by William of Kilkenny to Barnwell providing for two priests studying divinity in the Cambridge schools (Rashdall's 'Universities of Europe,' ii. 558), but possibly these did not reside at the priory. We may notice that Mr. Clark's chronology of the early priors is not perfectly established. It does not follow because William of Devon's priorate fell *sub tempore interdicti* that he was appointed precisely in 1208; but Mr. Clark reckons backwards to his predecessors, as though from a fixed date (p. xvii). A full and careful glossary adds to the usefulness of an excellent book.

R. L. P.

It will be enough to give a few lines of cordial welcome to the first instalment of the *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward III, 1327-1380* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1896). It is, like the same calendars for the reign of Edward II, the work of Mr. W. H. Stevenson, and appears even before its time, since Mr. Stevenson's earlier calendar is only published at present up to 1323. The earlier volumes of this work have been reviewed at greater length in these pages. We need only say now that the admirable standard of scholarly execution reached by Mr. Stevenson's former volumes is fully attained by the present one. Among the special features for praise are the fulness with which new, circumstantial, and important documents are calendared, and the judicious brevity with which merely formal ones are dealt with. Equally praiseworthy is the constant reference to the places where the documents have been printed previously, while the index is, as usual with those for which Mr. Woodruff and Mr. Stevenson are responsible, almost beyond the possibility of criticism. We have used it a good deal, and after repeated testing can only find the very smallest faults with it. Everything is mentioned; errors in the numerals hardly exist, and wonderful skill is shown in dealing with the place names, both British and foreign. This, we suspect, must to some extent be ascribed to Mr. Stevenson's help. Indeed, the modern equivalent and the precise geographical position of nearly every place are given with remarkable accuracy. The only positive error that we have found is the slip of putting Llanbadarnfawr in Radnorshire (p. 667). It is true that there is a Llanbadarnvawr within that modern county, but it is pretty clear that the castle of Llanbadarn, which is referred to on p. 258 of the text, is the castle of Aberystwith, situated in the parish of Llanbadarnvawr in Cardiganshire. The references to Gwenllian, or Wenthliana, the daughter of Llywelyn ab Gruffyod and Eleanor de Necatfort, are all collected under 'Wenthliana,' and again under 'Llewelyn,' though in the latter case three appear under the main head 'Llewelyn, prince of Wales,' and only two—probably through some shifting of type—under the proper head that follows of 'Llewelyn, Wenthliana daughter of.' It is, perhaps, worth while again objecting to places like Abergwili and Llanstephan, which were no part of fourteenth-century Carmarthenshire, being labelled under 'Co. Carmarthen.' It is

more misleading than locating the town or village of Radnor in Radnorshire for the same period, for there was no Radnorshire and there was a Carmarthenshire, but with different boundaries from those of the present shire. We wish this little source of error could be avoided in the future. If not the local historian will be misled to the end of time. To turn from the form to the matter of the *Calendar*, it is worth noting a few of the many signs of feudal reaction that followed the triumph of Mortimer. A good instance is the resignation by the king to the bishop of Durham of the Bruce and Balliol forfeitures within his regality, which Edward I had seized for himself, as if Durham escheats went to the crown (pp. 48-9 and 55). There is a significant indication on p. 124 that, despite Edward I's promises at Lincoln and elsewhere to effect a complete survey and delimitation of the forests, no perambulation of the chase of Knaresborough had ever been carried out. It is creditable to the government that Gwennlian, Llywelyn's daughter, received her pension of 20*l.* a year from the Lincolnshire issues with reasonable if not perfect regularity during these distressful years. On pp. 18-9 we have an early instance of the temporary seizure of the lands of alien priories by reason of bad relations between England and France.

T. F. T.

Mr. T. G. Jackson's sumptuous volume on *The Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), is not unworthy (in respect of the limited range which it covers) of being compared with Willis and Clark's magnificent 'Architectural History of Cambridge.' Like that great work, it is much more than a learned and technical contribution to architectural history. Mr. Jackson has taken great pains with the general history connected with his subject, and aims at making his book a sketch of the history of the university, whose one continuous material centre has been the parish church, which its rectors and vicars have from the earliest times lent for its congregations and sermons. Mr. Jackson's reputation as an architect may be considered sufficient guarantee of his technical accuracy. As an historian his mistakes are few and trivial. I do not know on what grounds he places the great dispersion in 1208 instead of the received 1209, and the return in 1212 instead of 1214. When Mr. Jackson says that the chaplain 'said prayers' daily in St. Mary's, he should have written 'said mass.' When he translates '*cistam exemplariorum*' the 'chest of patterns,' instead of 'manuscripts,' he is misled by a blunder of Mr. Anstey's. When he makes the scholars who resisted Archbishop Arundel's visitation receive 'a sound birching,' he is similarly misled by a mistake of Wood's, which I have corrected in my 'Medieval Universities.' When he finds a difficulty about the '*capitulum Oxenfordense*' at the end of the twelfth century, it is perhaps excusable that a layman should fail to recognise the '*capitulum rurale*' or '*ruridecanal* chapter,' which is still familiar enough in clerical circles. I rather doubt whether the Bodleian librarianship 'has been open to laymen since the time of Bodley's re-foundation,' and was under the impression that Bodley's librarian was still considered theoretically chaplain of the university, down to the time of the present librarian's predecessor. I do not know of any reason, except the historical instinct of the Oxford Local Board, for supposing that Cat Street is a

corruption of Catherine Street ; it was '*vicus murilegorum*' when we first hear of it in the twelfth century. Finally, I know of no authority for making Thomas Becket an Oxford man : Mr. Jackson hardly realises the utter untrustworthiness of writers like Bale and Wood on such points. But these are small matters. The university may be proud of Mr. Jackson's book, and any further contributions of his to her architectural history will be equally welcome.

H. R.

Between Wiclif and Newman there are certainly enough religious pamphlets to select from, and in the eighteen he gives, most of them in fragments, Mr. Percy Dearmer has made on the whole a characteristic selection (*Religious Pamphlets*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1898). The short introductions and notes, in spite of occasional mistakes, are mostly clear and to the point, though a little more knowledge of seventeenth-century English would have prevented Mr. Dearmer's attempt to correct the style of Swift. The book will no doubt be useful to those who cannot go easily to a library, but it is for the general public rather than for scholars.

A pamphlet entitled *Luthers Lebensende* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1898), by Dr. Nikolaus Paulus (whose life of Barth. Arnoldi has been noticed before), deals with Luther's death, and specially with the rumour that he committed suicide. Part i. illustrates the common occurrence of rumours of the kind, which few controversialists escaped. Part ii. deals with the evidence for the suicide, which is worthless and late in character. Part iii. gives the evidence on the other side, which is overwhelming ; the background of controversy and bitterness alone made such charges acceptable and prevalent. If here and there exception may be taken to the tone, yet the presentation and criticism of the evidence are all that could be wished for.

Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite's pamphlet entitled *The Ornaments of the Rubric* ('Alcuin Club Tracts,' I. London: Longmans, 1897) is an attempt to ascertain from definite evidence the ornaments which the rubric of the Prayer Book of 1559 and of that of 1662 required to be used in the Church of England. The rubric limits them to such as were in the second year of Edward VI, a date which Mr. Micklethwaite argues to exclude the First Prayer Book, since that book did not come legally into use until the third year of the reign ; in other words, it refers back to a time when the 'Order of Communion' was in force, 'without varying of any other rite or ceremony of the mass.' The wording of the rubric, however, is ambiguous, and the author's inferences from his interpretation of it as to modern practice cannot properly be discussed in this Review ; but students of ecclesiastical antiquities as well as of English customs will be grateful to him for the very large amount of materials which he has collected bearing upon the religious usages of the first half of the sixteenth century.

R. L. P.

Mr. Richard Savage, who has transcribed *The Registers of Stratford-on-Avon, in the County of Warwick: Baptisms, 1558-1652* (London: Parish Register Society, 1897), claims, and we think truly, that 'the printing of these registers is undoubtedly the crowning work undertaken

in connexion with the study of the life and times of Shakespeare, and the Parish Register Society is to be congratulated on this first issue of the work under the competent and loving care of the librarian of the poet's birthplace. The handwriting shows that the parish registers at Stratford are, as far as the year 1600, copies then made into the parchment book from the originals, beginning with the year 1558. This was done in accordance with the injunction of 1597, every leaf being attested by the signatures of the minister, Richard Bifield, and his four churchwardens, who must have been in office till Easter 1601. The signatures of succeeding clergy and wardens continue at the foot of each page till 1641, when they cease. Baptisms only, for near a hundred years, are printed in this volume, which ends in 1652, because there is a break in the original, the entries for the next thirty-four years having been made in another book. The note of William Shakespeare's death, therefore, will appear in a future issue, devoted to the register of burials. But we have here, besides the eventful date of 26 April, 1564, the baptisms of William's seven brothers and sisters, children of John Shakespeare, between 1558 and 1580, as well as those of the poet's own three children. These names by no means exhaust the interest of the volume, full of his neighbours and townsmen; the Hemmings of Shottery, the Hathaways, the Clopton family, the Halls, the Quineys, are but some of those hallowed by the Shakespearean connexion. The mention of William Smart, *ludimagister*, in 1560 is also specially noteworthy; indeed, the facts as to occupations and localities that may be culled by a study of these registers form one of their claims to attention. A well-drawn sketch of the old register-book forms a frontispiece, and full indices are appended to the volume. L. T. S.

The scientific fame of Denis Papin—not to speak of his connexion with our Royal Society, to which the French Academy may well owe a grudge on his account—lends an interest to any contribution to his biography. It is, however, with what are called mixed feelings that in Dr. E. Wintzer's close and conscientious study of the great physicist and mechanic's earlier experiences in the university of Marburg (*Denis Papin's Erlebnisse in Marburg, 1688–1695*, Marburg, N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1898) we find him not only beset by the ordinary *miseres* of petty-university life, but involved in religious squabbles with the authorities of the congregation of Huguenot refugees of which he was a member. Out of these troubles he found his way, partly by his own firmness and frankness, partly with the aid of the landgrave Charles, a prince whose intelligence is best proved by the fact that he contrived to retain in his service during something like twoscore years one of the most far-sighted scientific men of his age. Like Leibniz, the landgrave continued to trust the genius of Papin even after the failure (to be followed by success) of one of his inventions. No speculations can be ventured here as to how far either prince or professor could see into the future of the more important discovery with which Papin occupied himself at Marburg in 1690, and which Newcomen was afterwards to transmit to Watt. Dr. Wintzer's essay throws some odd side-lights upon the penurious conditions of academic life in a little state whose ruler, intelligent as he was, indulged in a policy of his own, and maintained an army to match it. The revision of

the system of French presbyterianism in Hesse-Cassel, consequent upon Papin's appeal to territorial authority, can hardly be treated as a subject of more than local interest; but the references to the struggles of theological orthodoxy in the Hessian university against the advance of Cartesianism possess a wider significance for the intellectual history of the age.

A. W. W.

Dr. Wilhelm Altmann's collection of *Ausgewählte Urkunden zur ausserdeutschen Verfassungsgeschichte seit 1776* (Berlin: Gaertner, 1897) contains the texts, without notes, of the French constitutions from 1791 to 1875, the Spanish constitution of 1812, those of Belgium 1831, and Switzerland 1874, that of the kingdom of Sardinia granted by Charles Albert in 1848, and five American constitutional documents, including, besides the articles of confederation of 1776, the constitution of 1787, the Virginia Bill of Rights, and the constitutions of Pennsylvania 1776 and Massachusetts 1780.

The second volume of M. F. A. Aulard's *Etudes et Leçons sur la Révolution Française* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1898) contains essays upon the following subjects: Auguste Comte and the French Revolution; Danton and the Massacres of September; the Separation of Church and State; the Causes and the Morrow of the eighteenth Brumaire; the Consulate for Life; the Authenticity of the Talleyrand Memoirs. Some of these essays have been previously printed in the 'Revue Blanc,' the 'Revue de Paris,' and the 'Révolution Française,' but they are certainly well worth the reprinting, and make one of the most interesting volumes which have appeared for some time upon this subject. M. Aulard is one of those refreshing men who combine the most pronounced and pugnacious political opinions with very deep and conscientious scholarship. He will die in the last ditch for Danton; he condemns the Concordat as an impolitic subversion of the enlightened religious legislation of the Convention, and he unveils with masterly exactitude the machinery of Brumaire with its succession of *coups d'état*, which was to put an end to the golden age. Some readers may think, as the present reviewer is inclined to think, that special pleading is carried too far in the Danton essay; upholders of church establishment will dissent from the attack on the Concordat; the devotees of Napoleon will find much in the Brumaire article to which they will take exception. But though M. Aulard pleads, he pleads honestly. There is, at any rate, no *suppressio veri*, and having given all the facts he is clearly at liberty to make his own use of them. We believe that his account of the relations of church and state during the Revolution and his account of Brumaire are the best and most original contributions to the subjects of which they respectively treat which have appeared in recent times. The article on Brumaire is substantially reproduced in Rambaud and Lavis's 'Histoire Générale de l'Europe,' vol. ix. c. 1.

H. A. L. F.

Notices of Periodicals

[Contributions to these Notices, whether regular or occasional, are invited. They should be drawn up on the pattern of those printed below, and addressed to Mr. R. L. Poole, at Oxford, by the first week in March, June, September, and December.]

- Manuscripts acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris* [1896-1897]: by H. OMONT. [Among them is (Lat., nouv. acq., 2574) a collection of charters, one of which relates to Crawle (Crowle) in Worcestershire, 1175].—Bibl. École Chartes, lix. 1, 2.
- Notes on manuscripts at Paris, Laon, Valenciennes, and Brussels*, examined for the purposes of the 'Monumenta Germaniae: ' by K. HAMPE, with extracts.—N. Arch. xxiii. 3.
- Boniface P's letter to the legates sent by Zosimus to Africa*: edited from two Munich manuscripts by R. VON NOSTITZ-RIENECK.—Hist. Jahrb. xix. 2.
- Sozomenos and Sabinos*: by P. BATIFFOL [showing that Sozomenos in his narrative of events down to 367 made direct use of the lost *Συναγωγή τῶν συνοδικῶν* of the semi-Arian writer Sabinos].—Byz. Zft. vii. 2. *April*.
- The textual history of the Rule of St. Benedict*: by LUDWIG TRAUBE [who compares the discrepant passages of the earliest manuscripts and shows that they fall into two classes, the one pure and the other interpolated. The interpolated and incorrect version given to the world by the abbot Simplicius about 560 was that which first became generally known. His changes from the original were due to misunderstanding; his interpolations are clumsy and careless. Evidence is adduced to prove that in England as elsewhere this was the form of the Rule which was first known. A phrase is quoted from Bede's treatise 'De Orthographia,' which is of interest in this connexion. It was not until 787, when Charles the Great requested abbot Theodemar to send him a correct version, that the original form came into circulation. Wölflin's suggestion that St. Benedict, having taken no pains to write correct Latin in the first instance, issued a second and corrected copy, is accordingly dismissed. The works of the commentators, of Paulus Diaconus, Theodulf, Chrodegang, Smaragdus, and Benedict of Aniane, are analysed, and their relations to the original rule and to each other are established. A wealth of illustrative matter is collected in the text and notes, with much that is valuable for the literary history of the eighth and ninth centuries].—Abh. Akad. Wiss. München (hist. Cl.), xxi. 3.
- The London catalogue of the patriarchs of Constantinople*: by E. W. BROOKS [correcting the chronology].—Byz. Zft. vii. 1. *Jan*.
- Georgius Monachus*: by J. BIDEZ [on the classification of the manuscripts].—Byz. Zft. vii. 2. *April*.
- Fragments of acts of Frankish councils* [859-862; one relating to the third council of Aix-la-Chapelle]: by K. HAMPE.—N. Arch. xxiii. 3.
- The martyrology of Wolfhardus Haserensis* [c. 895], the 'Magnum Legendarium Austriacum,' and the 'Legendarium' of Windberg [with calendars and an appendix of texts].—Anal. Bolland. xvii. 1, 2.
- Gunther the hermit*: by H. GRAUERT [who prints from a modern copy verses addressed to Henry III, 1045-1046, on the condition of Rome, which have hitherto been known only from a corrupt fragment in the 'Annales Palidenses,' and are there attributed to one Wibert. Professor Grauert gives reasons for assigning them to Gunther].—Hist. Jahrb. xix. 2.
- A Byzantine letter respecting a Messianic movement in Judaism of the year 1096* [the Hebrew text of which was published by A. Neubauer in the Jew. Qu. Rev. ix.]: by D. KAUFMANN.—Byz. Zft. vii. 1. *Jan*.

- Notes on papal documents of the twelfth century* [in manuscripts at Paris, Laon, and Brussels]: by K. HAMPE.—N. Arch. xxiii. 3.
- Gratian and Peter Lombard*: by P. FOURNIER [who points out the close agreement between the canonical texts cited by Peter Lombard and his comments on them, and the corresponding portions of the 'Decretum' of Gratian; and argues that the Lombard must be dependent upon Gratian, not Gratian upon the Lombard. He considers the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard to have been written after 1145 and probably about 1150-1152; and assigns the 'Decretum,' on the evidence of the use made of it, of the formulae contained in it, and of the definite statements made by chroniclers about it, to a date subsequent to the Lateran council of 1139 and prior to the death of Innocent II, 1143—the date 1151 commonly given being attributable to Martinus Polonus more than a century later].—Rev. d'Hist. et de Litt. relig. iii. 2, 3.
- Notices in a Paris MS.* (Lat. 15707) giving particulars concerning the deaths of Clement IV [28 Nov. 1268] and cardinal Stephen of Palestrina [9 July 1270]: by K. HAMPE.—N. Arch. xxiii. 3.
- Royal documents and Acta Imperii* [1273-1343]: printed from manuscripts at Munich and Coblenz by J. SCHWALM. [Among the texts printed is an alliance between Albert and Otto, dukes of Austria, and Edward III, 25 Nov. 1338].—N. Arch. xxiii. 3.
- On the manuscripts of the formularies of Richard de Pofis and Marinus de Ebulo* [at Paris and Laon]: by K. HAMPE.—N. Arch. xxiii. 3.
- Books of formularies in the university library at Graz* [thirteenth to fifteenth century]: by J. LOSERTH.—N. Arch. xxiii. 3 (concluded from xxii.).
- Agreement between Scottish merchants and the prince of Transylvania to buy all quick-silver and wax in his country* [1624].—Magyar gazd. tört. szemle, v. 1.
- Letter of privilege from the emperor Leopold I to Zachariah Sedgewick's Anglo-Persian trading company* [1699].—Magyar gazd. tört. szemle, iv.
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- Prehistoric arts and crafts.*—Qu. Rev. 374. April.
- Babylonian discoveries.*—Edinb. Rev. 384. April.
- A review of troops by Peisistratos or Hippias on a vase in the Castellani collection at the British Museum*: by W. HELBIG.—SB. Akad. Wiss. München (phil.-hist. Cl.) 1897, ii. 2.
- The beginnings of socialism in Europe* [in Greek democracy]: by R. PÖHLMANN. II, concluded.—Hist. Zft. lxxx. 3.
- Notes on the coinage of Asia Minor*: by H. RIGGAUER.—SB. Akad. Wiss. München (phil.-hist. Cl.) 1897, ii. 3.
- Iberians in Gaul*: by P. GAROFALO.—Boletín de la R. Acad. Hist. xxxii. 4. April.
- Episcopal elections under the Merovingians*: by E. VACANDARD.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiii. 2. April.
- The first Benedictine community*: by W. J. W. CROKE [the twelve monasteries at Subiaco].—Douai Mag. May.
- The Byzantine navy from the tenth to the twelfth century*: by C. NEUMANN.—Hist. Zft. lxxx. 1.
- Ivo of Chartres and the canon law*: by P. FOURNIER. II.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiii. 2. April (continued from 1. Jan.)
- Towns, markets, and merchants in the middle ages*: by H. PIRENNE [with special notes of the usage of 'portus' and 'burgenses'].—Rev. hist. lxvii. 1. May.
- Private benevolence in the middle ages, chiefly from Scandinavian sources*: by W. SCHMITZ.—Hist. Jahrb. xix. 2.
- The division of the servitia minuta in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries*: by I. HALLER [founded on three documents of the time of Clement V, of 1368, and of the schism respectively. The first manuscript describes the division among the papal household of four of the five *servitia minuta*; the fifth went to the households of the cardinals; each of the five shares was equal to a cardinal's share of the *servitium comune*. The second manuscript guards the rights of absent officials. The third gives another division, and adds the oath of obligation to pay both kinds of *servitia* by the prelates]—Quell. und Forsch. Preuss. hist. Inst. in Rom, i. 2.

The astronomy of Dante.—Quart. Rev. 374. *April*.

The marriage of Andrew of Hungary with Joan of Naples: by W. FRAKŃÓI [based upon documents in the Vatican archives not made use of by St. C. Baddeley in his recent book].—Századok, xxxii. 4.

Prophecy in the last century before the reformation as a source and factor of history: by J. ROHR.—Hist. Jahrb. xix. 1.

The foreign policy and internal condition of the duchy of Pomerania [1627–1630]: by W. SPAHN.—Hist. Jahrb. xix. 1.

The early political uses of the word 'convention': by J. F. JAMESON [tracing its use in England from 1653, and suggesting that the term was borrowed from Scotland].—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 3.

The relations between Sweden and Russia in the second half of the seventeenth century, continued: by G. FORSTEN.—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. *April, May*.

Russian diplomatists of the eighteenth century in England: by V. TIMIRIAZEV [Matveiev, Kurakin, Kantemir, Musin, Pushkin, and Vorontsov], continued.—Istorich. Viestnik. *April, May*.

Maria Clementina Sobieska, wife of James Stuart: by Miss A. SHIELD.—Dublin R. N.S. 26. *April*.

Early relations of Diderot with Catharine II: by M. TOURNEUX.—Révol. Franç. xvii. 9. *March*.

Lavater and the French revolution: by C. PERROUD [based upon Finster's 'Lavaters Beziehungen zu Paris in den Revolutionsjahren 1789–1795' (Zürich, 1898), which contains some new letters of Madame Roland].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 9. *March*.

Marshal de Luckner and the first Belgian campaign of 1792: by A. DE GANNIERS.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiii. 2. *April*.

The émigrés at the siege of Maestricht [1793]: by R. LAVERGNE, with documents.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiii. 2. *April*.

The princess Daria Lieven [wife of the Russian ambassador in London from 1812 to 1834]: by N. BIELOZERSKAYA.—Istorich. Viestnik. *March*.

The fifth army corps in Italy in 1859: by baron R. DU CASSE.—Rev. hist. lxvii. 1. *May* (concluded from lxvi. 2).

Recollections by an officer of the Turkish campaign, 1877–1878: by A. BERS.—Russk. Starina. *April, May*.

Features of the 'new history,' in connexion with Lamprecht's 'Deutsche Geschichte': by E. W. DOW.—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 3.

The study of history at Paris: by C. H. HASKINS [pointing out the instruction open to a foreign student at Paris, and showing that 'it is the advanced student . . . who will derive most advantage from a sojourn' there].—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 3.

France

The rural parishes of France: by P. IMBART DE LA TOUR. The private churches [in Merovingian and Carolingian times].—Rev. hist. lxvii. 1. *May* (continued from lxiii. 1).

Notices and documents relative to French history at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century: by C. V. LANGLOIS. III.: Geoffroi du Plessis, protonotary of France.—Rev. hist. lxvii. 1. *May*.

The formula 'per regem ad relacionem . . .', written on the fold of royal acts in the fourteenth century: by O. MOREL [who argues that, in contradistinction to 'per regem,' 'per regem in consilio,' and the like, the notice implies that the order for the drawing up of the document was not given by the king in person].—Bibl. École Chartes, lix. 1, 2.

The organisation and administration of 'fabriques' in the diocese of Le Mans before 1789: by L. FROGER [who examines their history and functions, which present parallels to those of the English 'vestry,' from the fourteenth century onwards].—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiii. 2. *April*.

The siege of Montargis by the English [1427]: by C. MILLON DE MONTHERLANT.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiii. 2. *April*.

The religious opinions of Margaret of Navarre, illustrated from her poems: by A. LEFRANC, concluded.—Bull. Hist. Protest. Franç. xlvii. 3. *March*.

- The archives of the council of state before the revolution*: by G. DESJARDINS [including a description of the various councils and committees from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, with a specimen of the minutes of the privy council, 3 May, 1762].—Bibl. École Chartes, lix. 1, 2.
- The state of the protestants in France on the eve of the promulgation of the edict of Nantes*: by N. WEISS, with a document [1596].—Bull. Hist. Protest. Franç. xvii. 3. *March*.
- Toussaint's 'Les Mœurs'* [1748]: by M. PELLISSON [an analysis of this book; which is said to reflect the average French middle-class opinion on questions of religion and morality in the middle of the eighteenth century].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 11 *May*.
- The new edition of the letters of Marie Antoinette*: by J. FLAMMERMONT [a review of volumes ii. and iii., which are said to contain only eight hitherto unedited letters, and those insignificant].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 6. *Dec*.—M. FLAMMERMONT prints some *unpublished letters of the queen* [to the princesse de Guéménéé 31 Aug., 28 Sept., 29 Sept. 1782, when all the world was talking of the bankruptcy of the prince de Rohan Guéménéé].—Ibid. xvii. 8. *Feb*.
- An official inquiry into the taille in the généralité of Orleans*: by C. BLOCH [illustrating the capriciousness and inequality of the valuations].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 8. *Feb*.
- The names of communes during the revolution*: by F. A. AULARD [giving useful bibliographical information on the administrative geography of the period].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 9. *March*.
- Documents on the revolution in the Retrospective Reviews*.—Révol. Franç. xvii. 7. *Jan*.
- Mirabeau as a financier*: by C. VALLAUX [an account of the views expressed in 'De la Caisse d'escompte'].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 10. *April*.
- The manuscript of Louis XVI's memoir of 20 June 1791*: by J. MORÈRE. [It was really written by the king, and betrays the hesitation of his mind].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 10. *April*.
- Brissot and the Rolands*: by C. PERRAUD [specially showing the contributions made by the Rolands to Brissot's organ, 'Le Patriote François'].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 11. *May*.
- The portfolio of Fouché*: by L. MADELIN [announcing the discovery of a collection consisting of two hundred pieces which will be used in a forthcoming work].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 7. *Jan*.
- Answer of Barère, Billaud-Vareennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Vadier to the accusations of Laurent Lecointre* [reprinted, and containing their apology for their actions during the Terror].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 7-9. *Jan*.—*March*.
- Eulogius Schneider*: by E. HAMEL [who maintains the severe judgment passed by him in the Life of Robespierre upon the public accuser in the department of the Lower Rhine].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 10, 11. *April, May*.
- The fall of Robespierre*: by J. G. ALGER.—Scott. Rev. 62. *April*.
- The Conventual Battellier*: by A. KUSCINSKI [illustrating the activity of the royalist party at Vitry in the department of the Maine in 1795].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 7. *Jan*.
- The unpublished letters of Napoleon* [a study of the materials published in the last five years, unfavourable to the emperor].—Quart. Rev. 374. *April*.
- On the history of Napoleon I*: by P. BAILLET. II: Recent collections of memoirs.—Hist. Zft. lxxxi. 1 (continued from lxxvii. 1).
- The Roman expedition and the Falloux law*: by A. DEBIDOUR ['the great charter of clerical education in France' voted 15 March 1850].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 6. *Dec*.
- General Bourbaki*.—Edinb. Rev. 384. *April*.

Germany and Austria-Hungary

- On the history of imperial taxation in Germany in the earlier middle ages*: by K. ZEUMER [in connexion with the important document of 1241 discovered by J. Schwalm (cf. ante, p. 405)].—Hist. Zft. lxxxi. 1.

- The condition of the German peasantry in the thirteenth century*: by G. GRUPP.—Hist. Jahrb. xix. 2.
- The oldest German universities in their relation to the state*: by F. VON BEZOLD.—Hist. Zft. lxxx. 3.
- Jacobus de Marchia* [inquisitor and persecutor of the Hussites in Hungary]: by F. A. GOMBOS.—Erdélyi Muzéum, xv. 5.
- Documents on the history of the electors of Brandenburg, 1433-1447*: by R. ARNOLD [dispensations for marriages, patronage, &c.; illustrating the relations of the electors to the papacy at a critical time, but not otherwise of intrinsic importance].—Quell. und Forsch. Preuss. hist. Inst. in Rom. i. 2.
- The so-called 'Reformatio Sigismundi'*: by C. KOEHNÉ [who describes the manuscripts and editions; attributes the work not to Friedrich Reiser († 1458), but to an unidentified priest, Friedrich of Augsburg, dates it late in 1438, and considers it to have been originally written in German].—N. Arch. xxiii. 3.
- On the awakening of national consciousness in Germany at the end of the fifteenth century*: by J. SCHLECHT [printing a letter of Conrad of Leonberg (Leontorius), 1498].—Hist. Jahrb. xix. 2.
- On the life and controversies of Wigand Wirt*: by N. PAULUS.—Hist. Jahrb. xix. 1.
- Charitas Pirkheimer* [sister of Wilibald Pirkheimer]: by Miss J. M. STONE.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 26. April.
- A contemporary account of Luther's burning the bull*: by W. FRIEDENSBURG [probably written by the bishop of Brandenburg; describing the burning of 'many books' and the effect of the action].—Quell. und Forsch. Preuss. hist. Inst. in Rom. i. 2.
- Confirmations of German bishops in the early part of the sixteenth century*: by W. FRIEDENSBURG [containing the results of process preceding papal confirmation, evidence of witnesses as to the circumstances of sees concerned, fitness of character of the elected bishop, &c., drawn from fifteen churches, Mainz, Trier, Würzburg, &c.; illustrating the process before the Tridentine decrees, and giving much information about the chapters, &c.].—Quell. und Forsch. Preuss. hist. Inst. in Rom. i. 2.
- Visitation of monasteries, chiefly in Austria and Bavaria, by Felician Ninguarda [1572-1577]*: by K. SCHELHASS. II [illustrating the state of the monasteries: there is evidence of the small number of inmates, of debt, and of laxity of observance, but of few great evils: seclusion is strictly enforced according to the decrees of Pius V.]. Quell. und Forsch. Preuss. hist. Inst. in Rom. i. 2.
- Wallenstein's conversion to catholicism*: by the late F. STIEVE [who rejects the story derived from Balbinus that it occurred at the Jesuit convent of Olmütz, and supports the other account which places it during Wallenstein's stay at the court of the margrave of Burgau, apparently in the autumn of 1606].—SB. Akad. Wiss. München (phil.-hist. Cl.) 1897. ii. 2.
- An episode in the contest concerning the Cleves succession*: by F. SCHROEDER [on the town of Goch in 1615].—Hist. Jahrb. xix. 2.
- The present status of the Königsmark question*: by E. F. HENDERSON.—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 3.
- The Prussian court in 1795*: by G. KUPKE [an account by Horazio Borghese, the Spanish minister at Berlin, touching on politics, persons, and also general topics]. Quell. und Forsch. Preuss. hist. Inst. in Rom. i. 2.
- Letter of Anastasius Grün to Joseph, Freiherr von Hornayr [1848]*: by J. WEISS.—Hist. Jahrb. xix. 2.

Great Britain and Ireland

- The shield-wall and the schiltrum*: by Miss K. NORGATE and G. NEILSON.—Antiquary, N.S., 102. June.
- St. William of Norwich* [on the recent edition of Thomas of Monmouth's 'Life and Miracles'].—Church Qu. Rev. 91. April.
- The tomb of Hugo de Hertilpol at Assisi* [with the inscription, which, it should have been noticed, was already printed (see Little's 'Greyfriars in Oxford,' p. 159); but the figure on the slab is here published for the first time].—Antiquary, N.S. 102. June.
- An armorial list of mitred or parliamentary abbeys in the sixteenth century*: by J. W. BRADLEY.—Genealog. Mag. 13. May.

- The early history of the ballot in England*: by C. GROSS [showing the existence of the ballot in municipalities from the sixteenth century].—*Amer. Hist. Rev.* iii. 3.
- French glassmakers in England in 1567*: by E. W. HULME, with documents.—*Antiquary*, N.S. 101. *May*.
- English Jesuits and Scottish intrigues, 1581-82* [an inquiry into the evidence for the political activity of the Jesuits founded upon recently published state papers and other sources].—*Edinb. Rev.* 384. *April*.
- The family history of the Jesuit martyr, John Ogilvie*: by J. FORBES-LEITH.—*Rev. Quest. hist.* lxiii. 2. *April*.
- The history of the commonwealth and protectorate* [on S. R. Gardiner's work, i. ii.]—*Quart. Rev.* 374. *April*.—By W. O'C. MORRIS [on vol. ii.]—*Scott. Rev.* 62. *April*.
- Cardinal Wiseman*: by T. E. BRIDGETT.—*Dublin Rev.*, N.S., 26. *April*.
- Antiquities of Hallamshire* [a review of S. O. Addy's book].—*Edinb. Rev.* 384. *April*.
- An historical account of the Beresford family*: by C. E. DE LA POER BERESFORD.—*Genealog. Mag.* 12-14. *April-June* (continued from 11. *March*.)
- The border Elliots and the family of Minto* [from a privately printed book].—*Edinb. Rev.* 384. *April*.

Italy

- Catalogue of the manuscript collections of Francesco Brunetti, the historian of the Abruzzi*: by F. SAVINI.—*Arch. stor. Napol.* xxiii. 1.
- Byzantine churches in the territory of Syracuse*: by P. ORSI [illustrated with plans].—*Byz. Zft.* vii. 1. *Jan*.
- The date of forgery of the great indulgence for St. Mark's, Venice, attributed to Alexander III*: by H. SIMONSFELD [early in the fourteenth century].—*SB. Akad. Wiss. München (phil.-hist. Cl.)* 1897. ii. 2.
- The chronicle of Obo of Ravenna*: by H. SIMONSFELD [who argues from the extant fragment that the writer belongs to the later middle ages when humanism was making itself felt, and notes that the work contains valuable materials for the incidents of the peace of Venice, 1177, derived from a contemporary account by three canons of St. Peter's at Rome, the text of which is here printed].—*SB. Akad. Wiss. München (phil.-hist. Cl.)* 1897. ii. 2.
- On the history of surnames at Bologna in the thirteenth century; a comparative study of family names in Italy in the middle ages and in the Roman period*: by A. GAUDENZI.—*Bull. Ist. stor. Ital.* 19.
- Bishop Mainardino of Imola* [a forgotten historian of the thirteenth century]: by F. GUETERBOCK [who collects notices concerning him from manuscripts of Antonio Ferri at Imola and Forli].—*N. Arch.* xxiii. 3.
- On the so-called Jamsilla*: by A. KARST [who shows that he was not the author, but only the former possessor of the manuscript, of the history of Frederick II, Conrad IV, and Manfred, which bears his name. The writer is inclined to attribute the authorship to Goffredo di Cosenza].—*Hist. Jahrb.* xix. 1.
- Venetian commerce and dominion at Trani down to 1530*: by F. GABOTTO [who discusses the suspected date 1063 assigned to the 'Ordinamenti marittimi' of the town, and decides them to be a late forgery, though not without historical value].—*Arch. stor. Napol.* xxiii. 1.
- The posthumous popularity of Dante* [in northern Italy down to the middle of the fifteenth century].—*Church Qu. Rev.* 91. *April*.
- Innocent VI and Joanna I of Naples*; unpublished documents from the Vatican archives: printed by F. CERASOLI. IV.—*Arch. stor. Napol.* xxiii. 1.
- The first years of Ferdinand of Aragon and the invasion of John of Anjou, concluded [1462-1464]*: by E. NUNZIANI.—*Arch. stor. Napol.* xxiii. 1.
- Freemasonry at Naples in the eighteenth century*: by M. D'AYALA. III.—*Arch. stor. Napol.* xxiii. 1. (continued from xxii. 4).
- Carlo Luigi Lauberg and Annibale Niccolò Giordano before and after the Neapolitan revolution of 1799*: by F. AMODEO & B. CROCE.—*Arch. stor. Napol.* xxiii. 1.
- The coinage of the Neapolitan republic [1799]*: by G. SAMBON.—*Arch. stor. Napol.* xxiii. 1.

Russia

- The Life of Anthony and the Pecherski Chronicle*: by A. SHAKHMATOV [examining the probable lost sources of these documents and their relation to each other].—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. *March*.
- The towns and roads in the southern parts of Russia in the sixteenth century*: by S. PLATONOV [a study of the fortified posts and river system on the Lithuanian and Tatar frontiers].—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. *March*.
- The letter of the False Demetrius to pope Clement VIII*: by V. BILBASOV. [A facsimile of this important document has just been published by Father Pierling, who discovered the original. It proves Demetrius to have been a Russian].—Russk. Starina. *May*.
- Documents relating to Charonda* in the government of Novgorod: by N. OGLOBLIN [on the condition of the peasantry 1660-1663].—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. *April*.
- Diplomatic relations between the government of Moscow and the Malo-Russians in 1673*: by V. EINHORN.—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. *May*.
- The arrival in Russia of Francis Lefort* [the great fellow-worker with Peter the Great] in 1675: by A. MISHLAEVSKI.—Russk. Starina. *March*.
- Peter the Great* [on K. Waliszewski's book].—Edinb. Rev. 384. *April*.
- The reign of the emperor Paul*: by A. BEZRODNI.—Russk. Starina. *April*.
- The memoirs of baroness Fredericks* [dealing with the reign of Nicholas I], continued. Istorich. Viestnik. *April, May*.
- The first meeting of Alexander II with the future empress Maria* [at Darmstadt in 1839]: by V. MARKELOV.—Russk. Starina. *April*.
- Sketches of the life of count Osten-Sacken* [governor of Odessa at the time of the Crimean war]: by D. FEDOROV.—Istorich. Viestnik. *April*.
- The memoirs of a Pole during the year 1863* [extracted from the work of Stanislaus Koymian].—Russk. Starina. *May*.
- The Polish insurrection in the year 1863* [from Polish memoirs].—Russk. Starina. *May*.
- Recollections of Stepan Stambulov*: by A. AMFITEATROV.—Istorich. Viestnik. *March, April*.

Spain

- A bibliographical introduction to a history of the comunidades of Castile*: by M. DANVILA.—Boletín de la R. Acad. Hist. xxxii. 2. *Feb*.
- The synagogue of El Tránsito at Toledo*: by J. L. POWELL.—Antiquary, N.S. 97. *Jan*.

America and Colonies

- Did Cabot return from his second voyage?*: by H. HARRISSE [arguing that recently discovered documents make it probable that John Cabot returned].—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 3.
- The neutrality of the American lakes and Anglo-American relations*: by J. M. CALLAHAN [sketching the history of the agreement for the neutrality of the lakes made in 1817, tracing the different causes which have subsequently led to demands for its modification, and concluding strongly in favour of its permanent maintenance. A valuable contribution to the history of English diplomatic relations with the United States].—Johns Hopkins Univ. Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sci. xvi. 1-4.
- West Florida in relation to the historical cartography of the United States*: by H. E. CHAMBERS [showing that there have been no fewer than three separate and distinct political entities called West Florida, viz. British West Florida, Spanish West Florida, and the independent State of West Florida, which are generally confused or wrongly defined in historical atlases].—Johns Hopkins Univ. Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sci. xvi. 5.
- Tendencies in American economic thought*: by S. SHERWOOD [arguing that American political economy, so far as it can be regarded as a distinct body of doctrine, is essentially a protest against the universality of the chief doctrines of the classical or English school, and an attempt to formulate doctrines more in accord with American economic conditions].—Johns Hopkins Univ. Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sci. xv. 12.

List of Recent Historical Publications

I. GENERAL HISTORY

(Including works of miscellaneous contents)

- BARGE (H.) *Entwicklung der geschichtswissenschaftlichen Anschauungen in Deutschland.* Pp. 36. Leipzig: Dieterich. 60 pf.
- COHAUSEN (A. von). *Die Befestigungsweisen der Vorzeit und des Mittelalters.* Pp. xlvii, 340, and 57 plates. Wiesbaden: Kreidel. 25 m.
- CORAZZINI (F.) *Storia della marina militare antica.* III, IV: *Marina orientale ed ellenica; la marina pre-romana e romana.* Pp. 414, 489. Florence: Passeri. 60 l.
- CUNNINGHAM (W.) *An essay on western civilisation in its economic aspects (ancient times).* Pp. 220. Cambridge: University Press. 4/6.
- GARDTHAUSEN (V.) *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig.* Pp. 92. Leipzig: Harrassowitz. 5 m.
- LACOMBE (P.) *Introduction à l'histoire littéraire.* Pp. 417. Paris: Hachette. 7·50 f.
- LORENZ (O.) *Lehrbuch der gesamten wissenschaftlichen Genealogie.* Pp. 489. Berlin: Hertz. 8 m.
- NORDEN (E.) *Die antike Kunstprosa vom sechsten Jahrhundert vor Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance.* Pp. 969. Leipzig: Teubner. 28 m.
- POOLE (R. L.) *Historical atlas of modern Europe from the decline of the Roman empire, comprising also maps of parts of Asia and of the New World connected with European history; ed. by. XVIII, XIX.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 4to. Each 3/6.
- SCHENKL (H.) *Bibliotheca patrum Latinorum Britannica; bearb. von. II, 2: Die Bibliotheken der Colleges in Cambridge. II.* Pp. 82. 1·90 m.
- SOREL (A.) *Nouveaux essais d'histoire et de critique.* Paris: Plon. 18 mo. 3·50 f.

II. ORIENTAL HISTORY

- CHALIFEN, *Die Münzen der östlichen.* (Katalog der orientalischen Münzen in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin. I.) Pp. 423. Berlin: Speemann. 25 m.
- HAËDO (F. D. de). *Histoire des rois d'Alger.* (Epitome de los reyes de Argel, Valladolid, 1612.) Trad. par H. D. de Grammont. Pp. 226. Algiers: Jourdan.
- HILPRECHT (V.) *The Babylonian expedition of the university of Pennsylvania.* Series A: *Cuneiform texts.* IX. Pp. 90, and 92 plates. Philadelphia. (Erlangen: Merkel.) 4to. (25 m.)
- ILBERT (sir C.) *The government of India, being a digest of the statute law relating thereto.* Pp. xl, 607. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 21/.
- MENANT (D.) *Les Parsis; histoire des communautés Zoroastriennes de l'Inde.* Paris: Leroux. 20 f.
- PETRIE (W. M. F.) *Syria and Egypt from the Tel-el-Amarna letters.* Pp. 196. London: Methuen. 2/6.
- RÜCKERT (K.) *Die Lage des Berges Sion.* Pp. 104. Freiburg: Herder. 2·80 m.
- WINCKLER (H.) *Altorientalische Forschungen.* VII, VIII. Pp. 1-102. Leipzig: Pfeiffer. 5·70 m.

III. GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORY

- APOSTOLIDÈS (B.) *Essai sur l'hellénisme égyptien et ses rapports avec l'hellénisme classique et l'hellénisme moderne.* I: *L'hellénisme sous l'ancien et le moyen empire.* I. Pp. xlviiii, 62. Paris: Welter. 6 f.
- CAESAR (C. Iulius). *Commentarii ex recensione B. Kübleri.* III, 2: *Com-*

- mentarius de bello Hispaniensi; C. Iulii Caesaris et A. Hirtii fragmenta. Leipzig: Teubner.
- DRERUP (E.) Ueber die bei den attischen Rednern eingelegten Urkunden. Leipzig: Teubner.
- HALGAN (C.) Essai sur l'administration des provinces sénatoriales sous l'empire romain. Paris: Fontemoing. 7-50 f.
- HOLM (A.) Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum. III. Pp. 787. Leipzig: Engelmann. 18 m.
- INSCRIPTIONUM Etruscarum, Corpus, ed C. Pauli. VII. Pp. 395-474. Leipzig: Barth. Fol. 20 m.
- INSCRIPTIONUM Latinarum, Corpus. IV, supplementum. I. Pp. 273-454. Berlin: Reimer. Fol. 16 m.
- PAIS (E.) Storia d' Italia dai tempi più antichi alla fine delle guerre puniche. II; Storia di Roma. I. Turin: Clausen. 16 l.
- THÉDÉNAT (H.) Le forum romain et les forums impériaux. Paris: Hachette.

IV. ECCLESIASTICAL, MEDIEVAL, AND MODERN HISTORY

(For works relating to the history of FRANCE, GERMANY, GREAT BRITAIN, and ITALY, see the special sections below.)

- BADERTSCHER.—Die Märztage des Jahres 1798; kriegsgeschichtliche Darstellung der Ereignisse im Kampfe Berns mit den französischen Armeen. Hsg. von H. Balmer. Pp. 133. Bern: Schmidt & Francke. 4to. (5 m.)
- BALAGUER (V.) Los reyes católicos. II. Pp. 536. Madrid. 4to.
- BAUMGARTEN (P. M.) Untersuchungen und Urkunden über die Camera collegii cardinalium [1295-1437]. Pp. ccxiii, 378. Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient. 30 m.
- BOER (M. G. de). Die Friedensunterhandlungen zwischen Spanien und den Niederlanden in den Jahren 1632 und 1633. Pp. 142. Groningen: Noordhoff. (4 m.)
- BRUNO (A.) I Francesi nell' antico dipartimento di Montenotte; note politiche ed amministrative [1805-1814]. Pp. 98. Savona: tip. Bertolotto.
- BÜDINGER (M.) Die Universalhistorie im Mittelalter. I. Pp. 47. Vienna: Gerold. 4to. (3 m.)
- CARTELLIERI (A.) Ein Donaueschinger Briefsteller; Lateinische Stylübungen des zwölften Jahrhunderts hasta aus der Orleans'schen Schule. Pp. xxiii, 75. Innsbruck: Wagner. 2 m.
- CASTELAR (E.) Historia de Europa desde la revolución francesa hasta nuestros días. II. Pp. 976. Madrid: González Rojas. Fol.
- CASTELLS BALLESPÍ (C.) Historia de la legislación sanitaria española desde los tiempos primitivos hasta la promulgación de la ley de sanidad de 1855. Pp. 87. Lerida: imp. Sol y Benet.
- CISTERNES (R. de). Le duc de Richelieu; son action aux conférences d'Aix-la-Chapelle, sa retraite du pouvoir; documents originaux recueillis et annotés. Paris: C. Lévy. 7-50 f.
- DES MAREZ (G.) Etude sur la propriété dans les villes du moyen-âge et spécialement en Flandre. Pp. 392. Ghent: Engelcke. 13 f.
- EUSEBIUS. The ecclesiastical history in Syriac, ed. by the late W. Wright and N. McLean; with a collation of the ancient Armenian version by A. Merx. Cambridge: University Press. 4to. 25/.
- FERNANDEZ GUERRA (A.), HINOJOSA (E.), & RADA y DELOADO (J. de D.) Historia de España desde la invasión de los pueblos germánicos hasta la ruina de la monarquía visigoda. Pp. 462. 4to. Madrid: Murillo.
- FISCHBACH (G.) Guerre de 1870: le siège de Strasbourg. Illustr. Paris: Fischbacher. 4to. 50 f.
- FLAMMA (Galvagni de la). Cronica ordinis Praedicatorum [1170-1333]. Rec. B. M. Reichert. (Monumenta ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum historica. II, 1.) Pp. 128. Stuttgart: Roth. 3-50 m.
- FOURNIER (P.) Les collections canoniques attribuées à Yves de Chartres. Pp. 225. Paris: Picard.
- FRANCISCANUM, Bullarium. V: Benedicti XI, Clementis V, Ioannis XXII monumenta a C. Eubel digesta. Pp. xlii, 634. Leipzig: Harrassowitz. Fol. 35 m.
- FRANZ (A.) Der Magister Nikolaus Magni de Jawor; ein Beitrag zur Litteratur- und Gelehrten-geschichte des vierzehnten und fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts. Pp. 269. Freiburg: Herder. 5 m.
- GIBBON (Edward). The history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire. Ed. by J. B. Bury. V. Pp. 560. London: Methuen. 6/.
- HALMEL (A.) Die palästinischen Märtyrer des Eusebius von Caesarea in ihrer zweifachen Form; eine Untersuchung zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Historia ecclesiastica des Eusebius von Caesarea. Pp. 117. Essen: Baedeker. 2-40 m.
- IMMICH (M.) Zur Vorgeschichte des Orleans'schen Krieges; Nuntiaturreporte aus Wien und Paris [1685-1688], nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken, bearb. von. Pp. 388. Heidelberg: Winter. 12 m.
- INNOCENT IV, Les registres d', publiés

- ou analysés, d'après les manuscrits originaux du Vatican et de la Bibliothèque nationale, par E. Berger. Pp. 321-562. Paris: Fontemoing. 4to. 15 f.
- JACOBSEN (S.) Den nordiske Kriigs Krønike utgifven af M. Weibull. Pp. xlii, 280. Lund. (6-75 m.)
- JÉRÔME (L.) Collectes à travers l'Europe pour les prêtres français déportés en Suisse pendant la révolution [1794-1797]; relation inédite. Pp. xlvii, 434. Paris: Picard. 10 f.
- KARST (A.) Geschichte Manfreds vom Tode Friedrichs II bis zu seiner Krönung [1250-1255]. Pp. 184. Berlin: Ebering. 4 m.
- KUTTER (H.) Wilhelm von St. Thierry, ein Repräsentant der mittelalterlichen Frömmigkeit. Pp. 205. Giessen: Ricker. 4-50 m.
- LA BARRE DE NANTEUIL (A. de.) L'Orient et l'Europe depuis le xvii^e siècle jusqu'aujourd'hui. Paris: Firmin-Didot. 7-50 f.
- LANGLOIS (C. V.) Formulaires de lettres du xii^e, du xiii^e, et du xiv^e siècle. VI. Pp. 42. Paris: Klincksieck. 4to. 1-75 f.
- LE COURT (J. de.) Recueil des anciennes ordonnances de la Belgique. Ordonnances des Pays-Bas autrichiens. 3^e série: [1700-1794]. IX: [1763-1769]. Pp. 594. Brussels: Goemaere. Fol. 25 f.
- LEO (frater.) Speculum perfectionis seu s. Francisci Assisiensis legenda antiquissima. Nunc primum editid P. Sabatier. Pp. ccxiv, 376. Paris: Fischbacher. 12 f.
- LUCKWALDT (F.) Oesterreich und die Anfänge des Befreiungskrieges von 1813. Pp. 407. Berlin: Ebering.
- MALET (A.) Histoire diplomatique de l'Europe aux xvii^e et xviii^e siècles. I. Pp. 476. Paris: Dentu. 4 f.
- MEYER (A.) Die moderne Forschung über die Geschichte des Urchristentums. Pp. 94. Freiburg: Mohr. 1-20 m.
- MEYER (W.) Die Spaltung des Patriarchats Aquileja. Pp. 37. Berlin: Weidmann. 12-50 m.
- MÜLLER (H.) Les origines de la compagnie de Jésus; Ignace et Lainez. Pp. 331. Paris: Fischbacher.
- MUNTZ (E.) Les arts à la cour des papes Innocent VIII, Alexandre VI, Pie III. Illustr. Paris: Leroux. 20 f.
- NAVEZ (L.) Les champs de bataille historiques de la Belgique. II: Courtrai ou la bataille des éperons d'or [11 juillet 1302]. Pp. 54. Brussels: Lebegue. 2-50 f.
- NETHERLANDS.—Documents concernant les relations entre le duc d'Anjou et les Pays-Bas [1576-1584]. Publ. par P. L. Muller et A. Diegerick. IV: février 1581-mars 1583. Pp. 576. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- OLIVART (M. de.) Colección de los tratados, convenios, y documentos internacionales celebrados por nuestros gobiernos con los estados extranjeros, desde el reinado de doña Isabel II hasta nuestros dias. Pp. 591. Barcelona. 4to.
- POLANCUS (J. A. de.) Sanctus Franciscus Borgia, quartus Gandiae dux et societatis Jesu praepositus generalis tertius. I. Pp. 842. (Monumenta historica societatis Jesu.) Madrid. (Freiburg: Herder. 12 m.)
- REUSS (R.) L'Alsace au xvii^e siècle, au point de vue géographique, historique, administratif, économique, social, intellectuel, et religieux. I. Pp. xxxvii, 743. Paris: Bouillon. 18 f.
- RIVERA TARRAÑO (J.) Orígenes del justicia de Aragón. Pp. 472. Zaragoza: Comas.
- ROCQUAIN (F.) La cour de Rome et l'esprit de réforme avant Luther. III: le grand schisme; les approches de la réforme. Pp. 460. Paris: Fontemoing. 12 f.
- ROUMANIA.—Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor. X: 1763-1844. Publ. de N. Jorga. Pp. cxxxii, 693. Bucharest. (Leipzig: Harrassowitz.)
- SANTOPONTE (G.) Il commercio dei popoli neutrali nella guerra marittima e i pubblicisti italiani del secolo decimottavo. Pp. 199. Florence.
- SCHAEFFER-BOICHORST (P.) Zur Geschichte des zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhunderts; diplomatische Forschungen. Pp. 419. Berlin: Ebering.
- SCHIFF (O.) Studien zur Geschichte Papst Nikolaus IV. Pp. 84. Berlin: Ebering. 2-40 m.
- SCHILLING (D.) Die Berner-Chronik [1468-1484], hsg. von G. Tobler. I. Pp. 400. Bern: Wyss. 6 m.
- SCHLUMBERGER (G.) Renaud de Châtillon, prince d'Antioche, seigneur de la terre d'Outre-Jourdain. Paris: Plon. 7-50 f.
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Note.

We are asked to state that 'post-Reformation,' which was cited as an erratum for 'post-Restoration' in our review of Mr. Maclean's *History of Pembroke College, Oxford* (*ante*, p. 392), is in fact correct. John de Sausmarez was 'the first post-Reformation dean of Guernsey,' although appointed after the Restoration.

THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

NO. LII.—OCTOBER 1898

The Campaign of the Metaurus

IV. DATA OF THE BATTLE SITE.

BEFORE coming finally to the actual sites proposed for the battle, it is necessary to recall to mind the data to help us in the judgment of them all. We have seen that the camps were five hundred paces distant with a river (unnamed) in the immediate neighbourhood, probably flowing between, and that the camps were 'by Sena,' whatever that may mean. Hasdrubal departs silently from his camp, and endeavours vainly to cross the Metaurus river. He follows up this river, but finds it winds in and out very considerably; and the higher up from the sea he proceeds, the steeper grow its banks. When the Roman cavalry and light-armed troops overtook him, continues Livy, he abandoned the idea of further flight and began to fortify a camp on a hill above the bank of the river. *Quum . . . castra metari Poenus in tumulo super fluminis ripam vellet, advenit Livius* (xxvii. 48. 2). The Roman mainguard, however, came up, and the Romans drew up their battle array, Claudius on the right wing, Livius on the left, the praetor in the centre. Giving up therefore the idea of completing the camp, Hasdrubal drew up his forces. On the left wing he placed the Gauls; he himself took command of the Spaniards who formed his right wing; the Ligurians formed his centre; and in front of his line were stationed the elephants (xxvii. 48. 5-7).

Other data are added by our other authorities. Hasdrubal drew up his forces on the hill in question. The ground was rough and broken, and his line was also protected by vineyards. *Cum*

*Hasdrubal bello Punico secundo decernendi necessitatem evitans in colle confragoso post vineas aciem direxisset. . . .*¹

His men, as Livy and Appian tell us, were weary from their flight, and perhaps the Carthaginian general was anxious to avoid a decisive engagement. True, as Livy says, he saw some battle that day was inevitable (*postquam pugnandum vidit*, 48. 5); but he clearly trusted to the natural strength of his position to render the engagement indecisive, or at least to protect his left wing, on which he relied little, from attack. And Livy and Polybius agree in stating that the Roman efforts remained fruitless until Nero's manœuvre, unexpected alike by friends and foes, turned the fortunes of the day.² Hasdrubal began the battle by attacking the Roman left wing, and here the struggle was stubborn, neither side having the advantage.³ While the battle was raging here, Nero vainly endeavoured to storm the hill on which the Gauls were stationed. Here he could make no progress.

ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῦ κέρατος τεταγμένος προάγειν μὲν εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν καὶ περικερᾶν τοὺς ὑπειαιτίους οὐκ ἔδύνατο διὰ τὰς προκειμένας ἐνσχωρίας, αἷς πεπιστευκῶς Ἀσδρούβας ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ λαῖα τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον.⁴

So also Livy :

Gallos prominens collis tegebat ; ea frons quam Hispani tenebant, cum sinistro Romanorum cornu concurrat ; dextra (?) omnis acies extra proelium eminens cessabat ; collis oppositus arcebat, ne aut a fronte aut ab latere aggrederentur (48. 8).

Then Nero ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος ἔμαθεν ὁ δέον ἦν πράττειν.⁵ Taking some of the cohorts from his own wing, the right, he marched with these round behind the rest of the Roman army and suddenly and unexpectedly made his appearance on its extreme left wing. By so doing he outflanked the Carthaginian right wing. His troops overlapped, and closing in they fell upon the foe both flank and rear. The Iberians found themselves assailed now no longer only in front. There thronged on every side save one a press of foemen.⁶ This decided the day : αἴσιος ἦν ἡ μάχη. Hasdrubal, seeing all was lost, charged into the midst of the Romans and met his death bravely. The Spanish and Ligurians were cut down, and, from the ground these had occupied, the hill on which the Gauls were posted was scaled with ease, and its drunken garrison put mercilessly to the sword.⁷

This is the account of the battle given us in Polybius and Livy.

¹ Frontinus, *Strat.* ii. 3. 8.

² Polybius, xi. 1. 8-10. Livy, xxvii. 48. 9 *sqq.*

³ Polybius, xi. 1. 3, 4, 8. Livy, c. 48. 9-11.

⁴ Polybius, xi. 1. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.* 6.

⁶ *Ibid.* 7-11. Livy, xxvii. 48. 12-15.

⁷ Polybius, xi. 2. 3. Livy, xxvii. 48. 15-49. 4.

Of our other authorities only Frontinus gives us any precise information concerning the details of the fighting :

Livius Salinator et Claudius Nero, cum Hasdrubal bello Punico secundo decernendi necessitatem evitans in colle confragoso post vineas aciem direxisset, ipsi diductis in latera viribus vacua fronte ex utraque parte circumvenerunt eum atque ita adgressi superarunt.⁸

This account is not very clear. Frontinus realises that there was (1) a hill, (2) a flanking movement. But he seems to have conceived all the Carthaginians as posted on this hill, which in front was impregnable ; wherefore the Romans, by diverging to left and right, stormed it on both sides, and so won the day. It is perfectly true that the hill in question was stormed from one side, but not true that this was of any importance in deciding the battle. The battle was decided by the flanking movement, and this was directed not against the troops on the hill, but against those who had moved to the attack in the open, and therefore more level, ground on the Carthaginian right wing. These, then, are all the data we have given us for the actual battle site : a rough hill on one bank of the Metaurus river, at some distance from its mouth, between which hill and the sea the river exhibits considerable windings. The banks of the river hard by must be steep. As the left wing of the Carthaginians was posted on the hill and the Romans came up in pursuit from the sea, if the battle took place on the *left* bank some considerable space must separate the hill and the river channel (unless the Romans fought with their rear ranks hard on the river, which is unlikely, and leaves no room for the flanking movement) ; for between hill and river must be left space for the Carthaginian centre and right wing, and also for the outflanking movements of Nero and his troops. If, on the other hand, the battle was fought on the *right* bank of the river, the hill may be sought in the immediate vicinity of the river channel, and some more level, though not necessarily lower, ground be found on its southern side.

Again, if we take *ad Senam* of the city, as is more natural, and accept the tale of Nero's march, which I feel bound to do, any site further up the river than (say) Fossombrone, fifteen miles from the mouth, becomes an impossibility. Hasdrubal cannot have retreated from (say) the Cesano to beyond Fossombrone, some twenty-three miles in all, in the one night and part of a day before he was overtaken. And even were the camps on the Metaurus, the difficulty of the site increases every step we go beyond that city.

There are yet two other possible data to aid the search : (1) the present nature of the river bed and banks, and (2) tradition and finds. Neither, however, is conclusive.

1. To-day the Metaurus valley, as far as Fossombrone, is wide,

⁸ *Strateg.* ii. 3. 8.

fertile, and well cultivated. The river winds considerably, and its bed is broad. The volume of water in it, however, when I saw it at the end of March, was not so great as to preclude an apparently easy possibility of fording it by day in more places than one. The banks, however, were high and steep for the most part, and Dr. Arnold urged with force that in the course of some two thousand years the river bed may very possibly have been considerably raised.⁹ Certainly to-day above Fossombrone, where the character of the valley changes, the bare red water-scarred Lanark-like mountain sides, and the impetuous torrent beds falling into the main river, are proof evident how great must be in winter the torrent of water, earth, débris, stones &c. poured into the Metaurus. Now Hasdrubal appeared in north Italy in early spring, while his brother in the south lay still in his winter quarters. He wasted time, however, in the siege of Placentia, and the battle can hardly have been fought before April. In this Oehler concurs. The traditional date is as late as 24 June, and Pittaluga places it in the summer. In any case, April seems the earliest date possible, and Matzat's 16 Feb. can hardly be accepted. If this be the case, it was probably rather the steepness of the then banks than the then volume of water (though doubtless this too was greater then than now) which made the passage of the river a matter of such difficulty. This, indeed, seems implied in Livy, 47. 11. Thus the hill by the river is a just object of search. The windings of the river bed must also be duly found—for hollowed out as this is in the otherwise very level surface of the valley, we cannot easily suppose that the river has taken to itself one or more new courses since 207 B.C. But the steepness of the banks and the volume of water are more doubtful elements of discovery in the search.

2. Very hazardous, too, is the argument alike from traditional place-names and from 'finds.' How extremely dangerous and inconclusive is the argument from place-names as applied to this very Metaurus controversy, I have endeavoured to show recently elsewhere.¹⁰ There is one well-known instance of the ridiculous in this kind of argument. Two hours' walk or more to the south of the plain of S. Silvestro rises a lofty mountain, called Monte Nerone. *Che codesto nome abbia una qualche relazione con quello di Claudio Nerone?* asks Tarducci, with deservedly tentative temerity.¹¹ Was it so called because Claudius concealed himself there the last day before joining Livius? This proves too much even for Tarducci's loyal supporter Cantarelli. The mountain is so far away, nor is it at all in the direction of Nero's supposed march. *Quella denominazione pertanto, says Cantarelli,¹² o non ha rela-*

⁹ Cf. Nissen, *Rhein. Mus.* xxii. 570.

¹⁰ See the *Classical Review*, February 1898, pp. 11-16.

¹¹ *Del luogo* &c. p. 22, note 2.

¹² *Riv. Stor. Ital.* vi. 72.

zione alcuna col vincitore di Asdrubale, ovvero è un altro indizio che i fatti non avessero quali la traduzione annalistica ce li ha tramandati. That the first is the right hypothesis admits of small doubt. The Monte d' Asdrubale gives us trouble enough in this connexion, especially as at the beginning of the seventeenth century there seem to have been two hills in the Metaurus valley bearing the name.¹³ To worry further with this distant Monte Nerone would show simply a passion for superfluous toil. And in general it would certainly be unwise to attach as much value to this evidence of traditional place-names as Tarducci requires of us in championing his S. Silvestro site.

'Finds' again are chiefly of bones, elephant and human. In any case but sorry evidence, they are the more doubtful in this particular question as they are triumphantly produced on two of the three contending sites, the S. Angelo and the S. Silvestro. Oehler rightly is disposed to attach far less weight to this kind of evidence than his Italian contemporaries, Bossi, Tarducci, and Pittaluga. Other more definite finds, in the shape of armour, an inscribed patera, &c., are used to champion the S. Silvestro site. This class of finds is doubtless more valuable as evidence than the former. Its precise importance in this question must be discussed in the consideration of that site.

V. THE THREE SITES PROPOSED.

1. *La Lucrezia* (see map on p. 419, *ante*, Plan III).—The great road from Ariminum to Rome, the Via Flaminia, leaves the Adriatic coast at Fanum, the modern city of Fano, and strikes inland up the valley of the Metaurus towards Fossombrone and the Furlo Pass. First from Fano at a distance of about two miles it passes through the village of Rosciano, and rather over three miles further crosses a brook, and passes the hamlet of La Lucrezia beyond. So far the river valley has been from about two miles broad. But beyond La Lucrezia this valley begins to contract, and as far as the next small village of Tavernelle is less than a mile in width. Perched up on a hill to the north of the road lies Saltara, and from this point the hill ridge slopes gradually down in an easterly direction to the village of La Lucrezia. The brook already mentioned, flowing to the north of the village, here for some considerable distance flows roughly parallel to the Metaurus, from which it is over a mile distant. Here in this space between the brook and the main river, to the west of La Lucrezia, and on the left or northern bank of the Metaurus, lies the 'La Lucrezia' site of the battle. The hill slope from Saltara is the *collis* where Hasdrubal stationed

¹³ See the *Classical Review*, February 1898, pp. 11-16.

his Gauls. His right wing was posted on the more level ground by the river.

This is the site selected by General de Vaudoncourt in 1812.¹⁴ In his view both the Carthaginian and the Roman camps lay at first by Fano, and both thus north of the Metaurus, the Carthaginian camp being to the west of the Roman. Nero joined Livius, and crossed the river in so doing. Hasdrubal, always intending to penetrate Umbria by the Via Flaminia, declined battle and retreated up the valley some six miles.

L'armée carthaginoise partie de son camp à la première veille de la nuit (on était alors en été) ne pouvait certainement pas avoir fait plus de six milles avant le jour, surtout errant à l'aventure et sans guide et suivant tous les contours de la rivière.

He was therefore overtaken near La Lucrezia. The battle was fought on the site described. The nature of the ground thus selected was such that Hasdrubal must needs have drawn up his men in double, and the Romans in triple, line of battle.¹⁵ Nero's flanking movement is best seen marked by the dotted line in the plan given above on p. 419.

The advantages of this site are :

(a) By placing the camps north of the Metaurus it is possible to make Hasdrubal's intended route south to have been from the first not that by the Adriatic coast, but in the direction followed by the Via Flaminia, *i.e.* the main road south *via* Umbria. This explains why he wrote to his brother that he would meet him in Umbria, and why Claudius wrote urging the senate to block the way by placing the city levies at Narnia.¹⁶ If we suppose, on the other hand, that Hasdrubal had crossed the Metaurus and was following the coast route south till stopped by Livius, then these references to Umbria in general, and Narnia in particular, are unintelligible. This is a strong argument in favour of the left bank over the right. And it explains, too, why Hasdrubal was eager to cross the river, *viz.* not to retreat but to make his way south to join his brother, as Appian says. He trusted doubtless to his night's start to enable him to outstrip the foe in his advance.

(b) Yet, though the site is found on the left bank, Livius's camp by Fano is not so far removed from Canusium as to make the tale of Nero's march a physical impossibility. It involves an addition of at most only some eight miles to that march, when compared with the alternative theory of the camps near Sena on the Cesano. This addition is a mere trifle.

(c) The 'guide difficulty' as already described is solved. For the unnamed river *unde aquabantur* is the Metaurus. The errant

¹⁴ *Hist. des Camp. d'Annibal en Italie*, iii. 77-81.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* plate xxxv.

¹⁶ Livy, xxvii. 43. 8, 9.

guide could thus easily escape over this, as it was flowing just beside the camp.

The difficulties of this site are :

(a) *Ad Senam* must either be rejected altogether or taken to mean 'in the district of Sena'—surely a strained interpretation.

(b) The river cannot be said to wind greatly between the mouth and La Lucrezia, neither can the left bank be justly said to increase in height between Rosciano or Papirio S. Michele and that village.

(c) If Hasdrubal had simply to follow the broad road from Rosciano to La Lucrezia, he could not have missed his way, nor have spent the whole night in traversing less than six miles, nor have followed the windings of the river.¹⁷

2. *S. Silvestro* (map, Plan IV.).—The road continuing up the river beyond Tavernelle reaches the very picturesque little town of Fossombrone, the ancient Forum Sempronii, fifteen and a half miles from Fano. Some two miles beyond the town the way divides. The Via Flaminia proper strikes off to the left and crosses the Metaurus in a wide sweep round by a stone bridge, into which is built an inscription of Trajan's reign. This road now continues up the left bank of the river Candigliano, a tributary of the Metaurus, flowing into it below Trajan's bridge. The road, a masterpiece of engineering, climbs through the narrowest of rocky ravines, and pierces the rock finally only by means of the great tunnel which gives the name of the Furlo to this pass, and is adorned with a Vespasian inscription. After the tunnel the ravine broadens again, and eight miles from Fossombrone reaches the village of Acqualagna. Here again the road divides. One way continues up the Candigliano valley, which runs roughly parallel with the upper Metaurus valley, and leads to the towns of Montiego and Piobbico. The Via Flaminia, however, strikes off southwards up the valley of the Burano, a tributary of the Candigliano joining it at Acqualagna. This leads in five miles to the rough grey little Apennine city of Cagli, and so, now climbing steeply up, now dropping rapidly down, now crossing rocky passes, now passing through lanes worthy of Devon, leads into Umbria and eventually by Fossato and Nocera Umbra to the great central Umbrian valley at Foligno, whence runs the way *via Bevagna* (ancient *Mevania*) to Narni and Rome.

From the first parting of the ways beyond Fossombrone another road continues to follow the upper Metaurus valley, crossing the river and leading to Fermignano. Here a mule track still called the 'Strada Romana' leads over the hills southwards by the Passo di-San Gregorio to enter the Via Flaminia again at Acqualagna, thus avoiding the 'Jaws of the Furlo.' And it seems from Macci's account in 1613¹⁸ that this was thought an easier way for travellers

¹⁷ Oehler.

¹⁸ See the *Classical Review*, February 1898, pp. 11-16.

bound south than the passage of the Furlo. The interest of this will shortly appear. The main road, however, continues beyond Fermignano up the Metaurus, which here winds very greatly, and rather less than halfway between Fermignano and Urbania, and some twenty-eight miles from Fano and four from Fermignano, reaches on the left bank of the river the small plain of S. Silvestro. This small plain is formed chiefly by a great bend which the river Metaurus here makes. It is closely bounded by hills on the north, among which a few miles distant lies the city of Urbino. From the plain, while the main road continues west to Urbania, another road leads over the mountains to the south to the upper Candigliano valley at Piobbico. This road is described by Tarducci as being *molto praticabile*. 'To make his way hence to Città di Castello in the upper Tiber valley,' he continues, 'would prove but an easy task to a general who in two months had crossed the Alps' (compare throughout map, Plan I.)

These are the roads, rivers, and cities of the district which concern this site of S. Silvestro, selected by Tarducci as the scene of the battle. This selection is accepted by his fellow countrymen Cantarelli and Bossi. It must be admitted that Tarducci's method of procedure in the investigation was, though simple and a favourite one with military topographers of all nations, yet none the less vicious. One September, he tells us, he found himself on this plain of S. Silvestro. Knowing that traditions of the battle clung about the district, he made inquiries of the peasants. They pointed out to him a mound they called the 'Tomba d' Asdrubale.' They told him that many bones were dug up in this place. He himself noticed on the plain a quadrilateral-shaped raised plateau of earth measuring some 76 yards by 70½. It was uncultivated and retained traces of an oak plantation, but it seemed to him clearly of human handiwork. He had no money to spend in excavations. Hence he was reduced to argue, as he says, 'inductively.' This was the site of the battle. The Carthaginian dead were buried where they fell, but the Roman dead were laid to rest in this earthen mound. So Nero buried his dead at Grumentum.¹⁹ Then, and not till then, with this prepossession based on 'place-names,' local tradition, and 'finds,' Tarducci proceeded to consult Polybius, Livy, and Appian. It is scarcely surprising that he found their data in entire harmony with his selected site. And in this manner he represents the course of events:

Hasdrubal always intended to march by the Via Flaminia to Narnia, there to join his brother. Hence, on reaching Fano, he struck inland up the Metaurus, meaning to find some pass over the Apennines into the central Umbrian plain. The Furlo was unsuitable. It was too narrow for an army. The Passo di San Gre-

¹⁹ Livy, xxvii. 42. 8.

gorio at Fermignano offered a far better opportunity, as, indeed, we must, on Macci's testimony, allow. Arrived here, however, he found the way south barred by the consular armies. He therefore followed at nightfall the windings of the river some four miles further up, intending to cross by the mountain road leading to Piobbico; but the guides on whom he relied to show him the ford escaped, the one over the Metaurus, *i.e.* to find refuge in the hostile camp. Thus he lost time, was involved in the twists and turns of the river, and thus, as Livy says, *quum haud multum processisset* (47. 10), was overtaken on the plain of S. Silvestro, where he fought, his right wing resting on the river, his left on the hill to the north of the plain. In favour of this site may be urged:

(a) The 'Umbrian' argument.

(b) The 'guide difficulty' argument (for on this site it is easily solved), common to both sites on the left bank. Further, as advantages belonging to this site alone—

(c) The agreement with local tradition.

(d) The 'finds,' viz. bones (according to the peasants); a helm and horse's armour (according to Macci); and thirdly a striking find. Last century a grave was opened near Montiego, which lies four miles south of Urbania, in which among other objects was found a silver patera engraved with three inscriptions, which are unintelligible, but whose type is similar to that found on coins of New Carthage and that district, of the epoch immediately subsequent to the second Punic war. The patera, it seems, no longer exists. The three inscriptions, containing the first thirteen, the second nine, the third four, complete characters, were preserved in Lanzi's papers at Florence. The patera is engraved therefore with Iberian characters, and is believed by Lenormant²⁰ and Hübner²¹ to have belonged to one of Hasdrubal's Spanish troops who fell in the Metaurus battle.²²

(e) Livy expressly says that Hasdrubal did not advance far up the river from the camps. For the four miles from Fermignano to S. Silvestro, the river may truly be described as tortuous, whereas for eight miles up from the mouth such a description would be ridiculous.

Thus, then, Tarducci sums up in favour of his site:

O io prendo un solennissimo abbaglio, o le circostanze di quella battaglia, accennate dagli storici, trovano tutte nel piano di S. Silvestro il loro riscontro pieno, naturalissimo. Qui abbiamo la necessaria distanza dal passo di S. Gregorio per rispondere al 'Haud multum processit (*sic*)' di Tito Livio; qui le ripe del fiume sono esattissimamente o alte, come

²⁰ *Revue Archéologique*, 1882, xliv. 31.

²¹ *La Arqueología da España*, Barcelona, 1888; *Adiciones*, p. 280, quoted by Oehler.

²² Cf. too W. T. Arnold, *Second Punic War*, note O.

dice lo stesso storico, o giacenti in terreni acquastrinosi, come aggiunge Appiano : qui una via naturalissima, rispondente in tutto ai bisogni di Asdrubale, ci dà ragione del ' *transiturus* : ' qui, sulla distesa delle colline, abbiamo naturalissimo il ' *collis prominens* ' che copriva i Galli, e l' altura dove la destra dei Romani se ne stava inoperosa a guardare la battaglia (*dextra extra proelium eminens cessabat*) ; qui la pianura si trova seminata di ossa ; qui povera gente ignorante, senza sapersi rendere alcuna ragione del nome e degli avvenimenti, vi dice e ripete che in questo luogo fu combattuta la battaglia di Asdrubale, e v' indica il luogo dove il vinto duce giacque sepolto. Mi pare che le prove sovrabbondino a dare piena conferma alla tradizione.²³

And thus Bossi follows suit :

Quella pianura, oltre che risponde esattamente a tutti i dati topografici tramessici dagli antichi, trovasi anche oggidì seminata di ossa, e gli abitanti di que' luoghi conservano ancor viva la tradizione, che in quella Pianura sia stato sconfitto e morto Asdrubale, di cui indicano per fino il luogo della sepoltura.²⁴

There are, however, at least three serious difficulties which militate against the possibility of this site :—

(a) As was the case with the La Lucrezia site, the words *ad Senam* present an almost insuperable difficulty, short of rejecting them altogether. Is it really possible to understand the words, as Tarducci expounds them, to mean *Tutta quella parte dell' Umbria che restava ad est degli Appennini e che aveva per suoi estremi confini a nord il Rubicone, ad est l'Esino* ?

Peculiar to this site are the other two :

(b) It is impossible to accept both this site *and* the tale of Nero's march. The latter must go. From Canusium to S. Silvestro measures 270 miles. To march this in seven days and nights becomes a real physical impossibility. With La Lucrezia the march is just possible ; with S. Silvestro it surely is not. From this Cantarelli and Bossi argue that the tale of the march is an annalistic invention. This seems to me an unjustifiable order in argument. As on other grounds we have seen reason to accept the tale of the march, the conclusion to be drawn is surely from the march to the site, not *vice versa*. This is a grave obstacle to the S. Silvestro site.

(c) The space for the battle on this site is such that the Carthaginian right wing, it seems, must have rested on the river, towards S. Lorenzo in Farnetella. Nero, therefore, in his flanking movement must have crossed the Metaurus behind the Roman left wing, marched up the right bank, and crossed it again to fall on the Carthaginian right wing. Not only is this extremely improbable both from the view of tactics and of possibility, but the

²³ *Op. cit.* p. 21.

²⁴ *La Guerra Annibalica*, xii. 78.

feat could scarcely have been left unmentioned in our accounts of the battle.²⁵

The difficulties in the way of the S. Silvestro site seem very grave. Neither can it be urged that the arguments advanced on its particular behalf, *i.e.* not common to any site on the left bank, are of a very convincing nature. We may admit the local tradition and the windings of the river. It is true that even with regard to the first, the use of the name 'Tomba d' Asdrubale' cannot be traced further back than to Macci. It is, however, not quite justifiable to argue with Oehler that the name is the product of Macci's inventive genius. A closer acquaintance with the old Venetian book would serve to show that probably its author found the name applied in his own day,²⁶ and it does not seem very clear if Oehler knows the book at first hand at all.

But to build this theory on the 'finds' mentioned is to construct on but an unstable foundation. Bones go for very little, both here and at S. Angelo (*cf. infra*). The helm and horse's armour rest on Macci's authority, and even if this be adequate, what proof have we that they were Carthaginian? Finally the patera, however interesting from the point of view of ancient dialects, can hardly be said to be of any use whatever in this topographical controversy. Oehler's answer, indeed, to its evidence, is that when the officers of the Austrian Militär-geographisches Institut devised their *Carta dell' Italia centrale* in 1851 they attached no importance to the find or the tradition. This is scarcely to the point. Surely it is more satisfactory to remember that the patera was found in a grave near Montiego, four miles away from the Metaurus in the Candigliano valley; that there is a S. Silvestro in the immediate vicinity, but that this is totally different from the S. Silvestro on the northern shore of the upper Metaurus. Shall we therefore, on the strength of this supposed Iberian patera, place the battle site in the upper Candigliano valley?

In actual fact, we must balance a vague local tradition against the impossibility of Nero's march and the difficulty of the flanking movement as arguments peculiar to the S. Silvestro site alone. I cannot but think the balance inclines to its rejection. Any site on the left bank of the Metaurus has two great advantages—the explanation of the Umbria and Narnia allusions, and the solution of the guide difficulty. When it comes to a choice between the two challenging sites on this bank, I cannot but think the La Lucrezia site the more possible of the two.

3. *S. Angelo* (map, Plan II.).—This site lies on the right bank of the Metaurus, about four miles from the mouth. In February 1896 the German Oehler and the Italian Pittaluga spent two days

²⁵ Oehler.

²⁶ See the *Classical Review*, February 1898, p. 11 *sqq.*

together in investigating it, and the former has recently published the result of his investigations at length, quoting considerable extracts from his colleague's notes. From these extracts in the main, I give the following description of this site :

Some four miles from the sea on the right bank of the river, a hill descends to the stream which may be called the hill of S. Angelo from the chapel of that name built upon it. This hill is bounded on the east by a long ravine, down which flows the Rio di Caminate, on the other side of which rises the hill of S. Costanzo. The western limit of the hill of S. Angelo is formed by the Fosso dell' Acqua Salata di Ferriano. To the north flows the Metaurus. On the south are the northern spurs of the mountain ridge along which runs the road from S. Costanzo to Cerasa. The hill of S. Angelo is thus bounded. But it itself is pierced in the middle by a small ravine, at the bottom of which a small nameless brook trickles into the Metaurus. At the mouth, where it enters the Metaurus, this ravine is broad, about 490 feet in all measured from one side to the other as the crow flies. Its sides here, especially the right-hand one, are very steep, so that it would be impossible for an army on the one to descend and scale the other. The ravine is rather over 2,000 yards in length, and towards its upper end but a few yards separate one side from the other, while, though the height of the ground in general here is about 325 feet above the Metaurus level, there is so little difference of elevation between the sides and bottom of the ravine that movements of troops from one side to the other are perfectly feasible.

If then Hasdrubal stationed his left wing, the Gauls, on that part of the hill to the west of the ravine abutting on the Metaurus, that position was secure from all attack by the Roman right wing posted on the opposite side of the ravine. The position was, in fact, impregnable, save on its southern side from the upper end of the ravine. Here were stationed the Carthaginian centre and right wing, and the nature of the ground here at this upper end allowed battle between these troops and the Roman left wing. As the hill by the river could hardly be stormed, however numerically superior the assailants, Hasdrubal was enabled, as Polybius says, to 'deepen his line at the expense of his front.' And if Polybius adds *τούτων μὲν ἤρρεσκεν οὐδέεν*, we must understand Hasdrubal's dissatisfaction to have been caused, not by the weakness of his position, but by the condition and temper of his troops.

Lastly, so far as the hill is concerned, some rising ground to the east of the Carthaginian position would secure quiet cover for Nero's flanking movement. His troops could unobserved climb from the Metaurus the road from Fiorenzuola, and so crossing above the ravine descend into the Acqua Salata valley, climb the other side, and so take up a position west, and at the back of the hill of

S. Angelo, thus taking the Carthaginian right wing and centre in flank and rear.

This, then, is the Oehler-Pittaluga picture of events both preceding and during the course of the battle :

Hasdrubal intending to join his brother as quickly as possible chose the most direct route south, viz. the Adriatic coast road. He crossed the Metaurus by a ford near the mouth, and pushed on down the coast till he found his way barred by the two consuls who lay encamped on the south bank of the river Cesano, the unnamed river; therefore, *unde aquabantur*. [Oehler rejects the tale of Nero's march: this does not now concern us. In any case the tale is most easily accepted if the camps are on the Cesano.] He therefore pitched his camp on the northern shore of the Cesano, and, finding it useless to think of forcing his way through the opposing army, decided to retreat, cross the Metaurus again, and (apparently) make his way south by the Via Flaminia into Umbria instead of by the coast route, now impracticable.

As soon as it was dark, *i.e.* about 8 p.m., he broke up his camp and retreated in three columns from the Cesano. Two columns crossed the mountains which separated the Cesano valley from the Metaurus. The third and strongest, including the elephants and cavalry, marched along the shore. All were to cross by the ford with which Hasdrubal was already acquainted. It is not probable, therefore, that either the way thither or the ford itself was missed, as the army was simply retracing its steps.

To march some seven and a half miles over the hills, estimating the march of the columns at from one and a half to two miles an hour, requires four to five hours. The troops then would debouch on the south bank of the Metaurus near the mouth, somewhere between midnight and 1 a.m. But here the army found itself unable to cross, not because the ford could not be found (an unlikely supposition), but because (as we must therefore assume) the river was found to be in flood. This is suggested by the fact that the guide who now escaped over the Metaurus, though we are expressly told he crossed by the ford, yet had to *swim*, not wade, across.²⁷

At this point the Carthaginian cavalry disappear from the narrative. Pittaluga supposes they were overtaken in the retreat and cut to pieces. He produces the evidence of bones (again!) found on the coast by Marotta. Oehler, however, replies it would yet have to be proved these were the bones of Carthaginian cavalry, for it cannot be doubted that this strip of the coast has been the scene of many petty battles in the last twenty centuries. Neither is it likely that the cavalry should have been overtaken while the foot escaped. He suggests that either Hasdrubal had no cavalry, or that these managed to swim their horses over the flooded river.

²⁷ Livy, 47. 9.

In this latter case, however, it is strange we hear nothing more of them. Certainly some cavalry were in the Punic camp on the Cesano.

Hasdrubal's sole resource now, therefore, was to follow up the right bank of the river seeking for some ford whereby to cross to the other side. In the dark, and following the windings of the river, as he was bound to do, since on the southern bank there was no road, he cannot have reached the hill of S. Angelo long before dawn. Here he therefore encamped and waited for the daybreak. If dawn were at 5 A.M., the space of three hours allowed by Oehler and Pittaluga for the halt on the hill of S. Angelo seems to leave barely time for the wandering up the river. However, he doubtless had time enough left him to encourage his tired troops, and also the Gauls found time enough to drink heavily of wine they may have found on the spot.²⁸ Hesselbarth's scepticism on this point is unjustified.²⁹

The position thus occupied on the hill of S. Angelo was a strong one. Its proximity to the river secured a supply of drinking water, and also the means of crossing when the flood sank. Meanwhile the triangular-shaped plateau of S. Angelo was safe from attack on all its sides save the south, and this too was secure so long as the defence of the whole line of the ridge remained unbroken. Its area, somewhat over a quarter of a million square yards, was more than sufficient for an army of about 40,000 men. Here, therefore, Hasdrubal began to fortify his camp, though elaborate fortifications were impossible owing both to the rapid pursuit of the Romans and Hasdrubal's need of recruiting the energy of his men by rest after the march.

The Romans pursued after the fugitives also in three columns. It was above all things important to overtake Hasdrubal before he succeeded in reaching the left bank of the Metaurus. The cavalry under Nero pushed on by the coast and up the river from the mouth. The mid-column of light-armed hastened over the hills to support the cavalry. The third and strongest column of legionaries and other foot under Livius followed necessarily at a slower pace over the hills.

Meanwhile at daybreak Hasdrubal had remained quietly in his position. No further march up the right Metaurus bank was attempted. The foe was too near; the country beyond unknown and probably unfavourable for a stand. To attempt to cross the river in daylight with the enemy at hand would be madness. Their sole hope had been a passage in the night just passed away. That hope had proved fallacious. A battle was inevitable, and all that Has-

²⁸ Cf. Frontinus, *post vineas*.

²⁹ *Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen zur III. Dekade des Livius* (Halle, 1889), p. 549.

drubal could do was to choose a strong position with some hope of escape if he could repel the foe. And this he had surely found on the hill of S. Angelo.

The Romans arrived and made ready for battle. Hasdrubal, ready some time before, opened the engagement by charging with the right wing on the main bulk of the Roman army, the heavy-armed on the Roman left wing with Livius. Here at the upper end of the ravine on the south side of S. Angelo the struggle raged indecisively. Nero on the Roman right, finding that the steepness of the ravine made the position of the Gauls an impregnable one, led the 6,000 picked troops of the famous march³⁰ behind the rest of the Roman army under shelter of the covering hill already mentioned, and so down into the upper Acqua Salata ravine; after which he brought them up the other side, and thus fell unexpectedly on the extreme right wing of the foe, the Spaniards, both flank and rear. The Romans maintained their position on the crest. The Carthaginian army gave way or was cut down. The camp on S. Angelo was then easily stormed from the south and the foreign invader utterly destroyed.

This is Oehler's account of the battle. Livy's text says that Nero after his flanking movement *in sinistrum hostium latus incurrit* (xxvii. 48. 14). This is usually taken as a simple misreading for *dextrum*, as by Madvig and Oehler. Pittaluga, however, to keep the manuscripts' reading, suggests that the Carthaginian right wing advanced so far as to leave a gap between it and the left wing. Of this Nero took advantage, and circling round at the back, not of the whole Roman army, but of his own wing—the Roman right—plunged into the gap and fell on the left flank of the Carthaginian right wing. Polybius, too, says he attacked first the elephant riders, and these were posted in the van of the centre (xi. 1. 7). However ingenious this suggestion is, it is still hard to see why under these circumstances any flanking movement *via* the rear of the line of battle, as so carefully described by both Polybius and Livy, was necessary at all. Hence in Plan II. on the map given above on p. 419, I have represented the flanking movement in accordance with Oehler's view rather than with Pittaluga's.

This, then, is the S. Angelo site for the battle and the Oehler-Pittaluga view of events. There is no one but must confess it is a most admirable site simply from the view of probabilities of generalship and the details of the fighting, even though Hasdrubal's timetable appears so precise as to be rather absurd. Further, this site has the great advantage of allowing us to take the words *ad Senam* in their natural and obvious sense. And lastly, 'finds' also are

³⁰ So Polybius, xi. 1. 7: τοὺς αὐτοῦ σπαρτιάτας. Livy simply: *cohortes aliquot subductas e dextro cornu*, 48. 13.

invoked on its behalf. Traces of a Roman encampment are found on the slope of the hill to the north-west of Caminate, and Pittaluga suggests this is where Livius's troops encamped after the battle. A caveful of bones of ancient date, by S. Paterniano, just to the south of S. Angelo, was reinforced as evidence as late as 1896 by the discovery of more human bones and complete skeletons, about five hundred yards distant from S. Angelo, the remains, it is urged, of a great battle. The peasants say that the bones in their generation have always been in the cave, but preserve the legend that at some distant date they were all brought together for interment there. *Forse quelle ossa*, says Pittaluga, *sono tutti resti mortali della battaglia del Metauro. Sparse dapprima su tutto il terreno circostante al burrone furono raccolte in tempi diversi da pietosi contadini e riunite in quella grotta.* Lastly, the district is full of elephant bones. Oehler remarks gravely he is unable to be sure whether these are bones of the particular species *Elephas africanus*. In any case, he continues, evidence of the kind is very inconclusive unless a great mass of such bones were found all together, and this is not the case. Indeed, Oehler rightly regards the skeleton evidence as of very little value, and the more contentedly doubtless because on the hill of S. Angelo itself no human remains are known to have been found.

Such evidence is not wanted perhaps, for the S. Angelo ground is undoubtedly a strong claimant among disputing sites. And yet I cannot think that it distances at once all possible rivals. Gratitude is due to the German investigator for his painstaking inquiry and able monograph. Yet this must not blind us to the difficulties which his choice presents, as well as its most dangerous rival, the La Lucrezia ground. Two of these are peculiar to the S. Angelo site by itself; two others are applicable to any site proposed on the right bank of the river Metaurus.

(a) The supposed flood in the river is undoubtedly a device to escape a real difficulty. If Hasdrubal had but just crossed the Metaurus by a ford on his march south, is it probable that even without a guide he would have been unable to discover it on his return a few days later? And, argues Tarducci with some justice, had Hasdrubal been unable to ford the river because this was in flood, is it conceivable that neither Livy nor Appian would have mentioned the fact? ³¹ If then, the theory of the flood be viewed with some suspicion, spite of the swimming powers of the guide, how came it that the Punic army was baffled in its search for the ford? To-day there are but few places where the Metaurus, unless in flood, cannot be crossed. Two fords are especially easy. One lies on a road leading from Cerasa to Fano to the north of S. Angelo, and is probably of very old use. The second is at Cerbara, though replaced now by a bridge. This ford, however, is less easy to cross than the former,

³¹ *Op. cit.* p. 11.

owing to the rapidity of the stream. The inference, then, is that Hasdrubal could not find the ford because he was searching for a new one, not for one by which he had lately crossed; because he was striving to cross from the left bank to the right, to make his way south, not retreating from the right bank back to the left. Livy at least does not assert Hasdrubal's night march was a retreat, though it is so represented by Appian and Zonaras.

(b) The height of the banks and windings of the stream between the sea and S. Angelo are not, it is urged, of such a nature as to satisfy the requirements of Livy's narrative. As regards the banks to-day, the left bank may be described as steep between Papirio S. Michele and the Madonna del Ponte at the river mouth; the right bank at the entrance of the Rio di Caminate, but not to any great extent until Cerbara is reached, when it continues steep as far as S. Oliviero. The left bank opposite this last section of the river is low. Perhaps, however, even here we have steepness enough to satisfy Livy's requirements. And Pittaluga urges an argument already suggested in this paper: *Nulla toglie però che all' epoca della battaglia l' alveo del fiume potess' essere maggiormente intagliato, e che il potere erosivo a monte (for la valle del Metauro è una valle d'erosione come tutte le altre dell' Adriatico) possa poi attraverso al tempo con successive deiezioni avere rialzato il letto del fiume a valle.* As regards the meanderings of the river, it is possible to describe its course as tortuous between the Rio di Caminate and S. Angelo with enough correctness to save the situation. None, however, would deny that simply from this point of view it would be more satisfactory to find a site west of Cerbara, as indeed is La Lucrezia.

And in general to any site on the right bank are attached two further objections:

(c) The 'guide difficulty' already explained.

(d) The 'Umbria' and 'Narnia' difficulty, a very real one, and I cannot see how with any site on this bank it may be solved. For, if Hasdrubal wrote from Placentia to his brother that he would meet him in Umbria, can it possibly be supposed he would cross the Metaurus and try to make his way south by the coast road? Can it possibly be supposed that Nero would have recommended the senate to place an army at Narnia unless he had good reason to suppose Hasdrubal might direct his march thither? Can it possibly be supposed that Hasdrubal, after having definitely sent word to his brother of his intended route, all but at once changed his mind—that he set out gaily for Apulia while believing Hannibal was expecting him in Umbria?

CONCLUSION.

This, then, is the present position of the Metaurus controversy, and the conclusion, so far as any is possible, of the whole matter.

The battle must have been fought on the right bank or the left. To any site on the former there apply two main objections—the lesser, viz. the guide difficulty ; and the greater, viz. the Umbrian difficulty. To neither can I find a satisfactory solution. To any site on the left bank similarly there exists at least one great objection, which may be called the *ad Senam* difficulty.

In particular, three sites are the most important rivals : two on the left bank, the S. Silvestro and the La Lucrezia, and one on the right bank, the S. Angelo. Of the two on the left bank the La Lucrezia site is to be preferred for this one great reason, that a choice of the other involves the almost certain rejection of the story of Claudius Nero's great march, while for quite independent reasons I have endeavoured to show how very great should be our reluctance to accept such a rejection. Thus are left the La Lucrezia and the S. Angelo sites as rivals. Each is attended by the general difficulties of its position north or south of the river sketched above. Each labours also under particular though minor encumbrances of its own. It may seem but a weak conclusion to refuse to decide definitely between the two. Yet I cannot believe that a certain conclusion is possible. It was, indeed, for a very direct reason that I proposed at the beginning of this paper merely 'to point out what are the sites which contend for the honour of Hasdrubal's defeat, and what are the difficulties and assumptions involved by each.' For where no one certain and positive result may, it seems, be attained, it is surely but idle pleasantry to promise it. And the history of the controversy from the writings of Macci in 1613 to its late vigorous revival in Italy and Germany seems to point to the fact that such a result may hardly in this case be won.

BERNARD W. HENDERSON.

*Bosnia before the Turkish Conquest*¹

I. THE HISTORY OF BOSNIA DOWN TO 1180.

THE earliest known inhabitants of Bosnia and the Herzegovina belonged to that Illyrian stock which peopled the western side of the Balkan peninsula at the close of the fifth century B.C. At that period we find two Illyrian tribes, the Ardiaei and the Autariatae, in possession of those lands. The former occupied West Bosnia, while the latter extended to the south and gave their name to the river Tara, which forms for some distance the present frontier between Montenegro and the Herzegovina. Few characteristics of these remote tribes have been preserved by the Greek and Roman writers, but we are told that the Ardiaei were noted even among the Illyrians for their drunken habits, and that they were the proprietors of a large body of slaves, who performed all their manual offices for them. Of the Autariatae we know nothing beyond the fact of their power at that epoch.

But the old Illyrian inhabitants had to acknowledge the superiority of another race. About 380 B.C. the Celts invaded the peninsula, and, by dint of continual pushing, ousted the natives of what is now Servia, and so became neighbours of the Ardiaei. Their next step was to drive the latter southward into the modern Herzegovina, and to seize their possessions in North Bosnia. Instead of uniting against the Celtic invaders the Illyrian tribes fell to quarrelling among themselves over some salt springs, which were unfortunately situated at the spot where their confines met. This fratricidal struggle had the effect of so weakening both parties that they fell an easy prey to the common foe. The victorious Celts pursued their southward course, and by 335 B.C. both Bosnia and Herzegovina were in their power, and the Illyrians either exiles or else subject to the Celtic sway. This is the first instance of that fatal tendency to disunion which has throughout been the curse

¹ I have drawn largely for this essay from the *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, of which five volumes have been published since the Austro-Hungarian occupation, and which throw new light on many points of Bosnian history. I have also visited all the chief places of historic interest in the occupied territory and the Sandžak.

of these beautiful lands. The worst foes of Bosnia and the Herzegovina have been those of their own household.

The Celtic supremacy left few traces behind it. While in the south a powerful Illyrian state was formed, which offered a stubborn resistance to Rome herself, the Celtic and Illyrian inhabitants of Bosnia and the Herzegovina remained in the happy condition of having no history. But when the South Illyrian state fell before the Romans, in 167 B.C., and the legionaries encamped on the river Narenta, upon which the present Herzegovinian capital stands, the people who dwelt to the north felt that the time had come to defend themselves. One of their tribes had already submitted to the Romans, but the others combined in a confederation, which had its seat at Delminium, a fortress near the modern town of Sinj, in Dalmatia, from which the confederates took the common name of Dalmatians. The first struggle lasted for nearly a century, in spite of the capture and destruction of Delminium by Scipio Nasica in 155 B.C., and it was reserved for Caius Coseonius in 78 B.C. to subdue the Dalmatian confederates and bring Bosnia and the Herzegovina for the first time beneath the Roman sway. Those lands were then merged in the Roman province of Illyricum, which stretched from the Adriatic to the western frontier of modern Serbia and from the Save into North Albania. But the spirit of the brave Dalmatians was still unbroken, and they never lost an opportunity of rising against their Roman masters. Aided by their winter climate, they resisted the armies of Caesar's most trusted lieutenants, and the emperor Augustus was twice wounded in his youthful campaign against them. One of their revolts in the early years of the Christian era was, in the words of Suetonius, 'the greatest danger which had threatened Rome since the Punic wars.' Under their chiefs Bato and Pines they defied the legions of Tiberius for four long years, and it was only when their last stronghold had fallen, and Bato had been taken captive, that they submitted. Their power as an independent nation was broken for ever, their country was laid waste, and in A.D. 9 finally incorporated with the Roman empire. North Bosnia became part of the province of Pannonia; the Herzegovina and Bosnia south of a line drawn from Novi through Banjaluka and Doboï to Zvornik, were included in the province of Dalmatia. The Romans divided up the latter in their usual methodical manner into three districts, grouped round three towns, where was the seat of justice, and whither the native chieftains came to confer with the Roman authorities. Thus Salona, near Spalato, once a city half as large as Constantinople, but now a heap of ruins, was made the centre of government for South Bosnia, while the Herzegovina fell within the jurisdiction of Naronæ, a fortress which has been identified with Vid, near Metković.

The Roman domination, which lasted till the close of the fifth

century, has left a permanent mark upon the country. The interior, it is true, never attained to such a high degree of civilisation as the more accessible towns on the Dalmatian coast, and no such magnificent building as the palace at Spalato in which Diocletian spent the evening of his days adorned the inland settlements. But the conquerors developed, much as the Austrians have done in our own time, those natural resources which the natives had neglected. Three great Roman roads united Salona and the sea with the principal places up country. One of these highways skirted the beautiful lake Jezero, traversed the now flourishing town of Banjaluka, which derives its modern name, 'the Baths of St. Luke,' from the ruins of a Roman bath, and ended at Gradiška, on the Save. Another connected Salona with the plain of Sarajevo, even then regarded as the centre of the Bosnian trade, and the valley of the Drina, while a branch penetrated as far as Plevlje, in the Sandžak of Novi-Bazar, then a considerable Roman settlement. The third, starting also from Salona, crossed the south of the Herzegovina, where traces of it may still be seen. Then, too, the mineral wealth of Bosnia was first exploited—the gold workings near the source of the river Vrbas and the rich deposits of iron ore in the north-west. The natives, hitherto occupied in fighting or farming, were now forced to work at the gold diggings. Roman authors extolled the Bosnian gold, of which as much as 50 lbs. were obtained in a single day, and a special functionary presided at Salona over the administration of the Bosnian gold mines. The salt springs of Dolnja Tuzla, now a busy manufacturing town, were another source of wealth, and the numerous coins of the Roman period discovered up and down the country show that a considerable amount of money was in circulation there. Many a Roman colonist must have been buried in Bosnian soil, for numbers of tombstones with Latin inscriptions have been found, and the national museum at Sarajevo is full of Roman cooking utensils, Roman vases, and Roman instruments of all kinds. Most important of all, it was during the Roman period that the first seeds of Christianity were sown in these remote Balkan lands. The exact date of this event, which was to exercise paramount influence for evil as well as good upon the future history of Bosnia, is unknown, but we may safely assume that the archbishopric of Salona was the seat of the new doctrine, from which it rapidly spread throughout the Dalmatian province. Several bishoprics, which are mentioned as subordinate to the archiepiscopal see of Salona in the sixth century, are to be found in Bosnia, and one in particular, the bishopric of Bistue, lay in the very heart of that country.

But the power of Rome on the further shore of the Adriatic and in the mountains behind it did not long survive the break-up of the Western Empire in 476. Bosnia and the Herzegovina experienced

the fate of the provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia, of which they had so long formed a part. Twenty years earlier Marcellinus, a Roman general, had carved out for himself an independent principality in Dalmatia, and his nephew and successor, Julius Nepos, maintained his independence there for a short space after the fall of the empire. But Odoacer soon made himself master of the old Roman province, and in 493 the Ostrogoths under Theodoric overran the country, and for the next forty years Bosnia and the Herzegovina owned their sway. This change of rulers made little difference in the condition of the people. The Ostrogoths did not interfere with the religious institutions which they found already in existence. Under their government two ecclesiastical councils were held at Salona, and two new bishoprics founded, bringing the total number up to six. Theodoric, like the Romans before him, paid special attention to the mineral wealth of Bosnia, and a letter is extant in which he appoints an overseer of 'the Dalmatian iron ore mines.' But in 535 began the twenty years' war between the Ostrogoths and the emperor Justinian, whose famous general Belisarius, or Veličar, is said to have been a native of a village in Bosnia or the Herzegovina. Those twin lands at once became the prey of devastating armies, the battle-field of Gothic and Byzantine combatants. In the midst of the general confusion a horde of new invaders appeared, probably at the invitation of the Gothic king, and in 548 we hear of the Slavs for the first time in the history of the country. Further Slavonic detachments followed in the next few years, and before the second half of the sixth century was far advanced there was a considerable Slav population in the western part of the Balkan peninsula. Even when the war had ended with the overthrow of the Gothic realm, and Bosnia and the Herzegovina had fallen under the Byzantine sway, the inroads of the Slavs did not cease. Other savage tribes came too, and the Avars in particular were the terror of the inhabitants. This formidable race, akin to the Huns, whom they rivalled in ferocity, soon reduced the once flourishing province of Dalmatia to a wilderness. During one of their marches through Bosnia they destroyed nearly forty fortified places on the road from the Save to Salona, and finally reduced that prosperous city to the heap of ruins which it has ever since remained, while the citizens formed out of Diocletian's abandoned palace the town which bears the name of Spalato, or the Palace, to this day. But the Avars were not to have an unchallenged supremacy over the country. In the first half of the seventh century the emperor Heraclius summoned to his aid two Slavonic tribes, the Croats and Serbs, and offered them the old Illyrian lands as his vassals if they would drive out the Avars. Nothing loth they at once accepted the invitation, and, after a fierce struggle, subdued the barbarians, whose hands had been as

heavy upon the Slavonic as upon the Roman settlers. The Croats, who came somewhat earlier than the Serbs, took up their abode in what is still known as Croatia, and in the northern part of Dalmatia, as far as the river Cetina; the Serbs occupied the coast line from that river as far south as the present Albanian town of Durazzo, and inland the whole of modern Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, the Herzegovina, and the Sandžak of Novi-Bazar. From that time onwards these regions have, under various alien dominations, never lost their Slavonic character, and to this day even the Bosniaks who profess the faith of Islâm, no less than their orthodox brothers, are of Servian stock.

The history of Bosnia and the Herzegovina from this Slavonic settlement in the first half of the seventh down to the middle of the tenth century is very obscure. We have few facts recorded, and nothing is gained by repeating the names of mythical rulers, whose existence has been disproved by the researches of critical historians. But it is possible to form some general idea of the state of the country during this period of transition. Nominally under the suzerainty of the Byzantine empire, much in the same sense as modern Bulgaria is under that of the sultan, Bosnia and its neighbouring lands were practically independent and formed a loose agglomeration of small districts, each of which was called by the Slavonic name of *župa* and was governed by a headman known as a *župan*. The most important of these petty chiefs was awarded the title of grand *župan*, and the various districts composed a sort of primitive confederation under his auspices. Two of the districts received names which attained considerable importance in subsequent history. The Slavonic settlers in the valley of the Upper Bosna adapted the Latin designation of that river, Basante, to their own idiom by calling the stream Bosna and themselves Bosniaks, and the name of the river was afterwards extended to the whole country, which from that time onwards was known as Bosnia. Similarly Mount Hum, above the present town of Mostar, gave its name to the surrounding district, which was called the Land of Hum, or Zahumlje, until in the middle of the fifteenth century it was rechristened the 'Land of the Duke,' or the Herzegovina, from the German *Herzog*. These derivations are much more probable than the alternatives recently offered, according to which Bosnia means the 'land of salt' in Albanian, and the Herzegovina means the 'land of stones' in Turkish.²

The Slavs, with the adaptability of many other conquerors, soon accepted the religion which they found already established in these countries. The Serbs, who settled at the mouth of the Narenta, alone adhered to paganism, and erected on the ruins of the old

² *Wiss. Mitth.* i. 333, 434.

Roman town of Naron a shrine of their god Viddo, from whom the modern village of Vid derives its name. Here heathen rites were celebrated for more than two hundred years, and as late as the beginning of the present century the inhabitants of Vid cherished ancient idols, of which the original significance had long passed away.

The political history of Bosnia was determined for many generations by its geographical position on the boundary line between the Croatian and Servian settlements. It was here that these two branches of the Slavonic race met, and from the moment when two rival groups were formed under Croatian and Servian auspices Bosnia became the coveted object of both. That country accordingly submitted to Croatian and Servian rulers by turns. Early in the tenth century it seems to have acknowledged the sway of Tomislav, first king of the Croats, and was administered as a dependency by an official known as a *ban*, the Croatian name for a 'governor,' which survives to our own day. A little later the Servian prince Česlav incorporated it in the confederation which he welded together, and defended it against the Magyars, who now make their first appearance in its history. Under a chieftain named Kés these dangerous neighbours had penetrated as far as the upper waters of the river Drina, where the Servian prince inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. But, in his zeal to carry the war into the enemy's country, he perished himself, and with his death his dominions fell asunder, and Bosnia became for a brief period independent. But Krešimir, king of the Croats, recovered it in 968, and for the next half-century it belonged to the Croatian crown. But about 1019 the emperor Basil II restored for a time the dormant Byzantine sovereignty over the whole Balkan peninsula. After the bloody campaigns which earned him the title of 'the Bulgar-slayer' and ended in the destruction of the first Bulgarian empire, he turned his arms against the Serbs and Croats, forcing the latter to receive their crown from Constantinople and reducing Bosnia to more than nominal subjection to his throne.

Meanwhile the Herzegovina, or the 'Land of Hum,' as it was then called, had had a considerable history of its own. Early in the tenth century, at the time when the Croatian king Tomislav was extending his authority over Bosnia, we hear of a certain Michael Višević, who ruled over the sister land and held his court in the ancient fortress of Blagaj, above the source of the river Buna. Višević was evidently a prince of considerable importance. The pope addressed him as 'the most excellent duke of the people of Hum;' the Byzantine emperor awarded him the proud titles of 'proconsul and patrician.' The republic of Ragusa paid him an annual tribute of thirty-six ducats for the vineyards of her citizens which lay within his territory. His fleet, starting from the seaport

of Stagno, then the seat of a bishopric as well as an important haven, ravaged the Italian coast opposite, and made the name of 'Michael, king of the Slavs,' as a chronicler styles him, a terror to the inhabitants of Apulia. The great Bulgarian czar Simeon was his ally, and on two occasions during his struggle with the Byzantine empire he received aid or advice from him. We find him seconding Tomislav's proposal for summoning the famous ecclesiastical council which met at Spalato in 925 and prohibited the use of the Slavonic liturgy. In short, nothing of importance occurred in that region during his reign in which he had not his say. But after his death his dominions seem to have been included, like Bosnia, in the Servian confederation of Česlav; and, when that collapsed, they were annexed by the king of Dioclea, whose realm derived its name from the birthplace of Diocletian in what is now Montenegro, and took its origin in the valley of the Zeta, which divides that principality in two. About the end of the tenth century, however, the powerful Bulgarian czar Samuel established his supremacy over the kingdom of Dioclea, and the treacherous murder of its king a few years later completed the incorporation of Dioclea, and consequently of the Herzegovina, in the Bulgarian empire. But its connexion with Bulgaria was short-lived. When Basil 'the Bulgar-slayer' destroyed the sovereignty of the Bulgarian czars he added the Herzegovina as well as Bosnia to his own domains. Thus the twin provinces fell at the same moment beneath the Byzantine sway, and from 1019 remained for a space parts of that empire, governed sometimes by imperial governors, sometimes by native princes acting as imperial viceroys. Bosnia was the first to raise the standard of revolt, and no sooner was the emperor Basil II dead than it regained its independence under *bans* of its own, who raised it to an important position among the petty states of that time. The Herzegovina, less fortunate, only exchanged the sovereignty of the emperor at Constantinople for that of the king of Dioclea, who in 1050 made himself master of the land. For exactly a century it remained an integral portion of that kingdom, and had therefore no separate history. Even Bosnia succumbed a generation later to the monarchs of Dioclea, for about 1085 all the three neighbouring lands, Servia, Bosnia, and the Herzegovina, had to accept governors from King Bodin of the Zeta, and thus a great Serb state existed under his sceptre.

But in the early years of the twelfth century a new force made itself felt in South Slavonic lands, a force which even in our own day exercises a powerful influence over the fortunes of the Balkan peninsula. Since their unsuccessful incursion in the time of Česlav the Hungarians had never abandoned their cherished object of gaining a foothold there. But it was not till the union of Croatia in 1102, and of Dalmatia in 1105, with the Hungarian

crown by Koloman, that this object was attained. The Hungarian kings thus came into close contact with Bosnia, and were not long in extending their authority over that country. So far from meeting with opposition they were regarded by the people as valuable allies in the common struggle against the Byzantine emperors of the family of the Comneni, who aimed at restoring the past glories and dimensions of their realm. Accordingly in 1135 we find an Hungarian king, Béla II, for the first time styling himself 'king of Rama'—the name of a river in Bosnia, which Magyar chroniclers applied first to the surrounding district and then to the whole country. From that time onward, whoever the actual possessors of Rama, or Bosnia, might be, it was always included among the titles of the Hungarian monarchs, and at the present day the emperor Francis Joseph in his capacity of king of Hungary calls himself also 'king of Rama.' In his case the phrase has certainly a more practical significance than it possessed in earlier centuries.

The precise manner in which this close connexion between Hungary and Bosnia was formed is obscure. According to one theory Béla received the country as the dowry of his Servian wife; according to another the Bosnian magnates, seeing the increasing power of Hungary and the revived pretensions of the Byzantine emperors, decided to seek the protection of the former against the latter. At any rate a little later Béla assigned Bosnia as a duchy to his second son, Ladislaus, leaving, however, the actual government of that land in the hands of native *bans*. It is now that we hear the name of one of these rulers for the first time. Hitherto the Bosnian governors have been mere shadowy figures, flitting unrecognised and almost unnoticed across the stage of history. But *ban* Borić, who now comes into view, is a man of flesh and blood. In the wars between the emperor Manuel Comnenus and the Hungarians he was the staunch ally of the latter, and when a disputed succession to the Hungarian throne took place he aspired to play the part of a king-maker and supported the claims of Ladislaus, the titular 'duke' of Bosnia. But he made the mistake of choosing the losing side and, after being conquered by the troops of the successful candidate, disappeared mysteriously in 1163. Short, however, as was his career, he had extended the eastern borders of Bosnia to the river Drina, and we learn from a contemporary Greek historian that his country was 'independent of Servia and governed in its own fashion.' Three years after his disappearance from the scene Bosnia shared the fate of Croatia and Dalmatia, and fell into the hands of Manuel Comnenus. But upon the death of that powerful emperor in 1180 the fabric which he had laboriously erected collapsed; the Balkan peoples had nothing more to fear from the Byzantine empire, and Bosnia under her famous *ban* Kulin attained to greater freedom

and prosperity than she had yet enjoyed. But the same period which witnessed this political and material progress witnessed also the development of that ecclesiastical schism which was one day destined to cause the loss of all freedom and the suspension of all progress by facilitating the Turkish conquest of the land.

II. THE GREAT BOSNIAN BANS (1180-1376).

Kulin is the first great figure in Bosnian history. By nature a man of peace, he devoted his attention to the organisation of the country, which in his time was a ten days' journey in circumference, the development of its commerce, and the maintenance of its independence. He allowed foreigners ready access to his dominions, employed two Italian painters and goldsmiths at his court, and gave liberal mining concessions to two shrewd burghers of Ragusa, which during the middle ages was the chief emporium of the inland trade. He concluded in 1189 a treaty of commerce with that city, in which he swore to be its 'true friend now and for ever, and to keep true peace and genuine troth' with it all his life. Ragusan merchants were permitted to settle wherever they chose in his territory, and no harm was to be done them by his officials. Agriculture flourished under his rule, and years afterwards, whenever the Bosnian farmer had a particularly prosperous year, he would say to his fellows, 'The times of Kulin are coming back again.' Even to-day the people regard him as a favourite of the fairies, and his reign as a golden age, and to 'talk of *ban Kulin*' is a popular expression for one who speaks of the remote past, when the Bosnian plum-trees always groaned with fruit and the yellow corn-fields never ceased to wave in the fertile plains. Kulin's position was strengthened too by his powerful connexions; for his sister was the wife of Miroslav, prince of the Herzegovina, which, as we have seen, had formed part of the kingdom of Dioclea down to 1150, when it was conquered by Stephen Nemanja, afterwards first king of Servia. Nemanja made his brother Miroslav its prince, and thus was closely connected with Kulin. The latter, like Nemanja in Servia, threw off all ties of allegiance to the Byzantine empire on the death of Manuel Comnenus, and at the same time ignored the previous relations which had existed between the kings of Hungary and the Bosnian *bans*.

But it was Kulin's ecclesiastical policy which rendered his reign most memorable in the after history of Bosnia. In the tenth century there had appeared in Bulgaria a priest named 'Bogomil,' or the 'Beloved of God,' who preached a mystical doctrine, peculiarly attractive to the intellect of a Slavonic race. From the assumption that there existed in the universe a bad as well as a good deity the Bogomiles, as his disciples were called, deduced a complete system of theology, which explained all phenomena to

their own satisfaction. But the Bogomiles did not content themselves with metaphysics alone. They descended from the serene atmosphere of abstract reasoning to the questions of ritual and the customs of society. Appropriating to themselves the title of 'good Christians,' they regarded the monks as little short of idolaters, set at naught the authority of bishops, and defied the thunders of the popes. Their worship was characterised by extreme simplicity and often conducted in the open air, while in their lives they aimed at a plain and primitive ideal. A 'perfect' Bogomile, one who belonged to the strictest of the two castes into which they were divided, looked upon marriage as impure and bloodshed as a deadly sin; he despised riches, and owned allegiance to no one save God alone, while he had the quaker's objection to an oath. No wonder that popes, trembling for their authority, branded them as heretics and pursued them with all the horrors of fire and sword; no wonder that potentates found them sometimes intractable subjects, and sometimes useful allies in a struggle against ecclesiastical pretensions.

The Bogomiles appear to have entered Bosnia about the middle of the twelfth century, and speedily gained a hold upon the country. Kulin at first remained uninfluenced by their teachings. Thus, in 1180, we find the papal legate writing to him in the most courteous terms, and addressing him as the 'the noble and powerful man, the great *ban* of Bosnia.' The legate sends him a letter and the holy father's blessing, and begs him to give him in return, as a token of his devotion, 'two servants and marten skins.' But Kulin found it politic later on to secede from the Roman church. For some time past the rival archbishoprics of Spalato and Ragusa had striven for ecclesiastical supremacy over Bosnia. Béla III, king of Hungary, who had now time to devote to his ambitious schemes against that country, warmly supported the claims of the see of Spalato, to which he had appointed a creature of his own. Kulin was naturally on the side of Ragusa, and was encouraged by his sister, whose late husband, Miroslav, prince of the Herzegovina, had had a similar contest with the archbishop of Spalato, and had concluded a treaty with the Ragusans. The pope took the part of Spalato, and Kulin retorted by defying him, as Miroslav had done before. The latter had probably been a Bogomile for some time before his death; the former now formally abandoned the Roman church, with his wife, his sister, his whole family, and ten thousand of his subjects. The force of so potent an example was at once felt. The Bogomile or Patarene heresy, as it was called by the Bosniaks of other creeds, now spread apace, not only over Bosnia, but in the neighbouring lands. The two Italian painters, whom we have mentioned as residing at Kulin's court, carried it to Spalato, where it extended to the other Dalmatian coast towns; and the

destruction of Zara by the crusaders in 1202 was regarded by pious chroniclers as a judgment upon that city for its heretical opinions.

King Béla III was not slow to make Kulin's defection the excuse for posing as defender of the true faith. But his death and the quarrels between his heirs gave Kulin a little breathing space, and it was not till 1200 that he was in actual danger. By that time Béla's sons, Emerich and Andrew, had established themselves respectively as king of Hungary and duke of the Herzegovina, and accordingly threatened Bosnia from two sides. Emerich, following his father's policy, endeavoured to induce the pope to preach a crusade against the Bosnian heretics, and Innocent III, who then occupied the chair of St. Peter, hailed the king of Hungary as overlord of Bosnia, and bade him summon Kulin to recant, or if the latter remained obdurate invade Bosnia and occupy it himself. Thus menaced by a combination of the spiritual and the temporal power, Kulin bowed before the storm. He felt that at all costs Hungarian intervention must be avoided, so he made the rather lame excuse that he had 'regarded the Patarenes not as heretics, but as catholics,' and begged the pope to send him some safe adviser, who should guide his erring feet into the right way. Innocent, pleased at Kulin's submission, sent two ecclesiastics to Bosnia to inquire into the religious condition of the country and to bring back its ruler to the true fold. The mission was temporarily successful. Early in the spring of 1203 the *ban*, his great nobles, and the heads of the Bogomile community met in solemn assembly in the 'white plain,' or Bjelopolje, on the river Bosna, confessed their errors, and drew up a formal document embodying their recantation. 'We renounce the schism of which we are accused'—so runs the deed—'we promise to have altars and crosses in all our churches, to receive the sacrament seven times a year, to observe the fasts ordained by the church, and to keep the festivals of the saints. Henceforth we will no more call ourselves "Christians," but "brothers," so as not to cast a slur upon other Christians.' The oath thus taken was renewed by representatives of the Bogomiles in the presence of the king of Hungary, who bade Kulin observe his promises for the future. The cloud had passed away, but with its disappearance Kulin too disappears from the scene. We hear no more of him after 1204; but his memory was not soon forgotten.³ Two centuries later a Bosnian king desired to have confirmed to him all the 'customs, usages, privileges, and frontiers which existed in the

³ An inscription, said to be the oldest in the country, has recently been discovered at Muhašinovići, on the river Bosna, which refers to a church erected by Kulin, and concludes with the words, *Bog daj zdravje banu Kulinu Vojslavi* ('God grant health to the ban Kulin and the baness Vojslava'). See the *Bosnische Post*, 7 June 1898.

time of Kulin,' and the rich Bosnian family of Kulenović of our own time is said to derive its name and lineage from him.⁴

But the recantation of Kulin did not check the growth of the Bogomile heresy. Under his successor, Stephen, the numbers of the sect increased, and the efforts of Pope Honorius III and his legate to preach a crusade against the heretics remained fruitless. The holy father might exclaim that 'the unbelievers in Bosnia, just as witches in a cave nourish their offspring with their bare breasts, publicly preach their abominable errors, to the great harm of the Lord's flock;' but even this mixture of metaphors failed to stimulate the flagging zeal of the Hungarian catholics. Even when the king of Hungary had pacified his rebellious nobles by the golden bull, and was therefore able to turn his attention to Bosnian affairs, the proposed crusade fell flat. The king worked upon the cupidity of the archbishop of Kalocsa by granting him spiritual authority over Bosnia; but the only result was to stiffen the backs of the recalcitrant Bosniaks. Imitating their neighbours in the Herzegovina, who had lately made a Bogomile their prince, they deposed the weak-kneed Stephen and put Matthew Ninoslav, a Bogomile by birth and education, in his place. The new *ban* proved, however, more pliant than his poorer subjects. Alarmed at the threatening attitude of the king of Hungary, he recanted, as Kulin had done before him, and placed his country under the protection of St. Peter. But the conversion of their prince had little effect upon the masses. The monks of the Dominican order might boast that they had converted, if not convinced, Ninoslav, but it was felt that stronger measures must be taken against his people. In 1234 a crusade was at last organised, and for the next five years the Bogomiles of Bosnia experienced all those horrors of fire and sword which their fellows, the Albigenses, had suffered in the south of France. Under different names and in widely different spheres the two bodies of heretics had adopted similar doctrines. Indeed, the Albigenses had looked to the Bogomile 'pope,' or primate, of Bosnia for spiritual instruction and advice, and accepted their 'vicar' at his hands. But while historians and poets of renown have cast lustre upon the struggles and sufferings of the martyrs of Provence the probably equally heroic resistance of the Bosnian Bogomiles has made little impression upon literature. Yet it is clear that they possessed all the stubborn valour of our own puritans. In spite of the conquest of both Bosnia and the Herzegovina by the Hungarian king's son, Koloman, who received the former country from the king and the pope as the reward of

⁴ The ruins of their *Stammburg*, Žaskopolje, may be seen near Jajce, almost on the spot where, in 1878, the great fight between the Austrians and the insurgents took place.

his labours, in spite of the erection of forts and a catholic cathedral to keep the unruly passions and heretical inclinations of the people in order, the spirit of the Bogomiles remained unbroken. Ninoslav, furious at the arbitrary substitution of Koloman for himself, once more appeared as their champion, and the great defeat of the Hungarians by the Tartars in 1241 not only rid him of his rival, Koloman, but freed his land from all fear of Hungarian intervention for some time to come. Even the incursion of the Tartars into Bosnia was a small disadvantage as compared with the benefits which that country had derived from their previous victory over its foes. Ninoslav now felt himself strong enough to assist Spalato in its struggle against the king of Hungary and to offer an alliance to Ragusa against the growing power of the Servian monarchy. A second crusade in Bosnia in 1246 was not more successful than the first, and the pope in placing the Bosnian see under the authority of the archbishop of Kalocsa, expressly gave as his reason 'the utter hopelessness of a voluntary conversion of that country to the true faith.' Even the papal permission to use the Slavonic tongue and the Glagolitic characters in the catholic service did not win over the Bogomiles to Rome. Crusades and concessions had alike failed.

Ninoslav passes out of sight in 1250, and the next two generations are, with the exception of the Turkish supremacy, the gloomiest period of Bosnian history. Religious differences and a disputed succession made the country an easy prey to the ambitious designs of the Hungarian monarchs, who in 1254 subdued not only Bosnia but the Herzegovina beneath their sway. While the latter soon fell under Servian influence the former was split up into two parts. South Bosnia was allowed to retain native *bans*; the north, for the sake of greater security, was at first entrusted to Hungarian magnates, and then combined with a large slice of northern Servia, known as Mačva, in a compact duchy, which was conferred upon near relatives of the Hungarian king. During this period the history of this distracted land is practically a blank. Beyond the names of its successive rulers we have little handed down to us by the chroniclers. 'A sleep as of death,' in the words of a Croatian writer, 'had fallen upon the country. The whole national and religious life of Bosnia had perished beneath the cold blasts of the wind from beyond the Save.' Now and again we come upon traces of the old Bogomile spirit and the old zeal of the persecutors. Stephen Dragutin, who had been driven by his brother from the Servian throne and had become under Hungarian auspices duke of North Bosnia and Mačva, was specially noted for his 'conversion and baptism of many heretics,' and it was in answer to his request that the Franciscans, who have since played such an important part in Bosnian history, settled in

the country. But still the pope complained that 'the churches were deserted and the priesthood uprooted.' Meanwhile two powerful families began to make their influence felt, the Croatian clan of Šubić and the race of Kotromanić, whose founder, a German knight, had entered Bosnia in the Hungarian service and was the ancestor of the Bosnian kings. The family of Šubić was at first in the ascendant, and became lords of part and then the whole of the land. In fact, early in the fourteenth century one of the name ruled, under the title of '*ban* of the Croats and all Bosnia,' a vast tract of territory extending from the Save to the Narenta and from the Drina to the Adriatic. But in 1322 he fell before a combination of rivals, and young Stephen Kotromanić, who had been his deputy in Bosnia, became independent and united both North and South Bosnia under his sway.

Stephen Kotromanić proved himself to be the ablest ruler whom Bosnia had had since Kulin, and laid the foundations upon which his successor built up the Bosnian kingdom. His reign of over thirty years was marked by a series of successes. He began in 1325 by annexing the Herzegovina, which, as we have seen, had been under Servian authority for the last two generations, as well as the sea coast from the river Cetina as far south as the gates of Ragusa. Thus, for the first time in its history, Bosnia had gained an outlet on the sea, and was not entirely dependent upon foreigners for its imports. The Dalmatian coast with its fine harbours is the natural frontage of the country behind, which even at the present day touches the sea at only two small points. But in the first half of the fourteenth century Bosnia had gained a considerable coast-line. Kotromanić even coveted the islands as well, and specially Curzola, then under the overlordship of Venice. But here his plans failed, although the Ragusans were ready to lend him ships for the purpose. He rewarded them by confirming all their old trading rights in his country and granting them some territorial concessions near the mouth of the Narenta. He took an active, if somewhat insidious, part in the operations which King Charles Robert of Hungary and his successor, Louis the Great, conducted for the restoration of their authority in Croatia and Dalmatia. Charles Robert, who had bestowed upon Kotromanić a relative of his own wife in marriage, found him a useful ally; but in the war between Louis the Great and the Venetians for the possession of Zara the Bosnian ruler was desirous of standing well with both sides. At the famous siege of Zara in 1345 and the following year he went, at the bidding of Louis, to rescue the town from its Venetian besiegers. But the crafty Venetians knew their man. They gave him a heavy bribe, and offered him a much heavier one if he would persuade Louis to abandon the relief of the beleaguered city. The money was well spent. At a critical moment of the siege, when

it had been arranged that the Hungarian and Bosnian army should support the besieged in a sally from the gates, Kotromanić and his Bosniaks hung back and the Venetians won the day. The quaint chronicle of this famous siege expressly ascribes the defeat of the allies to the perfidy of 'that child of Belial, Stephen, *ban* of Bosnia,' and it was largely owing to his subsequent mediation that Zara ultimately surrendered to Venice. But Kotromanić soon found that he required the good offices of Venice himself. While he had been engaged in the west of the Balkan peninsula there had grown up in the east under the mighty auspices of Stephen Dušan the great Servian empire, which threatened at one moment to swallow up Constantinople itself. Dušan is the greatest name in the whole history of the peninsula, a name cherished to this day by every patriotic Serb. But just as the restoration of Dušan's empire, which is the daydream of Servian enthusiasts, would jeopardise the existence of modern Bosnia, so the conquests of the great Servian czar alarmed the Bosnian ruler of that day. For the first half of his reign Dušan was too much occupied with his eastern conquests and his law reforms to interfere with his western neighbour. But he had not forgotten that the Herzegovina, which Kotromanić had annexed, had once belonged to the Servian monarchy, and, as soon as he had leisure, he pressed his claims. Both parties accepted the mediation of Venice, and for a time peace was preserved. But in 1349 Kotromanić assumed the offensive, invaded Dušan's dominions, and penetrated as far south as the beautiful town of Cattaro, at that time part of the Servian empire and now the finest natural harbour in the Austrian dominions. Dušan retaliated next year by descending upon Bosnia and laying siege to the strong castle of Bobovac, the residence of many Bosnian rulers. As has usually happened in the history of the country, the persecuted Bogomiles flocked to the standard of the invader, and Bosnia seemed to be at his feet. But the walls of Bobovac, behind which lay the lovely daughter of the *ban*, resisted his attacks, and he marched away southward through the Herzegovina to Cattaro. Next year the hostilities ceased, and as a further security Kotromanić found a husband for his daughter in King Louis the Great of Hungary, his old ally.

The internal condition of Bosnia was less fortunate, however, in the hands of Kotromanić than its external relations. The power of the Bogomiles had greatly increased before his accession; they had a complete organisation—a spiritual head called *djed*, or 'grandfather,' with a seat at Janjići, and twelve 'teachers' under him—while there was not a single catholic bishop living in the country. Moreover the rival orders of Dominicans and Franciscans had begun to fight for the exclusive privilege of applying the tortures of the Inquisition to the Bosnian heretics—a conflict which naturally favoured the growth of that heresy. Under these

circumstances Kotromanić began his reign by openly favouring the Bogomiles, who formed the bulk of his armies and were his best bulwark against foreign aggression so long as he was their protector. But in 1340, on the persuasion of the king of Hungary, he committed the political blunder of embracing the catholic faith and thus making his Bogomile subjects look upon Stephen Dušan as their legitimate champion. The evil results of his ecclesiastical policy were apparent when the great Servian czar invaded his dominions.

Stephen Kotromanić died in 1353, and his nephew Tvrtko succeeded him. Tvrtko is the greatest name in Bosnian history, and his long reign of nearly forty years, first as *ban* and then as first king of Bosnia, marks the zenith of that country's power. Beginning his career under circumstances of great difficulty, and even driven at one moment from his throne, he lived to make himself king not merely of Bosnia, but of Servia, Croatia, and Dalmatia as well, and to unite beneath his sceptre a vast agglomeration of territory, such as no other Bosnian ruler has ever governed.

The first seventeen years of his reign were spent in a desperate but successful struggle for the mastery of his own house. He was a mere boy at the death of his uncle, and his mother, who acted as regent, was too weak to cope with the disorders of the time. The magnates, many of whom were zealous Bogomiles, were contemptuous of one who was both a child and a catholic, while they would have welcomed the great Servian czar Dušan, had he found time to repeat his invasion of Bosnia. But the death of that monarch on his way to the siege of Constantinople in 1355 broke up the Servian empire for ever and removed all fear of a Servian occupation of Bosnia. But with the removal of this danger another arose. Louis the Great of Hungary had welcomed the growth and independence of Bosnia so long as the Servian empire existed as a menace to his own dominions; but, as soon as that empire fell, he revived the ambitious designs of his predecessors upon the Bosnian realm. As the son-in-law of the late *ban* he had some claims to the succession, and accordingly set to work to humiliate Tvrtko and reduce him to a position of dependence upon the Hungarian crown. He compelled him to surrender the Herzegovina as the dowry of the Hungarian queen, and to take a solemn oath that he would persecute the Bogomiles, that he would support Hungary in war, and that either he or his younger brother Vuk would always reside at the Hungarian court. In return he allowed him to remain Bosnian *ban*—a mere puppet without power. But the crafty Louis, in his desire to be absolute master of Bosnia overreached himself. Determined to be doubly sure of his vassal, he incited the Bosnian magnates to revolt against their chief. But those proud nobles, who had never regarded their *ban* as anything more than the first of their order, had no intention of exchanging

his easy sway for the iron hand of the Hungarian king. Louis saw his mistake, and supported Tvrtko against the barons and the Bogomiles. But the rebels would not recognise the authority of one who relied upon Hungarian swords to enforce it. Aided by his brother they deposed and drove out Tvrtko in 1365, and it cost him a desperate struggle to recover his power. Bosnia was given up to all the horrors of civil war, and, to crown all, a terrible conflagration, the like of which had never been seen before, broke out and destroyed everything that came in its way. 'At that time,' writes a chronicler, 'the highest mountains, with the stones, birds, and beasts upon them, were consumed with fire, so that the hills became plains, where new corn is sown and many a village stands. And in these villages dwell Bogomiles, who boast that God set these mountains ablaze for their sake.' At last Tvrtko prevailed, and in 1370 he was undisputed master of the country and his brother an exile.

Freed from all fear of Louis, whose eyes were turned northward to Poland, and master of his rebellious barons, Tvrtko began to extend his dominions. The decline of the Servian empire gave him the opportunity which he sought. Lazar, perhaps the most unfortunate name in Servian history, governed a remnant of that realm, which was threatened by dissensions from within and the Turks from without. Tvrtko aided him against his domestic rivals and received in return large portions of Servian territory, including a strip of coast as far as Cattaro and the famous castle and monastery of Mileševo, in the present Sandžak of Novi-Bazar, where lay the remains of St. Sava, the apostle of the Serbs. In virtue of this territory he considered himself the legitimate successor of the Servian monarchs, and while Lazar contented himself with the modest title of *knez*, or 'prince,' Tvrtko had himself crowned in 1376 on the grave of St. Sava at Mileševo with two diadems, that of Bosnia and that of Servia. Henceforth he styled himself 'Stephen Tvrtko, king of the Serbs and of Bosnia and of the coast.' All his successors retained the Servian title and, like the Servian monarchs, invariably adopted, as Tvrtko had done, the royal name of Stephen. Not a voice was raised against this assumption of kingly power. Ragusa, ever anxious to be on good terms with those in authority, was the first to recognise him as the legal successor of the Servian sovereigns, and promptly paid him the annual tribute which she had rendered to them, as well as a sum for trading privileges in Bosnia. Venice followed suit and addressed him as 'king of Servia,' and the king of Hungary was too busy to protest. Tvrtko proceeded to live up to his new dignities. He moved his residence from Srebrenik to the strong castle of Bobovac, the picturesque ruins of which still testify to the past glories of the first Bosnian king. Here Tvrtko organised a court on the Byzantine model, as

the rulers of Servia had done before him. Rough Bosnian barons held courtly offices with high-sounding Greek names, and privileges and honours were distributed from the throne. Hitherto Bosnian coins had been scarce, and Ragusan, Hungarian, and Venetian pieces had fulfilled most purposes of trade. But now money, of which excellent specimens still exist, was minted bearing the proud title of 'king' instead of that of *ban*, and displaying a visored helmet surmounted by a crown of fleurs-de-lis with a hop blossom above. Tvrtko took his new office very seriously as a king by the grace of God, animated, as he once wrote, 'with the wish to raise up that which is fallen and to restore that which is destroyed.'

III. THE KINGS OF BOSNIA (1376-1463).

Tvrtko's first care was to provide himself with an heir to his kingdom, and he chose a Bulgarian princess as his queen, by whom he had a son, afterwards King Stephen Tvrtko II. But, not content with the dignity and the territory which he now possessed, the Bosnian monarch aspired to found a sea power. He had, as we have seen, already gained a long strip of seaboard from the mouth of the Cetina up to the walls of Cattaro. But Ragusa, with its harbour Gravosa, the gem of the whole coast, was not, and never seemed likely to be, his. He accordingly resolved, as he could not capture Ragusa, to found at the entrance of the lovely Bocche di Cattaro a new station, which should become its rival and the outlet of all the inland trade.⁵ The picturesque little town of Castelnuovo stands on the spot to-day, a place over which for a brief period in the present century there floated the British flag. Tvrtko next obtained from Venice an admiral for his future fleet, and ordered galleys to be built there. And, amidst the confusion which followed the death of Louis the Great of Hungary, he obtained from the little queen Maria, as the price of his friendship, the ancient city of Cattaro, which, after having enjoyed the protection of the Servian czars, had lately acknowledged the Hungarian rule. The finest fiord in southern Europe was in his hands.

. But Tvrtko did not rest here. True to his policy of making profit out of the misfortunes of others, he availed himself of the disturbances which now broke out in Croatia to take the side of the Croats against their queen and his friend Maria. Croatia was soon in his hands, and the Dalmatian towns began to surrender. Spalato and Traù, unable to obtain help from Hungary, agreed to submit to him by a certain day; but when that day arrived Tvrtko was occupied elsewhere. For on the same day on which

⁵ In this respect history is repeating itself; for Castelnuovo is to be the terminus of the new railway line, connecting the occupied territory with the Bocche.

Spalato was to have opened its gates, 15 June 1389, the battle of Kossovo was fought, that battle which decided for five centuries the fate of the Balkan peninsula. In that memorable conflict, the name of which will never be forgotten by the southern Slavs, a Bosnian contingent aided the Servian army against the Turks. It was not the first time that the Bosniaks had faced their future masters in battle. Two years earlier they had helped Prince Lazar to rout a Turkish force, and they hoped for the same result on the plain of Kossovo. Tvrtko himself was not present at the fight; but his trusty lieutenant Vlatko Hranić inflicted heavy losses on the left wing of the Turkish host, which was commanded by the sultan's second son. But when the Servian traitor Vuk Branković rode off the field the faithful Bosniaks gave way. All was lost, and the Turkish supremacy was assured. Tvrtko at first believed that his army had been successful. There is extant a letter in which the city of Florence congratulated him on the glad tidings of victory which he had sent. 'Happy the kingdom of Bosnia,' says this document, 'to which it was granted to fight so famous a fight, and happiest of all your majesty, for whom, as the victor, the true and eternal glory of the heavenly kingdom is appointed.'

Even when he had discovered the terrible truth Tvrtko continued his Dalmatian campaign instead of concentrating all his energies upon the defence of his realm against the Turks. He used the brief respite which they gave his land to press on with his operations in the west. Here he was speedily successful. All the Dalmatian coast towns, except Zara and Ragusa, surrendered to him, as well as the large islands of Brazza, Lesina, and Curzola. Overjoyed at their submission, he confirmed the privileges which they had previously enjoyed, and treated them with the utmost consideration. Master of Dalmatia and Croatia in all but the name, he assumed in 1390 the title of king of those countries, just as fourteen years earlier he had proclaimed himself king of Bosnia and Servia. Tvrtko had now reached the summit of his power. He had achieved the difficult feat of uniting Serbs and Croats under one sceptre; he had made Bosnia the centre of a great kingdom, which possessed a frontage on the Adriatic, from the Quarnero to Cattaro, save for the enclaves of Zara and Ragusa, which embraced the territory inland as far as the river Drina and included part of the modern Sandžak of Novi-Bazar, as well as other originally Servian territories. The beginnings of a sea power had been formed under his auspices, and Dalmatia in union with Bosnia was no longer 'a face without a head.' Even now Tvrtko's ambition was not appeased. He was anxious to conclude a political alliance with Venice and a matrimonial alliance—for his wife had just died—with the great house of Habsburg. But death prevented the accomplishment of his designs. On 23 March

1391 the great Bosnian monarch expired without even being able to secure the succession for his son.

It has been the fortune of each of the various Balkan races to produce some great man, who for a brief space has made himself the foremost figure of the peninsula. Bulgaria can point to her mighty czars Simeon and Samuel, Serbia cherishes the memory of Stephen Dušan, the Albanians have found a national hero in Skanderbeg, Bosnia attained her zenith under Tvrtko I. But in each case with the death of the great man the power which he had rapidly acquired as rapidly waned. Tvrtko's realm was no exception to this rule. Its founder had not lived long enough to weld his conquests into an harmonious whole, to combine catholic Croats with orthodox Serbs, Bosnian Slavs with the Latin population of the Dalmatian coast towns, Bogomile heretics with zealous partisans of Rome. The old Slavonic law of succession, which did not recognise the custom of primogeniture, added to the difficulties by multiplying candidates; and thus foreign princes found an excuse for intervention and the great barons an excuse for independence. Deprived of his authority, the king was unable to cope with an enemy like the Turk, whose vast hosts were absolutely united in their obedience to the rule of one man, and the kings of Hungary, instead of assisting their brothers of Bosnia against the common foe, turned their forces against a country which might have been the bulwark of Christendom.

The evil effects of Tvrtko's death were soon felt. His younger brother, Stephen Dabiša, who succeeded him, felt himself too feeble to govern so large a kingdom, and in 1393 ceded the newly won lands of Dalmatia and Croatia to King Sigismund of Hungary. The two monarchs met at Djakovo, in Slavonia, and concluded an agreement by which Sigismund recognised Dabiša as king of Bosnia, while Dabiša bequeathed the Bosnian crown after his death to Sigismund. A combination of Bosnian magnates and Croatian rebels, however, refused to accept these terms, and Dabiša himself broke the treaty which he had made. An Hungarian invasion of his kingdom and the capture of the strong fortress of Dobor, on the lower Bosna, at once reduced him to submission, and a battle before the walls of Knin, in Dalmatia, finally severed the brief connexion between that country and the Bosnian throne. To complete Dabiša's misfortunes, the Turks, who had been in no undue haste to make use of their victory at Kossovo, invaded Bosnia for the first time in 1392, and gave that country a foretaste of what was to come.

On Dabiša's death in 1395 the all-powerful magnates, disregarding the treaty of Djakovo, made his widow, Helena Gruba, regent for his son. But they retained for themselves all real power, governing their domains as almost independent princes, maintain-

ing their own courts and issuing charters, coining their own money and negotiating on their own account with foreign states, such as the republics of Venice and Ragusa. One of their number, Hrvoje Vukčić, towered above his fellows, and his career may be regarded as typical of his troublous times. For the next quarter of a century Bosnian history is little else than the story of his intrigues, and the neighbouring lands of Dalmatia and Croatia felt his heavy hand. Even Sigismund, king of Hungary, and his Neapolitan rival, Ladislaus, were bidding against one another for his support, and at the end of the fourteenth century he was 'the most powerful man between the Save and the Adriatic, the pillar of two kings and kingdoms.' The shrewd Ragusans wrote to him that 'whatsoever thou dost command in Bosnia is done ;' the documents of the period style him *regulus Bosnensis*, or 'Bosnian kinglet ;' he called himself 'the grand *voivode* of the Bosnian kingdom and vicar-general of the most gracious sovereigns King Ladislaus and King Ostoja, the excellent lord, the duke of Spalato.' The three great islands of Brazza, Curzola, and Lesina, and the city of Cattaro owned his overlordship, and his name will always be connected with the lovely town of Jajce, at the confluence of the Pliva and the Vrbas, the most beautiful spot in all Bosnia. Here, above the magnificent waterfall on the hill, for which in olden times the Bosnian *bans* and the Croatian kings had striven, Hrvoje bade an Italian architect build him a castle. Whether the town of Jajce, 'the egg,' derives its name from the shape of the hill or from the fact that the castle was modelled on the famous Castello dell' Uovo at Naples, is doubtful. But he is now regarded as the founder of the catacombs, which still bear his arms and were intended to serve as his family vault.⁶ For his capital of Spalato he even issued coins, which circulated in Bosnia as freely as the currency of the puppet kings whom he put on the throne. What Warwick the kingmaker is in the history of England, what the mayors of the palace are in the history of France, that is Hrvoje in the annals of medieval Bosnia. An ancient missal has preserved for us the features of this remarkable man, whose gruff voice and rough manners disgusted the courtly nobles of the Hungarian court. But the uncouth Bosniak took a terrible revenge on his gentle critics. When a wit made fun of his big head and deep voice by bellowing at him like an ox, the company laughed at Hrvoje's discomfiture. But when, a little later, the fortune of war put the jester in his power, Hrvoje had him sewn into the skin of an ox and thrown into the river, with the words, 'Thou hast once in human form imitated the bellowing of an ox, now therefore take an ox's form as well.'

The great Turkish invasion, which took place in 1398 and

⁶ Cf. 'Die Katakomben von Jajce,' *Wiss. Mitth.* ii. 94-107.

almost entirely ruined Bosnia, convinced the great nobles that a woman was unfitted to rule. Headed by Hrvoje, they accordingly deposed Helena Gruba, and elected Stephen Ostoja, probably an illegitimate son of Tvrtko, as their king. So long as Ostoja obeyed the dictates of his all-powerful vassal he kept his throne. Under Hrvoje's guidance he repulsed the attack of King Sigismund of Hungary, who had claimed the overlordship of Bosnia in accordance with the treaty of Djakovo, and endeavoured to recover Dalmatia and Croatia for the Bosnian crown under the pretext of supporting Sigismund's rival, Ladislaus of Naples. But the latter showed by his coronation at Zara as king of both those lands that he had no intention of allowing them to become Bosnian possessions, as in the days of Tvrtko. Ostoja at this changed his policy, made his peace with Sigismund, and recognised him as his suzerain. But he had forgotten his maker. Hrvoje, aided by the Ragusans, laid siege to the royal castle of Bobovac, where the crown was preserved, and when Sigismund intervened on behalf of his puppet summoned an 'assembly' or 'congregation of the Bosnian lords' in 1404 to choose a new king. This great council of nobles, at which the *djed*, or primate of the Bogomile church, and his suffragans were present, is frequently mentioned at this period, and contained in a rude form the germs of those representative institutions which in our own country sprang from a like origin. Hrvoje easily persuaded the council to depose Ostoja and elect Tvrtko II, the legitimate son of Tvrtko I, in his place. But Sigismund was not so lightly convinced. After a first futile attempt he sought the aid of the pope in a crusade against 'the renegade Arians and Manichæans' and marched into Bosnia in 1408 at the head of a large army. Tvrtko II met him beneath the walls of Dobor, on the same spot where, fourteen years before, another great battle had been fought. Once again the Bosnian forces were defeated. Sigismund took Tvrtko as his prisoner to Buda-Pesth, after beheading 126 captive Bosnian nobles and throwing their bodies into the yellow waters of the Bosna. The victory had decisive results. Hrvoje humbled himself before the king of Hungary, and Ladislaus of Naples sold all his rights to Dalmatia to the Venetians in despair. But the national party in Bosnia was not so easily dismayed. Nothing daunted by the defeat of Tvrtko and the desertion of Hrvoje, they restored Ostoja to the throne. Utter confusion followed. Sigismund dismembered the country, leaving Ostoja the Herzegovina and South Bosnia alone, while even there every one did what was right in his own eyes, and members of the royal family lived by highway robbery. Well might the Ragusans complain that 'our people travel among the Turks and other heathen, yet nowhere have they met with so much harm as in Bosnia.' Yet one step lower was Ostoja to fall. Hard pressed by the Hungarians and his rival Tvrtko, he summoned in 1415 the

Turks to his aid, and thus set an example which was ultimately fatal to his country.

Since their great invasion in 1398 the Turks had not molested Bosnia. Their struggle with Timour the Tartar in Asia and the confusion which followed his great victory at Angora had temporarily checked their advance in Europe, and it was not till their reorganisation under Mohammed I. that they resumed their plans. They were accordingly free to accept the invitation of Ostoja and Hrvoje, who was now in opposition to the Hungarian court, and aided them to drive out the Hungarian army. The decisive battle was fought near the fortress of Doboje, the picturesque ruins of which command the junction of the rivers Bosna and Spreča. A stratagem of the Bosniaks, who cried out at a critical moment; 'The Magyars are fleeing,' won the day. But they could not rid themselves of their Turkish allies so easily. In the very next year Mohammed appointed his general Isaac governor of the castle of Vrhbosna ('the source of the Bosna'), which stood in the heart of the country, on the site of the present capital of Sarajevo, and even great Bosnian nobles were not ashamed to hold their lands by grace of the sultan and his governor. Under Ostoja's son, Stephen Ostojić, who succeeded as king in 1418, the country obtained a brief respite from the Turkish garrison, which quitted Vrhbosna. But three years later the restoration of Tvrtko II, after years of exile, gave the sultan another opportunity for intervention. For Tvrtko's title was disputed by Ostoja's bastard son, Radivoj, who called in the Turks to his aid. Tvrtko purchased a temporary peace by the surrender of several towns to them; but the fatal secret had been divulged that the sultan was the arbiter of Bosnia, and to him two other enemies of the king turned, the 'despot' of Servia and Sandalj Hranić, a great Bosnian magnate of the house of Kosača, who was all-powerful in the Herzegovina. The two partners bought the Bosnian kingdom from the sultan for hard cash, and Tvrtko was once more an exile. In 1436 the Turks again occupied Vrhbosna, which from that time became a place of arms, from which they could sally forth and ravage the land, and when Tvrtko returned in the same year it was as a mere tributary of the sultan Murad II, who received an annual sum of 25,000 ducats from his vassal, and issued charters as the sovereign of the country. Soon Murad overran Servia, and occupied the Bosnian towns of Zvornik and Srebrenica, which the Servian 'despot' had bought, so that it seemed as if the independence of Bosnia was over. Tvrtko knew not which way to turn. He implored the Venetians, who twenty years before had taken the former Bosnian haven of Cattaro under their protection, and were now masters of nearly all Dalmatia, to take over the government of his kingdom too. But the crafty republic declined the dangerous honour with many complimentary phrases. With Ladislaus IV of

Hungary he was more fortunate. He did not, indeed, survive to see the fulfilment of the Hungarian king's promise, for he was murdered by his subjects in 1443. But the help of John Hunyady, the great champion of Christendom, enabled his successor to stave off for another twenty years the final blow which was to annihilate the Bosnian kingdom.

With Tvrtko II the royal house of Kotromanić was extinct, and the magnates elected Stephen Thomas Ostojić, another bastard son of Ostoja, as their king. Ostojić, whose birth and humble marriage diminished his influence over his proud nobles, came to the conclusion that it would enhance his personal prestige, and at the same time strengthen his kingdom against the Turks, if he embraced the Roman catholic faith. His father and all his family had been Bogomiles, like most Bosnian magnates of that time, but Tvrtko II was a catholic and a great patron of the Franciscans, who had suffered severely from the Turkish inroads. The conversion of Ostojić was full of momentous consequences for his kingdom; for, although he was personally disinclined to persecute the sect to which he had belonged, and which had practically become the established church of the land, the pressure of his protector Hunyady, the Franciscans, and the pope soon compelled him to take steps against it. He was convinced that by so doing he would drive the Bogomiles, who formed the vast majority of the people, into the arms of the Turks, and the event justified his fears. But he had little choice, for the erection of catholic churches did not satisfy the zeal of the Franciscans. Accordingly in 1446 an assembly of prelates and barons met at Konjica, the beautiful town on the borders of the Herzegovina, through which the traveller now passes on the railway from Sarajevo to Mostar. The document embodying the resolutions of this grand council has been preserved, and bears the name and seal of the king. It provided that the Bogomiles 'shall neither build new churches nor restore those that are falling into decay,' and that 'the goods of the catholic church shall never be taken from it.' No less than 40,000 of the persecuted sect emigrated to the Herzegovina in consequence of this decree, and found there a refuge beneath the sway of the great magnate Stephen Vukčić, of the house of Košaca, who had made himself practically independent of his liege lord of Bosnia and was at the same moment on good terms with the Turks and a strong Bogomile. Thus the old Bosnian realm was practically divided in two; Stephen Vukčić, by posing as a defender of the national faith, received a considerable accession of subjects, and the German emperor bestowed upon him in 1448 the title of *Herzog*, or duke, of St. Sava, from which his land gradually derived its present name of Herzegovina. But both Bosnia and the sister land were soon to feel the hand of the Turk.

The Beginnings of Wessex

SOME years ago I had a discussion with the late Professor Freeman on the value and authenticity of the statements in the earlier part of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which ended in his virtually conceding the position I had maintained, and which had, in fact, been also maintained in a modified way by Palgrave, Lappenberg, and others—namely, that all the statements in the Chronicle not directly derived from Bede, and dating from before the year 560, are untrustworthy. Cerdic and Cynric, the names of the supposed founders of the West-Saxon monarchy, are Welsh names and not English ones. Cerdic is merely the Welsh Ceredig or Caradoc, and the only person of the name known to Bede was a British chief. Cynric (or Kenrick) is also a Welsh name. In the Chronicle Cerdic is made the son of Elesa, the son of Esla, the son of Giwis. Elesa and Esla are apparently forms of one name. Neither of them is Teutonic. On the other hand a British king mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth is called Heli, and Helised is named by the pseudo-Asser as a Welsh king contemporary with Alfred. Giwis or Gewissa, again, is no Teutonic name. Concerning him the pseudo-Asser adds the gloss,—*A quo Britones totam illam gentem Gegwis nominant* ('Mon. Hist. Brit.' i. 468). This is confirmed by the 'Annales Cambriae,' which in reporting the death of Alfred state, *Albrit rex Giuoys moritur* (*ibid.* i. 836). It is quite clear that whatever truth there may be in the genealogy from Gewissa to Cynric given in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle it does not represent a series of Teutonic names, but of Welsh ones; and when, under the year 552, these Welsh names are tacked on to some heroic Teutonic ones, Gewissa being made the son of Wig, Wig the son of Freawin, Freawin of Freodhogar, Freodhogar of Brand, Brand of Bældæg, and Bældæg of Woden, this is the result of an artificial attempt at pedigree-making, based on an imagination inspired by the patriotic notions of much later times.

The facts are just as fantastic as the names. Under the year 495 Cerdic and Cynric, who are called *two ealdormen* (a phrase involving an anachronism), are said to have landed from *five ships* at Cerdiciora and to have fought with the *Walas*. In the year 514 we are told the West-Saxons came to Britain in *three ships* and landed at

Cerdicsora. The two statements are inconsistent in date and in the number of ships, while the name Cerdicsora, compounded of the Latin word *ora* and the name Cerdic, seems an impossible one as a Teutonic gloss. We further read that in the year 501 *Port* came to Britain and landed at *Portsmouth* with his two sons Bieda and Mægla, and slew (not the Walas but) a young *British man*. Here *Port* has been evidently manufactured out of the Latin *Portus* and is duly made to land at *Portsmouth*. Bieda and Mægla are very un-Teutonic in look, and Mægla seems to be certainly a Welsh gloss. Just as *Port* is made to land at *Portsmouth*, so *Wihtgar* and *Stuf* are connected with the Isle of *Wight*. *Wihtgar* is assuredly merely condensed from *Wihtgara*, 'the men of *Wiht*,' and *Wiht* is a name which is a vast deal older than the sixth century, being simply the ancient *Vectis*. Under the year 534 *Stuf* and *Wihtgar* are called the nephews of *Cerdic* and *Cynric* (who were themselves father and son), and we are further told they were given the island which had been conquered by their uncles the previous year. *Wihtgar*, whose death is entered in the year 544, is quite naturally buried at *Wiht gara* byrig. In reading these statements we must further remember that the Isle of *Wight* is said by *Bede* to have been settled by *Jutes* and not by *Saxons*, and it is not until the later days of *Ceadwalla* that the *West-Saxons* are made by *Bede* first to conquer the island.

In 508 *Cerdic* and *Cynric* are said to have defeated a *British king* named *Natanleod* and killed 5,000 of his men, 'and thenceforward the district as far as *Cerdicsford* (*i.e.* *Charford*) was called *Natan leaga*.' Here we have another artificial etymology, derived from a geographical name. The name *Natan leod* has been constructed out of *Netley*, in *Hampshire*, by a quite elementary method of etymology, and is neither connected with *Nectan*, as *Professor Earle* suggests, nor does it mean king of the *Nattas*, as *Dr. Guest* naïvely argued.

As *Cerdic* and *Cynric* are made to land at *Cerdicsora*, so they fight with the *Brettas* at *Cerdicsford* and *Cerdicsleaga* in 519 and 527. Not a word of all this is mentioned by *Bede*, who tells us he collected the history of the *West-Saxons* from *Bishop Daniel*, a very learned person and bishop of *Winchester*. He knows nothing of *Cerdic* or *Cynric* or the other names, nor do they occur in the early genealogies attached to *Nennius*, and it seems quite clear that, like *Port* and *Wihtgar*, they had been made up out of geographical names. The very dates are outrageous: *Cerdic*, like *Hengist*, is made to reign forty years in *Britain*, and after his death *Cynric* is made to reign twenty-six years more (see *Kemble's comment* on this, 'The *Saxons in England*,' i. 30, note).

The only thing that remains out of all the story, so far as I can see, is the fact of the occurrence in early times of certain

names like Cerdicsford, Cerdicsora, Cerdicsley, &c. &c., in Hampshire, &c., to which may be added a place called Ceardices beorg, a barrow or mound situated at Stoke, near Hurstbourne, and mentioned in a charter of Edward the Elder in the 'Cod. Dipl.' no. 1077 (see Earle's 'Parallel Chronicles,' p. 282), and the possibility of some series of Welsh princely names having been incorporated in the story and converted into leaders of Saxon freebooters.

The result of this analysis is most consistent with the *a priori* probabilities of the case. It has always been a puzzle to know from whence Saxon invaders could have come in the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century. The Saxons, like the Franks, were the freebooters of the fourth and fifth centuries, and their raids were things of the past in the year 500. Another set of tribes were active then and in the succeeding centuries, and we know their distribution so well that it has always been a puzzle to me to guess whence Cerdic and Cynric are supposed to have derived their followers.

Again, as we know from many sources, the Saxons had invaded and settled in Britain long before the period in question, and had, in fact, become good Roman citizens here. The story of their arrival in three ships, again, is a mere repetition of the stories about the Lombards, about the Jutes, &c. It is very singular that in invading Britain we are assured that they passed along so much of the south coast and first landed at Charmouth in Dorset.

Having got rid of the story as told in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, we are in a position to examine some alternative one. In the first place, then, modern writers have been too much impressed by the fact that Winchester was the later capital of Wessex and the seat of the later Wessex see, and have supposed that it was the focus of the earlier community of Wessex, of which Hampshire is often treated as a kind of nucleus. This is an entire mistake. Winchester was not the earliest capital of Wessex, nor the seat of its first bishop. This was a long way from Hampshire, and we have every reason to believe that Hampshire did not become a part of Wessex until it was conquered by Ceadwalla. Bede, our best authority, tells us that the Jutes colonised Kent, the Isle of Wight, and *a certain district opposite to the Isle of Wight*. His words are :

De Jutarum origine sunt Cantuarii et Uictuarii, hoc est ea gens, quae Uectam tenet insulam et ea quae usque hodie in provincia Occidentalium Saxonum Jutarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Uectam.¹

Again, in a later chapter we read how on the invasion of the Isle of Wight by Ceadwalla two young princes, the sons of its king, Arnald, fled to the neighbouring province of the Jutes, where

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* i. 15.

they were overtaken and put to death in a place called Ad Lapidem (that is to say, at Stoneham, on the Itchen, above Southampton). Before they were killed we are told that Cyniberht, the abbot of a monastery at Hreutford (*i.e.* Redbridge, in Hants), went to the king, who was then in those parts, recovering from the wounds he had received in the island, asking that the young princes might be first permitted to partake of the sacraments, to which he consented (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 14). Again, we are told in the same chapter that the river Homelea, which falls into the Solent, flows through the territory of the Jutes (*per terras Jutorum*). This is the modern Hamble. It is clear from these passages that a considerable portion of the county of Hampshire was a Jutish territory, and did not form a part of the original Wessex at all. I believe myself that this was the case with the whole of the county, and I know of no evidence to the contrary.

We further know the name of the Jutish tribe which occupied it. As the Jutes of Kent are called the Cantuarii or Cantwara, and the Jutes of Wight the Victuarii or Wihtwara, so the Jutes of Hants were known as the Meanwara. Bede tells us that on the baptism of Ædilualch, the king of the South-Saxons, his sponsor and patron Wulfhere, king of Mercia, made over to him two provinces—namely, the Isle of Wight and the province of the Meannari (*op. cit.* iv. 13), and this became the territory of the early see of Winchester, which see was, in all probability, conterminous with the Jutish province on the mainland and in the Isle of Wight. These Mainwaras still survive in the family name Mainwaring, and they also left their mark on the topography of the country. They are mentioned in a charter of Egbert (see Birch, *Cartul. Sax.* i. 548), where the name is spelt Meonwara and a place name is written Meon. A still more substantial token of their presence is the fact that several places in the county of Hants still bear their name, such as East and West Meon, and the hundreds of Meonstoke and Mansbridge. A district in the south-west of Sussex, bordering on the Solent, called the Manhode, perhaps also preserves their name.

The burden of my remarks, however, is that Hampshire and the Isle of Wight formed no part of the original Wessex, but were conquered by the kings of Wessex much later than is generally supposed. Nay, more, they were not part of the original Saxon land at all, but Jutish.

If we go westward from Hampshire, and turn to the counties of Dorset, Devon, Somerset, and Wilts, we must come to the same conclusion. The tradition as preserved in the books is clearly that these districts, like Hants, were conquests. The names of their inhabitants—namely, Dursaetas, Defnsaetas, Somersactas, and Wilsaetas—show that they were occupied by colonists and others who planted themselves on British ground, and were in no wise the original

homeland of the West-Saxons in Britain. This excludes from the original Wessex the whole country bordering the English Channel, and, in fact, the whole of England south of the Thames except Berkshire, and is a conclusion quite inconsistent with the accepted view of the planting of the original Wessex by colonists from beyond the sea, imported by Cerdic and Cynric. Whither, then, are we to turn for a solution of the question? It seems to me that we have an excellent clue if we consider what was the original capital of Wessex and the seat of its original bishopric before it was moved to Winchester. This was no other than Dorchester in Oxfordshire, situated at the junction of the Thames and the Thame, and therefore in a commanding position. This being the capital, Wessex probably included the counties of Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire, and parts of Berkshire and Herts. The West-Saxons were thus geographically the exact complement of the East-Saxons, who occupied Essex, Middlesex, and Herts east of the Chilterns. It was not from the south coast and from the two or three shiploads of freebooters who are said to have landed there that they were derived; but they doubtless advanced up the Thames valley from the original *Littus Saxonicum* where their ancestors had long lived. Whence their royal house was derived is another matter, full of difficulty and romance. The names of their early kings are partially Welsh and partially *Anglian*. The eventual solution of the question, if it be soluble, must take this fact into consideration. Meanwhile it seems plain that the story of the foundation of Wessex as told in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is quite fabulous. It was doubtless the invention of the author of the earliest edition of the Chronicle, which in my opinion was not composed till the reign of Edward the Elder. This is supported by the occurrence of the name Stuf in the accounts above cited. Stuf is a Scandinavian name, and a Skald who bore it is mentioned by Snorro. It is most improbable that such a name should have occurred in Britain till the ninth century.

HENRY H. HOWORTH.

The British Colony in Paris, 1792-93

THE French Revolution drew to Paris enthusiasts from all parts of the world, but as far as I can judge the British visitors outnumbered those of any other nationality, and that revolution being regarded by them as a French 1688, they were the most prominent in their demonstrations of sympathy. It is true that on Cloots's memorable deputation of 19 June 1790 only four British subjects—Dr. Price and companions quite unknown to fame, named Procter, Townsend, and Brown¹—can be positively traced; but seventeen months later, when the monarchy had disappeared, and when war between England and France was becoming imminent, those British visitors whom the excesses of the Revolution had not frightened away had a demonstration all to themselves.

On Sunday, 18 Nov. 1792, they assembled at a dinner at White's Hotel, or the Hôtel d'Angleterre, 8 Passage des Petits-Pères, to celebrate the victories of the French arms. The Passage des Petits-Pères was constructed in 1779. It led from the Rue Notre-Dame des Victoires to the monastery of the Petits Pères, or Austinfriars. Starting from south to north, it turned midway at a right angle from west to east. The houses facing the east backed on the Rue Vivienne, while those facing the south had the monastery grounds at the back. That part of the Passage running from south to north is now a portion of the Rue de la Banque, for in 1844 the opening was continued northwards to the Bourse and received that name. White's Hotel was situated in a court, and the site is now occupied by the Galerie des Petits-Pères, which leads from 5 Rue de la Banque to the Rue Vivienne. The adjoining house was called the Hôtel des Etats-Unis. Both hotels were probably patronised by British visitors, and Americans also stayed at White's, for in October 1793 Livingstone and Gregory dated therefrom a letter to Robespierre offering to supply American flour. The house had then taken the name of Hôtel de Philadelphie.² We shall presently see that the committee appointed at this dinner numbered fifty, and assuming that another fifty were present, it is not likely that the two

¹ Probably a mechanic, and afterwards a teacher of languages, in Paris.

² *Papiers trouvés chez Robespierre.*

hotels together could accommodate more than a hundred guests. However this may be, the toasts included 'the speedy abolition of hereditary titles and feudal distinctions in England,' 'the coming convention of Great Britain and Ireland' (this forestalled the Act of Union), 'the lady defenders of the Revolution, particularly Mrs. Charlotte Smith, Miss Williams, and Mrs. Barbauld,' 'Paine and the new way of making good books known by a royal proclamation and King's Bench prosecution,' 'the English patriots Priestley, Fox, Sheridan, Christie, Cooper, Tooke, and Mackintosh.' But what interests us more than the toasts was the adoption of an address to the Convention. It was in these terms :³

*Address of the English, Scotch, and Irish resident and domiciled
in Paris.*

Citizen Legislators,—The British and Irish citizens now in Paris, animated by the sentiment of liberty which your principles have imparted to the French republic, assembled on Sunday, 18 November, to celebrate the brilliant successes of your arms, and were unanimously of opinion that it was their duty to offer to the representatives of so great a nation the tribute of their congratulations on events which essentially interest all peoples who aspire to be free. Receive, then, citizen legislators, this pure and fraternal homage of men who have ever applauded the sacred principles upon which you have sworn to base the new government which you are about to give to your country. Hitherto wars have been undertaken only to satiate the vilest passions; they have consequently been conducted only by the most iniquitous methods. You have taken up arms solely to make reason and truth triumph. It doubtless appertained to the French nation to enfranchise Europe, and we rejoice to see it fulfilling its great destinies. Let us hope that the victorious troops of liberty will lay down their arms only when there are no more tyrants or slaves. Of all these pretended governments, works of the fraud of priests and coalesced tyrants, there will soon remain only a shameful memory. Peoples enlightened by your example will blush to have bowed servile heads so long under a yoke debasing for human nature.

Our good wishes, citizen legislators, render us impatient to see the happy moment of this great change, in the hope that it will no sooner arrive than we shall see the formation of a close union between the French republic and the English, Scotch, and Irish nations, a union which cannot fail to ensure entire Europe the enjoyment of the rights of man and establish on the firmest bases universal peace. We are not the only men animated by this sentiment. We doubt not that they would

³ *Archives Nationales*, C. 242. The address, apparently in Stone's writing, fills a page and a half of a sheet of foolscap, the ink now much faded. The signatures from Tweddell to Rayment occupy in two columns the rest of the second page, the remaining names being written on the other half of the sheet in a single column, and one president and secretary signing at the top of a second column. Stone and O'Reilly, it will be observed, inadvertently sign twice over. The signatures are now published for the first time. The version of the address given in the *Moniteur* contains some slight inaccuracies.

be also manifested by the great majority of our countrymen if public opinion were consulted, as it ought to be, in a national convention.

As for us, who are at present making Paris our residence, we gladly embrace this opportunity of declaring that in the whole course of the Revolution, and notwithstanding the abrupt departure of our ambassador, we have constantly experienced on the part of the French nation sentiments of the frankest cordiality and sincerest friendship.

Paris, 24 Nov. 1792, first year of the French republic. Signed by us, members of the committee nominated for that purpose.

Francis Tweddell.

Matthew Bellewes.

John Frost.

Richard Joyce.

Joseph Green.

J. Skill.

J. Usher Quaterman.

David Gibson.

Thomas Arnfield.

Edward Fitzgerald.

William Duckett.

J. O'Neill.

Edward Ferris.

B. Murray.

J. H. Stone, President.

Joseph Webb.

William Newton.

J. Tickell.

Harrold Mowatt.

Pearce Lower.

Bernard MacSheehy.

Jeremie Curtayn.

William Choppin.

William Wardell.

N. Madgett.

James Gamble.

Thos. MacDermott.

William Ricketts.

Robert Rayment.

William Francis Jackson.

Robert Merry.

Robert May O'Reilly.

J. E. Macdonnel.

William Watts.

Thomas Marshall.

John Oswald.

John Walker, sen.

Thomas Potier.

L. Masquerier.

R. Smyth.

N. Hickson.

T. J. Gastineau.

Stephen Sayre.

Henry Sheares.

John Sheares.

Rose.

John Bradley.

William Maxwell.

B. Bulmer.

Cæsar Colclough.

J. H. Stone, President.

Robert M. O'Reilly, Secretary.

(Wait for the President's reply.)

The address was not presented till the 28th. This delay may be attributed to a resolution to wait for the arrival of Joel Barlow and John Frost,⁴ who on 9 Nov. had been deputed by the London Society for the Diffusion of Constitutional Information to take over an address. They wrote on the 27th from White's Hotel to the president of the Convention, asking that a day might be arranged for receiving them. The following day at noon was fixed. Both addresses were accordingly presented on the 28th. First came Stone and the forty-nine other members of the White's Hotel committee. Thomas Paine had doubtless been at the meeting, for we

⁴ A blank must have been left for his signature.

have seen that his health was drunk, but himself sitting in the Convention he obviously could not sign an address to that body.

The address from London was doubtless read by Barlow. The version published by the *Moniteur* (29 Nov. 1792) contains numerous inaccuracies, but without detailing these it is enough to say that the society had sent a thousand pairs of shoes for the French soldiers, and promised to send a thousand more weekly for at least six weeks.

Before seeing what became of the memorialists let us note the history of these gatherings at White's. The chief authority is Captain George Monro, who, on the withdrawal of the British embassy in August 1792, had been left in Paris to send information to his government. 'I have sent a very good man,' wrote Bland Burges to Lord Auckland on 17 Aug. 1792, 'to look about him in Paris after they [Lord Gower and Lindsay] come away, and who will let us know from day to day what passes.'⁵ It was evidently part of Monro's duty to keep an eye on British visitors, and, if this made him virtually a spy, it was natural that the English authorities should desire to be posted up in the movements of men, some of whom, as he wrote, were 'ready to put anything in execution that would injure their country, let the measure be never so desperate.' The better, therefore, to discharge his duty, Monro actually went to lodge at White's. He was doubtless present at the dinner of 28 Nov., and he forwarded to the Foreign Office a copy of the address to the Convention, but without the signatures. On 17 Dec. he reported that the 'party of conspirators' had 'formed themselves into a society,' and we know from the *Moniteur* (xv. 58) that on 5 Jan. they gave formal notice of the formation of the Society of Friends of the Rights of Man, which was to meet twice a week. The first meeting was held on 16 Dec., when the president of the Mail section delivered a speech, a copy of which was forwarded to the Foreign Office by Monro. Merry was president, and a Dr. Edwards had arrived to join Maxwell; but Paine was then staying in the provinces, 'ill or pretending to be so,' Stone had returned to England, and Frost had removed to cheaper lodgings. On 27 Dec. Monro reports that many of the party had become friends of royalty, though there were still many 'who would stand at nothing to ruin their country.' Four days later he describes the remnant as 'beneath the notice of any one, struggling for consequence among themselves, jealous of one another, differing in opinion, and even insignificant in a body.' With few exceptions they were 'heartily tired of politics and addresses. Tom Paine's fate [outlawry] and the unanimity of the English has staggered the boldest of them, and they are now dwindling into nothing.' On 11 Jan. 1793 another address was advocated by Paine and Merry, but was so

⁵ *Auckland's Journals.*

warmly opposed by Frost and Macdonald (Macdonnel) that 'the dispute nearly ended in blows. I cannot tell how it ended, as things are kept very secret.'⁶ Henry Redhead Yorke tells us the particulars. The address invited the Convention to liberate enslaved England. He opposed it, and 'we carried it'—that is to say, the address was rejected—'by a majority of one.' It was, however, again brought forward, whereupon Yorke and Johnson drew up a remonstrance and seceded. This second address was presented to the Convention on 22 Jan., but I have not found it in the national archives.

A London bookseller named Thompson arrived about this time, and denounced Monro as a spy who 'had joined the society to find out what they were doing.' Monro's despatches cease in February 1793, and he then returned to England, his place being taken by one Somers, who, until the end of February, wrote letters to Monro and Bland Burges, using mercantile terms to disguise political news. Monro is said, indeed, to have been arrested, and to have owed his release to Paine,⁷ but his apprehension was not ordered by the committee of general security till 9 May 1793,⁸ and the search which was then to be made for him at the Café Anglais, Palais Royal, was evidently ineffectual. One of Monro's latest items of information was the arrival of Sampson Perry, of whom we shall hear more in connexion with Chopin.

The club was dissolved after a warm discussion in February 1793, but some further light is thrown on the English gatherings at White's by a long denunciation made to the Place Vendôme section on 8 March 1794 by Arthur, a member of the commune, of English extraction, who seems to have made it his business to play the spy on British residents. Arthur depicted Stone as a man pretending sympathy with the Revolution, but intimate with Brissot and Pétion, and especially with General Miranda. He was also intimate with Milnes, whom the intercepted Lille letters had shown to be an agent of Pitt's.⁹ Stone was also intimate with Robert

⁶ O. Browning, *Despatches of Earl Gower*.

⁷ Conway's *Life of Paine*.

⁸ *Arch. Nat.*, A. F. ii.* 288.

⁹ Here Arthur seems to have confused William Miles, who had been in Paris in 1791, and in 1793 had received a pension of 300*l.* for his quasi-diplomatic services, with James Milne, or Mylne, an English mechanician, who, prior to the Revolution, had introduced spinning and carding machines, and had received a pension of 300 francs. That pension was confirmed by the Assembly in August 1791, and in the previous May it had ordered a competitive trial between his spinning machine and that of a fellow Englishman, Philemon Pickford. The latter received 3,000 francs for erecting his machine in a room at the Paris hospital. Milne died at Paris in 1804, his sons continuing the business. He seems to have been allowed a building at the royal shooting-box of La Muette for his factory, for on 20 Feb. 1793 he addressed a complaint respecting this to the Convention, which, however, declined to consider it. He had probably been ousted from La Muette. The Lille letters, which really seem to have been the lost property of an English spy, said: 'Milne's plans are approved of

Smith [Sir Robert Smyth], now arrested. Milnes gave dinners and balls nearly all the week at White's, a kind of English tavern in the Passage des Petits-Pères, now called Hôtel Philadelphie. At one of these orgies [*sic*] a dispute arose between Thomas Paine and another Englishman, who struck Paine in the face, but after escaping and being for some time in concealment had become reconciled with Paine. Stone kept his carriage before the Revolution, but had now opened a printing office, and had claimed his wife's release, as being himself a compositor (artisans were exempt from arrest). Stone, however, was about to divorce her, and doubtless intended to marry again. She had brought him 600*l.* or 800*l.* Gamble, the engraver, was co-proprietor with White, having been surety for him.¹⁰

The Place Vendôme section committee not only entered this long statement, which I have summarised, on its minutes, but ordered a copy to be sent to the committee of general security. It is obviously a mixture of fact and fiction. Paine's assailant was Captain John Grimston, R.A., for Sherwin in his 'Life of Paine' states that Grimston, at an hotel dinner, struck Paine, and might have been punished with death, but that Paine procured him a passport and paid for his journey back to England. These last details require confirmation, but we see that the quarrel was made up, and the records of the committee of general security show that Grimston, who was living with a Captain Bingham at St. Germain, was summoned to appear before it on 9 May 1793, and on the 16th was ordered to quit Paris within seven and France within fourteen days. He was to have a passport for any destination he might choose.¹¹ Some of Arthur's gossip was thus ten months old. The hotel-keeper White was arrested on 9 May 1793, probably on account of the Grimston affair. A Christopher White, manufacturer, aged 20, imprisoned from October 1793 to November 1794, may have been his son, and Anna Gray, wife of White, aged 43, incarcerated during the same period with her two daughters, 16 and 14, was probably his wife.

In tracing the antecedents and subsequent careers of the members of the deputation the alphabetical order will be most convenient, for the signatures to the address show no arrangement of any kind, but I may make an exception for two men, so well known that little need be said of them—William Francis Jackson and Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Monro, strangely enough, does not mention Jackson, whose name heads the second page of signatures, yet he can scarcely have been any other than the Rev. William Jackson, ex-factotum to the notorious Duchess of

ly Pitt, but his late fever will keep him in England some time longer.' This possibly refers to William Miles, whose *Memoirs* were published in 1891.

¹⁰ *Arch. Nat.*, F. 7, 2475, p. 137.

¹¹ *Ibid.* A. F. ii.* 288.

Kingston, who, originally clerk at a Moravian chapel in London,¹² went to Oxford, but did not graduate, was curate at St. Mary-le-Strand, wrote for or edited the *Public Ledger*, *Morning Post*, and *Whitehall Evening Post*, was a prisoner for debt in the King's Bench, and ultimately poisoned himself at Dublin in order to avoid execution for high treason. It is true that this Jackson is nowhere credited with a second Christian name, but there can scarcely have been two William Jacksons in Paris, both Jacobins to boot. He must also have been the Jackson who, along with a Frenchman named Garnier, had on 11 May 1792 submitted to the Assembly a scheme for obtaining news in twenty-four hours from the most distant frontier. This apparently anticipated Chappe's invention of semaphore signals, but the Assembly declined to entertain it. In August 1793 he obtained exemption from the general arrest of British subjects, as being in the employ of the French government. Jackson's mission to Ireland in 1795, his misplaced confidence in Cockayne, a London attorney, his conviction, and his suicide in the dock to save his family from the confiscation of his small property are well known.¹³ His acquaintance with Paine at White's Hotel lends additional pathos to the employment of his prison hours in writing an answer to the 'Age of Reason.' Paine, indeed, had then told him that he was writing a book against all revealed religion as nothing but nonsense and imposture.

It is needless to summarise the career of so well known a man as Lord Edward Fitzgerald. It is enough to speak of his brief visit to Paris. He arrived on 26 Oct. 1792, and gave his address as *le citoyen Edouard Fitzgerald, Hôtel de White, Passage des Petits-Pères, près du Palais Royal*. 'I lodge,' he wrote to his mother, the Duchess of Leinster, 'with my friend Paine; we breakfast, dine, and sup together. . . . I pass my time very quietly; read, walk, and go quietly to the play. . . . I go a good deal to the Assembly.' A subsequent letter, undated, says, 'I dine to-day with Madame Sillery.' According to the latter, better known as Madame de Genlis, Fitzgerald, at a performance of Kreutzer's Italian opera 'Lodoiska,' was struck by a face closely resembling that of Sheridan's recently deceased wife, of whom he had been enamoured. He found that this was the famous Pamela, the reputed daughter of the Duke of Orleans and Madame de Genlis, but more probably, as has been ascertained of late years, the offspring of a Newfoundland fisherman's daughter named Sims.¹⁴ He got Stone, who was also at the theatre, to introduce him. Now 'Lodoiska,' which was brought out in 1791,

¹² Andrews, *History of British Journalism*.

¹³ See *Dict. of National Biography*, xxix. 110, 111; and Fitzpatrick's *Secret Service under Pitt*.

¹⁴ *Dict. of National Biography*, xix. 142, 143; *Academy*, 1892.

had had a run of more than fifty nights, was revived on 1 Nov. 1792, and repeated on 20 December. If Madame de Genlis' account is to be relied on, Fitzgerald's introduction to Pamela must have taken place on 1 November. But this would not agree with her statement that on her leaving Paris with Pamela for Tournay, two or three days afterwards, he joined them at the first post, that they reached Tournay in the beginning of December, and that three weeks after he married Pamela. Madame de Genlis' stay in Paris was extremely short, for she was subject to arrest as an *émigrée*. She could not have been there on 1 Nov. 'Lodoiska,' therefore, could not have been the piece at which the introduction occurred. This is not a material point. Madame de Genlis is less excusably inaccurate when she asserts that she would not give Fitzgerald her adoptive daughter's hand till he had obtained his mother's consent, that he accordingly went over to England to obtain this, and that he returned in a few days. Fitzgerald's letter to his mother, written on arriving in London with his bride on 2 Jan. 1793, implies that the duchess's consent, or rather recognition, had only that day been given. It is clear that Fitzgerald had not gone to London to obtain her previous consent, but had married on 27 December either without asking consent or without waiting for the answer.¹⁵ As to the British dinner, the London newspapers represented Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Sir Robert Smyth as having there renounced their titles, one of the toasts being 'the abolition of all hereditary titles.' This led to Fitzgerald being cashiered from the army.

Of Thomas Armfield,¹⁶ Matthew Bellewes, B. Bulmer, and John Bradley nothing is known. Bulmer may have been the father of a well-known printer, William Bulmer. I pass on to William Choppin, who became curiously mixed up in the trial of Marat. Born in 1764, full of enthusiasm for the Revolution, he seems to have migrated with Paine from White's Hotel to lodgings in the Faubourg St.-Denis. There, at any rate, they were fellow-lodgers in April 1793, together with Johnson, a young surgeon from Derby, who had accompanied Redhead Yorke to Paris. Johnson stabbed himself twice with a knife, and announced to Choppin from the top of the stairs that he had killed himself. As though dying he gave Paine his watch and drew up a will dividing his personal effects between Paine and Choppin. This will contained the following passage: 'I came to France to enjoy liberty, but Marat has murdered it. I cannot endure the grievous spectacle of the triumph of imbecility

¹⁵ The duc de Chartres, the future King Louis-Philippe, was present, and signed the register.

¹⁶ A Sophia Armfield, buried at Montmartre cemetery in 1810 at the age of 92, had apparently a brother, for she is described as a 'dutiful daughter, good sister, and sincere friend.'

and inhumanity over talent and virtue.' Paine, moreover, gave Brissot, for publication in his *Patriote Français*, a paragraph drawn up by Johnson himself to the effect that an Englishman, abjuring his country from detestation of kings, but heartbroken to find in France the hideous mask of anarchy, had resolved on suicide, and before dying had written these words. Johnson was really alive and well, and is said to have been annoyed at the appearance of the paragraph, but he had himself indited it and had begun the mystification.¹⁷ Marat's trial came on just at this time, and the perfectly irrelevant question of this sham suicide was dragged into it. Paine, Choppin, Johnson, and Sampson Perry were called as witnesses.¹⁸ Perry, in an unpublished letter to a Madame Lavit,¹⁹ might well say: 'On the whole it is a mysterious affair, and ought to be cleared up. Some people regard it as a farce, others as a tragedy.' Choppin and Johnson left Paris for Switzerland in November 1793, just in time to escape detention.²⁰ They wrote from Bâle to Paine, as he informed Lady Smyth, 'highly pleased with their escape from France, into which they had entered with an enthusiasm of patriotic devotion.' Two days afterwards a guard arrived at night to arrest them. This was apparently in September or October 1793, when all the English were seized as hostages for Toulon.

Cæsar Colclough, eldest son of Vesey Colclough, of Tintern Abbey, county Wexford (commonly called Sir Vesey, as heir male of the last baronet, though the title did not descend to him), was born in 1766. His mother was Catherine, daughter of John Grogan, of Johnstown, Wexford. Vesey was high sheriff of Wexford in 1767, and M.P. for that county from 1769 till his death in 1794. Cæsar was imprisoned at Paris with the other British subjects. He amused himself with carpentry, and taking back that taste with him to Ireland on his release, he made a part of Tintern Abbey his workshop. Many of his tools remained there long after his death. During his residence in France his younger brother John represented Wexford, and in 1807 stood for re-election, nominating Sheridan as his colleague, in opposition to the other outgoing member, Alcock. On the morning of the election there was a duel between Colclough and Alcock, in which the former was killed. Alcock, who was elected, was put on trial, but was acquitted. The legend runs that remorse made him insane,²¹ but of this I find no confirmation. This tragic

¹⁷ Johnson's own account was that he was excited by the fear that Paine would lose his life for his vote in favour of Louis XVI.

¹⁸ *Moniteur*, 3 May, 1793; *Arch. Nat.*, W. 269. Paine, unlike his three fellow-countrymen, had to be examined through two interpreters, and knowing, perhaps, that he would be a witness, he had not voted in the Convention on the prosecution.

¹⁹ *Arch. Nat.*, W. 269.

²⁰ Conway, *Life of Paine*.

²¹ Barrington, *Personal Sketches*.

event probably led to or hastened Cæsar's return to look after the embarrassed estate left by his extravagant brother. In 1818 he became himself M.P. for Wexford, and in the same year married Jane Stratford, daughter of John Kirwan, barrister. He died at Cheltenham in 1842, leaving no issue. He was buried at Tintern Abbey, and his widow erected a monument to his memory in Tintern parish church.²² The estate then devolved on Mary Grey Wentworth, daughter of another Cæsar Colclough, chief justice of Newfoundland; she married in 1848 John Thomas Rossborough, who took the name of Colclough.

Passing over Jeremie Curtayn, we come to William Duckett, who, born at Killarney in 1768, was perhaps taken to the Paris meetings by MacSheehy, his fellow-student of the Irish college. He gained a scholarship at St. Barbe College, and returning to Ireland wrote flaming articles in the *Northern Star*, under the signature of Junius Redivivus, till prudence dictated, in or before 1796, a flight back to Paris. There he was busy in inciting a French landing in Ireland, but Tone had an invincible distrust of him, and prevented his embarking in Hoche's expedition. Tone thus rendered Duckett an unconscious service. In 1797 he was secretary to Leonard Bourdon, ex-schoolmaster and Jacobin deputy. In 1798 Duckett was reported to Castlereagh as at Hamburg and entrusted with money for procuring a mutiny in the English fleet or for burning English dockyards. He was consequently scheduled in the Irish Outlawry Act. Returning to Paris with a Danish wife about 1803, he became a professor at his resuscitated old college of St. Barbe, and Duruzoir, a pupil, speaks admiringly of his wonderful memory, his classical attainments—Horace was his favourite author—and his lectures on Shakespeare and Milton. He also wrote verses on topics of the day, and compiled an English grammar for French students. He died in 1841.²³

Edward Ferris may have been the disbarred attorney and informer against the United Irishmen who received frequent payments out of secret service money.²⁴ He may also have been related to Richard Ferris, of the Irish college, Paris, seminarist, priest, soldier, and married man, whose singular career ended in 1828.²⁵ But this is mere conjecture.

John Frost, a native of Winchester, brought up as a solicitor, and described as 'an attorney of electioneering memory,' became in 1782, at the age of thirty-two, a member of the Thatched House tavern society in London, a body advocating parliamentary reform. In 1792 he is said to have sheltered political offenders.

²² Information kindly furnished by Mrs. Biddulph Colclough, of Tintern Abbey.

²³ *Dict. of National Biography*, xvi. 92.

²⁴ Fitzpatrick's *Secret Service under Pitt*.

²⁵ See my *Englishmen in the French Revolution*, p. 167.

He accompanied Paine to Paris in September 1792, when they were rudely searched at Dover.²⁶ One of the founders and the secretary of the Corresponding Society, he paid Barlow's expenses to Paris, as well as his own, on their being deputed to present the address. Burke denounced him as an ambassador to Louis XVI's murderers. Stone, in a letter of 26 Nov. to his brother William, produced at the trial of the latter, mentioned Frost's arrival. Monro on 17 Dec. 1793 writes :

Mr. Frost has left this house [White's], and seldom makes his appearance. He is, however, one of the society. He appears, however, a good deal alarmed at his situation, as he told me a reward was offered for apprehending him.

Before leaving London with the address, Frost, at the Percy coffee-house, had declaimed in favour of equality and against monarchy. A man named Butler took him by the nose and kicked him out. As Frost had been dining and was 'probably drunk,'²⁷ this would seem to have been sufficient punishment; but on his return to London in February 1793 he was arrested for seditious talk, was ineffectually defended by Erskine, and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and exposure in the pillory at Charing Cross. He was also struck off the roll of attorneys, and required on the expiration of his sentence to give sureties for five years for good behaviour. On his release the mob unharnessed the horses of his carriage and dragged him home in triumph. In 1794 the report of the parliamentary committee on sedition referred to his French mission, and he was imprisoned in the Tower with Horne Tooke and other members of the Corresponding Society,²⁸ but the prosecution against him was abandoned on the acquittal of the first batch of prisoners. In 1802 he was an unsuccessful candidate for East Grinstead. In 1813 he received a royal pardon, and applied for reinstatement on the roll of attorneys, but this the King's Bench refused. Tranquil for the rest of his long life, Frost expired in 1842.²⁹ His Chartist namesake of 1839 was not his kinsman.

James Gamble was a paper-maker and engraver, and occupied part of the premises of Arthur and Robert, at the boulevard corner of the Rue Louis-le-Grand, or Rue des Piques. We have seen how treacherously Arthur profited by the intimacy thus established. An English clergyman (William Jackson?) who advertised lessons in English in 1791, gave Gamble as a referee.³⁰ Maria Gamble,

²⁶ *Dropmore MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Commission), ii. 316.

²⁷ *Dropmore MSS.* ii. 340.

²⁸ See Tooke's *Diary, Notes and Queries*, January and February 1897.

²⁹ [At Holly Lodge, near Lymington, as stated in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* I remember him there as a very old man, living with an elderly daughter and a little granddaughter. He had taken the name of Russell, to keep his past out of sight.—S. R. G.]

³⁰ *Petites Affiches*, 1791.

governess to the children of Jules Didot the printer, and eventually Didot's second wife, was probably his sister. A Paris newspaper of 1790 described Gamble as the inventor of coloured engravings. On 22 May of the previous year he had been licensed to publish a collection of engravings.³¹ Later on, with a partner named Coypel or Coipel, he engraved revolutionary scenes and allegories, and on 18 Jan. 1795 they presented to the Convention a sketch of Brutus condemning his son to death. They asked permission to buy a sheet of copper from the State in order to engrave it. The application was referred to the education committee.³² After this nothing more is heard of Gamble, but in 1801 and 1803 a John Gamble of Leicester Square, London, perhaps a brother of James, took out patents for 'making paper in a continuous sheet.'

I pass over Gastineau, Gibson,³³ Green, Hickson, Joyce, and Lower, except to say that Nicholas Hickson, a teacher of languages, was imprisoned at the Scotch College and the Luxembourg from October 1793 to November 1795; and that Joyce was probably, to judge from their common sympathy with the Revolution, of the same family as Jeremiah Joyce, Unitarian minister and schoolbook compiler, who was prosecuted for treason in 1794. Nicholas Joyce, a cotton-spinner, who died a prisoner at the Benedictine convent in February 1794, may have been his brother.

Thomas MacDermott was probably the Irish militia colonel who was arrested by the Temple section on 4 May 1794. There was, however, another Thomas MacDermott, an Irish priest, who had been chaplain to the French embassy at London. This MacDermott was arrested at Nancy in June 1793, and sent a protest to the Convention.³⁴ Among his papers³⁵ was a draft letter to his brother, a Dublin lawyer, asking him, as his heir, to provide for one Margaret Noel in return for her services to himself. He seems to have died in Paris after the Terror.

Of Macdonnel, who, like Frost, opposed the second address to the Convention, all we know is that, according to Monro, he wrote for the *Morning Post*.

Bernard MacSheehy, probably a kinsman of John Baptist MacSheehy, court physician, was born in Ireland on 2 Dec. 1774. He was in 1793 a student at the Irish college. On 4 May 1794 the committee of public safety appointed him an interpreter on the staff of General Félix for the projected expedition to the East Indies. On 17 March 1798 he was appointed on the staff of the *armée d'Angleterre*, and in 1803 he was commissioned to organise the

³¹ Tuetey, *Répertoire Hist. Paris*, ii. 376.

³² *Procès-Verbaux de la Convention*.

³³ There was a Gibson in business in Paris in 1798.

³⁴ *Arch. Nat.*, A. F. iii. 57.

³⁵ *Ibid.* T. 1651.

Irish regiment at Brest. The expedition to England or Ireland came to nothing, and on 8 Feb. 1807 MacSheehy, who had risen to be general, lost his life in the battle of Eylau.³⁶ John Bernard MacSheehy, who entered the French army in 1802, and in 1817 was on half-pay, was probably his son.

Nicholas Madgett was a native of Kinsale, and had probably been a student at the Irish college. He held a benefice near Bordeaux, but from 1784 to 1788 he was chaplain to James Fanning, an Irishman who had purchased the château of Roche-Talbot, near Seblé.³⁷ In May 1795 he revisited France, landing with a passport under the name of Hurst. He was consequently as a suspected spy imprisoned for six months. He was intimate with Tone, and when the expedition to Ireland was being prepared was despatched to Orleans to prevail on Irish prisoners there to join in it. This caused a quarrel between the English and the Irish prisoners, and the transfer of the English to Valenciennes. Madgett in 1796 advertised himself as a teacher of languages and mathematics. He was employed by the Directory in drawing up reports on English matters, and in translating from English newspapers.³⁸ In the 'Castlereagh Memoirs' he is described, under date 1798, as having spent forty of his sixty years in France, and as intimate with Thomas Muir, the Scottish refugee. He suggested the seizure in the Bank of Venice of 10,000,000*l.* belonging, as he said, to George III, and this suggestion was transmitted by the Directory to Bonaparte, who, however, found no such deposit. In 1811 he is described in the 'Paris Directory' as interpreter to the Ministry of Marine.

Thomas Marshall, born in 1755, a native of Bentham, Yorkshire, was apparently in business in Paris, for in 1795 he obtained from the committee of public safety a passport available for three months for Denmark for private affairs. He seems to have been intimate with Rayment, for on 8 Sept. 1793 they presented a memorial to the Convention respecting a contemplated loan by the Observatory section for the equipment of soldiers for Vendée. The memorial was referred to the finance committee.

Louis Masquerier, the descendant of Huguenot refugees, was a goldsmith in Coventry Street, London, who had become bankrupt in 1777, and had since 1789 been dependent on his wife and daughter, who taught English in Paris. This is all we know of him, but of his third and youngest son, John James, the portrait painter, much might be said. The boy had accompanied his mother and sister to Paris, and at the age of fourteen was studying art under François André Vincent at the Royal Academy when, on

³⁶ *Archives du Dépôt de la Guerre.*

³⁷ Beauchesne, *Château de Roche-Talbot.*

³⁸ *Arch. Nat., A. P. iii. 57-58,*

10 Aug. 1792, the master dismissed his pupils, saying 'This is no place for you.' Young Masquerier on his way home saw a soldier shot just in front of him, and had to leap over the dead body. In the autumn of 1793—his father had apparently died—he obtained a passport for England, but his mother, Marie Françoise, and sister, Marie, were imprisoned at the Luxembourg from 10 Oct. 1793 to 26 Oct. 1794, and on their release resumed teaching. In 1802 he revisited Paris, was enabled through Madame Tallien to sketch Napoleon unobserved from a closet, and, using this sketch for a picture of him reviewing the consular guard, made 1,000*l.* by the exhibition of it in London. In 1814 he fetched his mother and sister back to London, and in 1850, in company with Crabb Robinson, he once more saw Paris. Five years later he died.³⁹ 'More a Frenchman in speech and intimate knowledge of the country than any other friend of mine,' says Robinson, while the poet Campbell describes him as 'a pleasant little fellow with French vivacity.'

William Maxwell was a doctor, but I can discover nothing of his parentage or early life. He may have been the William Maxwell of Carriden, Linlithgowshire, born in 1766, who entered Christchurch, Oxford, in 1781 and graduated M.A. in 1791. On 12 Sept. 1792 he convened by advertisement a meeting at his house in Portland Street, London, to open a subscription for presenting arms to the French, but four hours before the time appointed the Colonel Glover notorious in connexion with the Duchess of Kingston went to him and frightened him into abandoning the plan, removing his door-plate, and absenting himself. Glover posted himself in the house opposite to see what would ensue. Horne Tooke was one of the arrivals, and after obliging Glover to decamp he conducted the people to his own house in Soho Square, where the meeting was held and the subscription opened. 'Maxwell's courage was unequal to the occasion,' said Oswald at the Jacobin club on the 30th, in relating, on the authority of Paine and Frost, what had passed.⁴⁰ Maxwell, as we have seen, went over to Paris, and, according to Monro, joined the French army in December 1792. He was in Louis XVI's escort to the scaffold, and gave a minute account of the execution to Oelsner, a German. Though devoid of sympathy for the king, he was amazed at the composure with which Louis entered the carriage, as if for an ordinary drive, gazed at the objects which he passed, and helped the executioner to remove his overcoat and jacket, for which a kind of blouse, almost pinioning his arms, was substituted.

Of Robert Merry, versifier, dramatist, Dellacruscan, friend of

³⁹ *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1855.

⁴⁰ *Moniteur*, 25 Sept. 1792; *Aulard's Club des Jacobins*.

Godwin, who visited him in Norfolk,⁴¹ it is needless to speak at length. Well known in his day, he is all but forgotten now. He had visited Paris in 1790, and had doubtless witnessed the Federation, for a letter in the *Journal de la Société de 1789*, for August 1790, says :

We have here the two best poets in England, both of them philosophers, republicans, and friends of the Revolution. One of them, Mr. Merry, is at work on a poem celebrating the French Revolution ; it is already far advanced, and will be finished, as he believes, about December⁴² . . . The other, Mr. Hayley, in no way yields to his rival.

Merry married in 1791 Elizabeth Brunton, a famous actress, and the daughter and sister of actors. He was president, as we have seen, of the club at White's Hotel, and he remained in France till May 1793, when, apparently having been detained at Calais, the committee of general safety ordered that municipality to grant him a passport, his wife and two servants accompanying him.⁴³ In 1796 Merry and his wife went to America, where the latter appeared on the stage. Cobbett, writing to Gifford in 1797,⁴⁴ states that Merry arrived full of enthusiasm for American liberty, but was soon disenchanted, and speedily fell into obscurity. He died at Baltimore in 1798. He was a count of the Holy Roman Empire, having purchased that distinction for ten guineas.⁴⁵

Passing over Mowatt and Murray, the former of whom had trial of three Paris prisons, we come to William Newton (perhaps the William Newton of Longdon, Devon, who entered Oriel College, Oxford, in 1780), a soldier of fortune who, though only thirty years of age, had served not only in the English dragoons but in the Russian army.⁴⁶ Offering his sword to the Convention, he was appointed cavalry captain at the military school and joined the French dragoons. On 5 March 1793 he was denounced to the committee of general security, which ordered his dismissal from the army.⁴⁷ He nevertheless, in the following August, contracted to supply baggage wagons of a new model, and this contract was about to operate when the arrest of English residents was decreed. The minister of the interior suggested to the public safety committee that he should be exempted, but he was nevertheless arrested and confined at the Luxembourg and the Benedictine monastery from October 1793 to June 1794. He was then tried and executed. He is said to have exclaimed in prison, on reading Barrère's report on the crimes of the English government, 'Has Barrère travelled,

⁴¹ C. Kegan Paul's *Life of Godwin*.

⁴² It appeared as an ode for 14 July 1791, and was recited at the London celebration.

⁴³ *Arch. Nat.*, A. F. ii.* 288.

⁴¹ *Memoirs of John Murray*.

⁴⁵ *Early Life of Samuel Rogers*.

⁴⁶ *Arch. Nat.*, T. 1653.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* A. F. ii.* 288.

then, in England? What crimes can it have committed?' and he tore up the paper. He is said also to have compared Robespierre to oriental despots, and to have defiantly told the mob round the guillotine, 'I am happier than your tyrants, for they tremble, whereas I am quite composed.'

Of John Oswald much might be said, were it not sufficient to refer to the 'Dictionary of National Biography' and to the 'Révolution Française' of June 1897. Sceptic, vegetarian, opponent of wigs and cravats, officer in the Indian army, traveller among Kurds and Turcomans, versifier, pamphleteer, this son of an Edinburgh coffeehouse-keeper played many parts; but I must confine myself to his career in France. On 11 Sept. 1790 he presented the National Assembly with an ode on the 'Triumph of Freedom,' from which it may be inferred that he had witnessed the Federation of July 14, 1790. He interested himself in the mission to the Jacobin club of Watt and Cooper as representatives of a Manchester society. Robespierre had introduced these two delegates to the club, but seems afterwards to have objected to their request for the affiliation of their society. On 27 May, and again on 10 June, 1792, Oswald advocated the despatch of an address of sympathy to Manchester. He repeated his efforts on 22 Aug. and 30 Sept., and at length on 3 Oct. an address was sent. If, as Southey asserts, there was an altercation at the club between Robespierre and the Manchester deputation, it was probably Oswald, not the stripling Watt, who bore the brunt of it. In his speech of 30 Sept. he denounced George III as tyrannical and sanguinary, and as a man who should not have been liberated from a lunatic asylum; and he advocated a revolution in England as essential to the friendship of the two nations. He translated into English the 'Almanach du Père Gérard,' as also a famous revolutionary production by Collot d'Herbois. A memorial by Lewins, the Irish refugee,⁴⁸ states that when the Girondins were in power, which was in the autumn of 1792 or spring of 1793, Paine sent Oswald to Ireland to offer 20,000 men to assist in securing Irish independence. Oswald, whom Lewins mistakenly styles an American, went to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, but Ireland was not then ripe for a rising. Oswald was perhaps the sham Irish quaker mentioned by Dumont⁴⁹ as travelling in France with a passport from Roland. In March 1792 he had advocated the abolition of standing armies and the adoption of the pike as the only weapon. He was authorised accordingly to raise a corps of volunteers in Paris, and conducted them to La Vendée. He had sent for two sons to join him as drummers. Father and sons were all killed there, probably by their own battalion, for Oswald was a strict disciplinarian, and consequently unpopular. He had a third child, who may

⁴⁸ *Arch. Nat.*, A. F. iv. 1672.

⁴⁹ *Souvenirs sur Mirabeau*, cap. 16.

have been the John Oswald who joined the French army as lieutenant in 1799, and in 1817 was on half-pay. Oswald was secretary to the British club, or Society of Friends of the Rights of the People, till its dissolution in February 1793.

Of O'Neill, O'Reilly, Potier, and Quaterman nothing is known, except that Potier, probably a Channel-Islander, was imprisoned with the other British subjects in 1793-94, and that Quaterman, an Irishman, after a year's captivity, was expelled from France in October 1794.

Robert Rayment was an economist who published in 1790 a treatise on the British corn trade, and in 1791 a work on British national income and expenditure. He was in Paris in August 1792, and presented the latter book to the Assembly. A few days later he reappeared at the bar of that body in company with Gamble, James Watt, jun., and W. Arnviside to offer 1,315 francs for the widows and orphans of the captors of the Tuileries. He became connected with the Caisse d'Escompte, but on 19 Oct. 1793 was arrested with the other English by the Lepelletier section,⁵⁰ and was incarcerated at the Scotch college and the Luxembourg till 2 Jan. 1795.⁵¹

William Ricketts had been in the English navy, and on 28 Dec. 1792 he requested French citizenship and the permission of the Convention to equip a vessel for the French navy at his own expense and under his own command.⁵² The application was referred to the navy committee, and nothing more is heard of it. On 8 Sept. 1793, in concert with Marshall, he wrote, as we have seen, a letter to the Convention respecting a loan contemplated by the Observatory section for the equipment of volunteers for La Vendée. Was he the navy Captain Ricketts who in 1802 married in England a Miss Gunbleton, an Irish-woman?

Rose, who signed without his Christian name, was possibly the Jacques Auguste Rose, of Scottish extraction, to whose care Stone had his letters addressed. He was one of the ushers to the National Assembly and the Convention, had Robespierre in his charge on the 9th Thermidor, and intrepidly carried a summons to the rebellious commune. He was more probably, however, the Rose who, with Prince, Hodges, and Millin, obtained on 13 May 1793 an order from the general security committee to grant them passports.⁵³ A James Rose was scheduled in the Irish Banishment Act of 1798.

Stephen Sayre, probably the senior member of the deputation, was born in Long Island in 1724. In 1766, when living at Philadelphia, he wrote a letter on colonial grievances to Lord

⁵⁰ *Arch. Nat.*, F. 7, 2478.

⁵¹ *Registre Labat, Prefecture de Police.*

⁵² *Procès-Verbaux de la Convention.*

⁵³ *Arch. Nat.*, A. F. ii.* 288.

Dartmouth, secretary of state for American affairs, Cowper's model peer, 'who wears a coronet and prays.' In 1772, when he had become a banker in London, he wrote again, advocating a board of trade to be elected by the American colonies.⁵⁴ In 1773 he was sheriff of London and Middlesex. In 1775 he was arrested on the information of adjutant Francis Richardson, a fellow-American, who alleged that he had talked of kidnapping the king at the opening of parliament, and of overturning the government. He was for five days in the Tower, but was then released on bail. The prosecution collapsing, Sayre sued Lord Rochford, secretary of state, for false imprisonment. He obtained a verdict for 1,000*l.* damages, subject to points of law, eventually decided against him. Meanwhile he had become bankrupt (1776), and had married the daughter of the Hon. William Noel.⁵⁵ In 1777 he went to Berlin as an American envoy with Arthur Lee, taking the place at the last moment of Carmichael. Hugh Elliott, the English ambassador, with an audacity for which he was officially rebuked but privately complimented, stole the papers of Lee and Sayre, and after taking copies returned them.⁵⁶ Lord Suffolk, secretary of state for foreign affairs, in a despatch announcing Sayre's departure for Berlin, described him as

a man of desperate intentions, with the disposition rather than the talents to be mischievous. His personal vanity is at the same time so great that he talks of going afterwards to Petersburg, in order to try the effect of his address and figure at that court.

He is said, indeed, to have gone thither, as also to Copenhagen and Stockholm, and he was for a time secretary to Franklin. Settling in Paris, probably at the beginning of the Revolution, Sayre became a partner with Pereyra and Laborde in a tobacco factory; but in May 1792 he started in business on his own account, as witness this advertisement:

Tobacco of the first quality, American manufacture. M. Sayre, formerly in partnership with Pereyra and Laborde at the Bonnet de la Liberté, Rue St.-Denis, informs the public and tobacco retailers that he has established a factory and opened a dépôt at No. 7 Passage des Petits-Pères, near the Place des Victoires. . . . N.B.—A small quantity of this tobacco of the first quality can render saleable (*passable*) inferior, adulterated, or insipid (*éventé*) tobacco.⁵⁷

Gorani, one of the foreigners receiving French citizenship in 1792, dedicated to Sayre a revolutionary pamphlet. By 1795 he had returned to America, was an active opponent of Washington, and

⁵⁴ *Dartmouth Papers* (Historical MSS. Commission).

⁵⁵ *Annual Register*, 1775-77.

⁵⁶ *Transactions of Royal Historical Society*, 1889.

⁵⁷ *Journal de Paris*, 25 May 1792.

died in Virginia in 1818. Thus by turns an American and an English citizen, Sayre is unaccountably described in Appleton's 'American Biography' as a 'patriot.' This curious qualification he shares with several other personages. Had he earned it by teaching tobacconists the tricks of the trade? His ex-partner Pereyra was guillotined, along with Cloots, in 1794.

Henry and John Sheares figure so tragically in the United Irishmen's movement⁵⁸ that it is sufficient to speak of their visit to France. Redhead Yorke accompanied them to Versailles, when even John, though of extreme opinions—his quiet brother, though nine years his senior, being entirely under his influence—was so delighted with the Petit Trianon that he fell on his knees and vowed to stab every Frenchman he met if a hair of Marie Antoinette's head were touched.⁵⁹ The legend that John Sheares was enamoured of Théroigne de Méricourt was contradicted in 1851 by Arthur O'Connor, who stated that Sheares had no acquaintance with that heroine. It was John Sheares, according to Yorke, who suggested the address to the Convention, and he was certainly the Sheares who, crossing over to England in the same packet with young Daniel O'Connell, the future Liberator, then a staunch tory, exultantly exhibited a handkerchief dipped in Louis XVI's blood. The departure of the Sheareses from Paris had been notified to the English government by Somers, who described them as 'men of desperate designs, capable of setting fire to the dock-yards.'⁶⁰

Passing over Skill, we come to Sir Robert Smyth, whose name was so often spelt Smith⁶¹ as to show the identity of pronunciation of the two forms. He was a baronet of Berechurch Hall, Essex. He was born in 1744, and was probably the Robert Smyth who entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1766. In 1770 he married the daughter of a Mr. Blake of Hanover Square, and the engraving of a picture by Reynolds of 1777 shows Lady Smyth with her three little children, a picturesque group. In 1780 Smyth became M.P. for Colchester, and he retained the seat till 1790. By that time he had probably settled at Paris. In the autumn of 1792 he assisted Lord Wycombe in procuring the escape from Paris of Madame de Flahault, with the manuscript of her tale 'Adèle de Solanges' under her arm. She had had apartments at the Louvre, where in 1791 Lord Holland and Windham met Talleyrand at her supper parties.⁶² Lord Wycombe, son of Lord Lansdowne, had been smitten by her charms, and she is said to have aimed at marrying him. On

⁵⁸ Madden's *United Irishmen*; Fitzpatrick's *Secret Service under Pitt*.

⁵⁹ Yorke's letter to Wickham, 3 Aug. 1798, in *Castlereagh Memoirs*, i. 258.

⁶⁰ Browning's *Despatches of Earl Gower*.

⁶¹ By Reynolds and Paine among others.

⁶² Lord Holland's *Memoirs of the Whig Party*.

18 Nov. 1793 'Smithe' (*sic*) was arrested by the Place Vendôme section in Paris, and sent to the Champs-Élysées section with a request to have the law for the detention of British subjects enforced against him. The latter section applied for information to Rochefort, a village near Dourdan (Seine-et-Oise) where Smyth apparently had a country-house. On 23 Nov. he produced letters showing that the committee of general security had ordered his liberation at Dourdan, where he had, it seems, been previously arrested. The Champs-Élysées section thereupon directed that his papers should be examined, and nothing suspicious being found in them he was next day released.⁶³ Having settled, indeed, in Paris before 14 July 1789, he was not liable to detention as a hostage for Toulon. Paine during his incarceration corresponded with Lady Smyth, and that in a playful vein which we should scarcely have expected of him.⁶⁴ Sir Robert apparently returned to England and remained there till the peace of Amiens, when he opened a bank in Paris; but on 12 April 1802 he died of a sudden attack of gout, whether in England or at Paris is not quite clear.⁶⁵ His widow remained in Paris, where in April 1803 her daughter married Lambton Este, son of the Rev. Charles Este. Este had been erroneously supposed by Lord Malmesbury in 1796 to be courting the mother instead of the daughter. Lady Smyth died at Versailles on 4 Feb. 1823. Her son George Henry had succeeded to the baronetcy, which became extinct with him.

John Hurford Stone, the president of the meeting, born at Tiverton in 1763, was a London coal merchant, and a member of Dr. Price's congregation. He was well acquainted with continental languages and literatures, and his dinner parties included such men as Fox, Sheridan, the poet Rogers, and Talleyrand, sometimes also Madame de Genlis and her adopted daughter, Pamela. The latter, indeed, was introduced by Stone to her future husband, Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Stone, according to a family tradition, witnessed the capture of the Bastille, but he did not figure on Cloots's deputation of June 1790. He was in Paris, however, in September 1792,⁶⁶ and had perhaps remained there till November. He returned to England in February 1793, along with forty fellow-countrymen unprovided with the passports required by the traitorous correspondence act, and some of them had to stay three days on board off Dover before they were allowed to land. In May Stone was again in Paris, giving evidence in favour of General Miranda. He and his wife, Rachel Coope, were arrested in October 1793, but soon released. In April 1794, probably on account of

⁶³ *Arch. Nat.*, F. 7, 2473-74.

⁶⁴ Conway's *Life of Paine*.

⁶⁵ *Moniteur*, 6 Floréal, an x.

⁶⁶ See letter from Bland Burges to Lord Auckland, *Dropmore MSS.* ii. 309.

Arthur's denunciation,⁶⁷ he was again arrested, but liberated next day, seemingly on condition of quitting France, for he went to Switzerland with Helen Maria Williams. He returned in June and obtained a divorce, thus confirming Arthur's story of his intention to separate from his wife, who had been living with another grass widow, Joel Barlow's wife. He had started in business as a printer, for England was henceforth closed to him by an indictment for high treason, though his brother William, a co-defendant, was ultimately acquitted. Whether or not secretly married, Stone and Helen Williams lived together, and the connexion was recognised by the lady's friends, for even the quaker abolitionist Clarkson, after visiting her in Paris in 1818, in writing to her gave 'compliments to Mr. Stone.' Stone was ultimately ruined by undertaking to print a costly edition of Humboldt's 'Travels.' He died in 1818, having been naturalised simultaneously with Helen Williams, who erected a tombstone in Père-Lachaise as 'the last tribute of a long friendship,' and she was laid to rest close by him in 1827.

Tickell can scarcely have been the Rev. John Tickell (1727-1802) who held various English benefices, but may have been of the same family. There was a Francis Tweddell, a Northumbrian squire, living in 1802, but here again the identity is uncertain. Walker was probably the man who delivered reform speeches at Manchester and Sheffield in the autumn of 1792. He may have been the Walker, porcelain manufacturer in Paris, whose son John Walker, a vendor of elastic braces at Paris in 1800, took out in England a patent for elastic gloves in 1807. Of Wardell and Watts nothing is known. Webb was probably the Webb of King Street, London, who later on gave Teeling, the United Irishman, a letter of introduction to Paine,⁶⁸ and the Joseph Webb to whom in 1799 was attributed the English translation of Holbach's sceptical 'Histoire critique de Jésus-Christ.' There was, however, a youth named Webb, having a French priest as a tutor, who in September 1792 obtained the removal of seals placed on his property as though he had been an *émigré*.

We have come to the end of the members of the deputation, but among those present at the first meeting—for we know that they attended the second—were in all probability Johnson, who, we have seen, was a fellow-lodger of Choppin, and his friend Henry Redhead Yorke. They had travelled together from Derby, where Johnson, Yorke assures us, was 'universally respected as a man of honour.' We learn nothing more of him after his departure from Paris with Choppin. Yorke, who accompanied him from Derby to Paris, twenty years of age, in independent circumstances, and probably a native of Little Eaton, near Derby.

⁶⁷ See above, p. 676.

⁶⁸ *Castlereagh Memoirs*.

In this same year 1792 he had published a letter addressed to Bache Heathcote against the abolition of the slave trade, but he speedily changed sides on this and probably on other questions. 'Madly in love,' as he says, 'with ideal liberty,' he ardently sympathised with the French revolution, and he made the acquaintance of Paine, Frost, and, as we have seen, of the brothers Sheares. Nevertheless, both he and Johnson deprecated a French invasion of England, and they negatived by a majority of one a proposal in the British club to present a second address to the convention, asking it to 'rescue England from slavery.'⁶⁹ The advocates of the address revived the proposal, whereupon Johnson and Yorke seceded. Oswald, in a rage, told Yorke he was not fit to live in a civilised society. Yorke had taken his pro-slavery pamphlet with him to Paris in order to write a refutation of it. On quitting Paris, with the intention of winding up his affairs in England and settling in France with his 'family'—by which term he may have meant a mother and brother, for he was unmarried—he left this pamphlet in the hands of 'R.,' 'well known in the political world'—evidently Rayment. Yorke, who either returned to England *via* Holland, or subsequently visited the latter country, was there told by one John Morgan, who had recently left Paris,⁷⁰ that Rayment went to the committee of general security, and denounced Yorke as an English spy, whose real name was Redhead. Yorke, indeed, had but recently assumed the name by which he was henceforth known. Rayment produced the pamphlet in corroboration of his assertions, and the pamphlet bore the name of Redhead. The committee thereupon issued a warrant for his arrest, seized his effects, and interrogated several Englishmen as to his whereabouts. This is Morgan's story, which Yorke credited, but I have found no trace of the alleged warrant, nor is it easy to understand why Rayment should denounce Yorke when quite out of reach. Yorke in 1793 published a letter of sympathy to Frost, then a prisoner in Newgate. He advocated parliamentary reform at Derby and Sheffield, and on 7 April 1794 he addressed an outdoor meeting in the latter town. He was alleged to have boasted in this speech that though only twenty-two he had assisted the American, Dutch, and French revolutions, and would continue to cause revolutions all over the world. He manifestly could not have shared in the American revolution, for the war of independence terminated when he was but fourteen years of age; but he must have spoken of Holland and France. He was prosecuted for sedition and conspiracy, made an injudicious speech in defence, and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

⁶⁹ See above, p. 676.

⁷⁰ Probably the Morgan who, son of an Irish M.P., offered while in Paris, according to Somers, to assassinate George III.

In default of finding sureties for seven years' good behaviour, his imprisonment seems to have lasted nearly four years; but he had not lacked consolation, for he fell in love with the keeper's daughter, Miss Andrews, whom he married in 1800.⁷¹ By the time of his release, moreover, his opinions had changed. He became the vindicator of the war with France, and on revisiting Paris in 1802 found Paine equally disillusioned with the Revolution. While engaged in editing and continuing Campbell's 'British Admirals,' he died in 1823.

General Thomas Ward, who served under Dumouriez, also lodged when in Paris at White's, and probably joined the club. He related to Paine that Marat had said to him, 'There are about three hundred brigands in the Convention; their heads shall fly off.' Paine repeated the saying to the committee of twelve in 1793.⁷² Ward, a native of Dublin, born in 1746, was among the victims of the alleged Carmelite prison plot in 1794. The indictment charged them with having procured ropes in order to escape from prison and massacre the Convention.⁷³

We have seen how the British club, after lasting only a few weeks, was broken up by dissensions, one party loving their native land and regarding it as a model for France, the other viewing the French revolution as a kind of new religion, to be imitated by, and if necessary enforced upon, England. We have seen also what vicissitudes befell its members. Six had violent deaths. Jackson took poison to avoid the gallows; Fitzgerald was killed in resisting arrest; the two Sheareses were executed; Oswald fell in battle, probably through treachery; Newton perished on the scaffold. A seventh, Ward, may perhaps be added to the list. Ten suffered imprisonment in Paris—Colclough, Macdermott, Madgett, Mowatt, Paine, Potier, Quaterman, Rayment, Smyth, and Stone, not to speak of Sampson Perry, a late-comer, who had experience both of French and English prisons, while two others, Frost and Yorke, underwent incarceration in England. If we had the full roll of members, we should probably find additional victims, if not of the guillotine, of the dungeon. The Reign of Terror, even to those who escaped its rigours, must have been a cruel disillusion, and those who lived to witness the despotism of Napoleon must have bewailed their shattered hopes. 'Do you call this a republic?' exclaimed Paine to Yorke when they met again in Paris in 1802; 'why they are worse off than the slaves at Constantinople.' The French revolution must not, it is true, be looked at from this point of view exclusively, but it certainly ranks as the most colossal disappointment—*déception* as the French would say—in human annals.

J. G. ALGER.

⁷¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1800.

⁷² Schmidt, *Tableaux de la Révolution*, i. 252.

⁷³ *Arch. Nat.*, W. 429.

Notes and Documents

THE ANNALS OF THE MONASTERY OF THE HOLY TRINITY AT VENDÔME.

THE manuscript in the Bodleian Library in which these annals are found (MS. Bodl. 309 [8337])¹ was written at Vendôme, in more than one hand, chiefly about 1075. The portion of the manuscript containing the annals, ff. 111–31, is a calendar extending from B.C. 152 to A.D. 1421. Opposite each year are the cycle of Dionysius, the indiction, the epact, the concurrent, the lunar cycle, the paschal term, and the Sunday letter. The notes of events, obits, &c., are written in the margin, and continue in one hand until 1075; after that date until the siege of Calais in 1347 the entries are made in contemporary hands.

So far as we know, only one copy of one portion of the manuscript has been made. Early in the seventeenth century André Duchesne transcribed the notes of events and obits from 678 to 1251, mentioning it among the materials which he had collected for the history of the province of Touraine. In 1657 Philippe Labbe published the transcript of Duchesne in his '*Nova Bibliotheca Manuscriptorum Librorum*,' vol. i. p. 283. The chronicle has also been published in the '*Recueil des Historiens de France*,' vol. vii. p. 237, viii. p. 251, x. pp. 176, 271, xi. p. 29, xii. pp. 486–489, xviii. p. 327, and by Marchegay in his '*Eglises d'Anjou*.' Duchesne says that he made his copy in the library of the monastery at Vendôme before 1635. The manuscript came into the Bodleian Library in 1698 when the university purchased Dr. Bernard's collection of manuscripts. How or when it disappeared from the library at Vendôme we cannot discover.

The history of the monastery of the Holy Trinity explains the interest shown by its chroniclers in Angevin affairs. It was founded in 1032 by Geoffrey Martel, count of Vendôme, afterwards count of Anjou. When Geoffrey restored the county of Vendôme

¹ For the contents of the manuscript see Mr. Madan's *Summary Catalogue*, iii. 13. There are also: (1) A copy of the three bulls sent by Honorius II in 1128 to the bishops of Tours, Angers, and Le Mans, the bishop of Angoulême, and the bishop of Chartres, requiring them to do justice to the monastery of Vendôme (not in Jaffé's *Regesta Pontificum*, ed. 2). (2) Some verses on a sapphire vase. (3) A copy of the confession of Berengar of Tours.

to his nephew Fulk the Gosling in 1050, Fulk swore that the monastery of the Holy Trinity should recognise no other lord, founder, or protector than Geoffrey Martel and his successors, the counts of Anjou, and that the counts of Vendôme should take neither toll nor custom from the monastery. Probably the chroniclers of the monastery obtained their information about the counts of Anjou from the monks of the priory of the Holy Trinity or of the Blessed Saviour in Lévière. This priory was founded in 1047 by Geoffrey Martel in Aquaria, a parish of the city of Anjou, as a dependency of his monastery at Vendôme. The monks of Vendôme took refuge in their priory at Angers when they fled from Count John in 1177.

Down to A.D. 1075 the chronicle is almost entirely a copy from that of the cathedral of St. Maurice at Angers. After 1075 it is an original authority of importance for local events. It ends abruptly in 1347.

The unpublished portion of the annals, as well as those entries in the earlier part which were omitted by Labbe, is printed below.² When it has been necessary to repeat any notices already given by Labbe, these are distinguished by smaller type. ROSE GRAHAM.

881. Ordinatio Rainonis episcopi Andegauensis.²

1099. Anno milleno centeno minus uno

Hierusalem capitur Iulii cum dicitur idus

Anno milleno centeno quo minus uno

Hierusalem Franci capiunt uirtute potenti.³

1100. Hoc anno fuit discordia inter domnum abbatem G. et G. [de Prulliaco⁴ tunc] temporis istius uillae comitem, eodemque anno reconciliati sunt ipso comite, Deo et domino abbati nudis pedibus satisfaciante.

1106. In hoc anno apparuit stella que modica quidem uidebatur sed magnum et prolixum post se trahere candoris uestigium ab omnibus ammirabatur. Que plurimis diebus ac noctibus tractum suum productis in occidentem tendere uisa magnam plurimam desolationem et inconsolabilem dolorem ut postea⁵ . . . apparuit portendebat. Nam in ipso anno . . . Goffridus Martellus iuuenis comes Andecauorum debellator et expugnator tyrannorum, . . . protector et defensor ecclesiarum, terribilem instruxit [machinam] Quam . . . probitatis Goffredus

² Dots are used to show that the manuscript is so much rubbed that only a few letters can be read: words which are barely legible are placed within square brackets. I wish to express my thanks to Mr. Madan for the help he has given me in deciphering the manuscript, and also to Mr. Poole for other help and advice.

³ Raino, bishop of Angers 880-905.

⁴ Cf. *Chronicee Sancti Albini Andegav. in unum congestae* (Marchegay, *Chroniques des Eglises d'Anjou*, p. 29).

1099. Anno milleno centeno quo minus uno

Ierusalem Franci capiunt uirtute potenti.

In fine mensis Iulii.

Another manuscript of the same chronicle has 'idus Iulii, feria vi.'

⁵ Prullé is 17 kilometres distant from Angers. It lies in the valley on the left bank of the Mayenne, and extends up the hill on the right bank.

solium subito ascenderat ut propter ipsius . . . quam multum diligebat obseruantiam . . . uictorias que illi celitus contingebant plurium inuidorum maleuolos et contrarios habere ut . . . perditionis ut impietatis sue frena liberius . . . darent, abstulerunt de terra uirum probitatis et iusticie. Dum enim in quadam obsidione quam super eos fecerat de pace tenenda cum eis inermis sicut quesierant et a suo exercitu elongatus . . . sagitta illum uulnerantes occiderunt.

Eodem quoque anno Buatmundus uir magne opinionis et fame dux Antioche accepta ab apostolico licentia uenit in Europe partes, castella et ciuitates submonendo ut festinarent ire Hierusalem liberare uidelicet eos qui in captiuitate tenebantur et illos adiunare qui Turcorum . . . multitudine et cotidianis hostium oppugnationibus uexabantur.

1135. Hoc anno obiit Hainricus rex Anglorum iusticie pacisque amator.

1143. Obit Fulco rex Hierusalem.

1151. Hic obiit Goffridus uenerabilis comes Andegauis anno quo arcem Monasterioli castellumque turribus arce . . . funditus euerterat totamque . . . pacificauerat. Cui successit Henricus qui paulo ante ducatum Normannie [a] Ludouico Francorum rege Gaufrido suo uiuente et presente suscepit.

1155. Heinricus iuuenis rex Anglie natus est Londonie.

1161. Ipso anno Tebaudus ⁶ comes Tebaudi comitis filius cum magno exercitu militum atque peditum castrum Vindocinum inuasit et obsedit. Qui priusquam ad castellam accederet spolia eiusdem castri et thesaurum monasterii Sancte Trinitatis commilitonibus suis uerbo iam distribuerat, putans scilicet nullum sibi resistere posse. At Johannes ⁷ nobilis comes Vindocinensis duorum filiorum suorum Burchardi scilicet et Lancelini fultus auxilio multisque ex uicinis partibus ad auxilium eius properantibus, castellum suum strenuissime defendit sicque predictus comes Tebaudus non peracto quod uoluit territus confusus recessit non tamen sine maximo dampno suorum; sed antequam hoc ageretur eodem anno Dominica qua Septuagesima celebrabatur cum monachi matutinas laudes cantarent luna apparuit tota nigra, deinde subrubens . . . recepit splendoris . . . contra . . . malorum . . . indignacionem . . . congregatis exercitibus suis . . . maximum a quorum ira . . . uenit Vindocinum . . . expugnare sed mediante rege Francorum . . . inter eos facta est.

Tanta autem postea fames exorta est ut matres proicerent infantulos ad portas monasteriorum. Burgenses qui ante diuites extiterant relictis hortulis uineis et prediis in alienas regiones fugiebant uictum querentes. Quippe tunc enim uendebatur sextarium frumenti apud . . . Andegau. xxv solidis Vindocino xv solidis.

Tunc abbas Girardus ⁸ instituit ut cotidie a principio usque ad festiuitatem Sancti Johannis Bapliste darentur pauperibus iiii sextaria annone preter consuetum beneficium. Pauperibus iacentibus in uicis et plateis portabatur panis et caseus uel legumen usque ad eandem festiuitatem.

1183. Hoc anno obiit Hainricus iuuenis rex Anglie.

⁶ Theobald V, the Good, who died at the siege of Acre in 1191.

⁷ John, count of Vendôme, 1136-1192.

⁸ Gerard abbot, 1161-1187.

1197. Fames pessima.
1210. Hoc anno profectus est exercitus Christianorum super Albigenses.
1212. Hoc anno super paganos in Hyspan.⁹
- 1219.¹⁰ Hoc anno nonis Nouembris capta est illustris ciuitas Sarracenorum Damietta a Christianis.
1213. Hoc anno parauit Philippus rex Francorum magnum nauigium ut cum magno exercitu transfretaret in Angliam capiendam set insidiis comitum Flandrie et Bolonie suum nauigium perdidit et ita remansit. Sequenti anno Johannes rex Anglie cum exercitu suo apud Rochellam applicuit et cepit fieri maxima guerra: hinc rex Anglie illinc dicti comites se[ui]erunt. Set rex Francorum collecto exercitu memoratos comites expugnauit et captos cum pluribus Anglie et Allemanie carceri mancipauit. Hiis ita gestis eodem anno mediante P[andulfo] cardinale captae sunt treugae inter dictos reges usque ad quinque annos.
1215. Hoc anno obiit Johannes rex Anglie, cui successit in regnum Henricus filius eius.
1216. Anno isto obiit Innocentius papa, cui successit Honorius.
1218. Anno isto factus est uentus uehemens in uigilia Iohannis.
1229. Hoc anno facta est tanta inundacio Tyberis apud Romam quod Romani timuerunt quod tota ciuitas submergeretur et multi perierunt.¹¹
Deinde adduxerunt dominum papam apud Romam qui propter odium ipsorum ab urbe recesserat.
Eodem anno pugnavit cum armis idem papa Gregorius nonus cum imperatore (et ante e[com]municauerat)¹² per interpositas personas et plures de baronibus nostris porrexerunt ei in adiutorium.
1234. Hoc anno combusta est abbacia Sancte Trinitatis Vindoc. fere in parte ubi perdiderunt monachi multa bona et capitalia scilicet bladum, uinum, lardum, sepias, et legumen. Sed in eodem anno die Iouis post assumptionem beate Marie combusta fuerat uilla de Vindocino.
1237. Hoc anno fuit combustio Bugrorum oppidi in Blesis.
1241. Hoc anno obiit Gregorius papa episcopus, cui successit Celestinus papa qui non uixit post electionem suam nisi per decem et septem dies. Postea uacauit sedes apostolica usque ad festum Sancti Iohannis Baptiste anno domini MCCXL tercio et tunc fuit electus Innocencius quartus.
1245. Et in ipso anno tenuit concilium suum apud Lugdunum et ibi fuit Fredericus condemnatus.
1248. Hoc anno transfretauit Ludouicus rex Francie transmarinis partibus et cum eo duo fratres sui scilicet Robertus comes

⁹ Cf. *Chronicae Sancti Albini Andegav. in unum congestae (ubi supra, p. 58)*: 'Eunt cruce signati in Hispaniam contra Sarracenos qui ceperant terram usque Tholetum. Recuperant Christiani Calatrave et multa alia castra capiunt. Miremum-melinus victus fuit in bello et fugit.'

¹⁰ Labbe dates this entry 1200, but the manuscript has correctly 1219.

¹¹ Cf. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, vol. v. p. 148.

¹² The words placed within parentheses are added above the line in the manuscript.

Atrabatensis et Karolus comes Andegauis et multi alii comites et barones.

1249. In sequenti autem anno erexit uelum uersus Damietam et cum appropinquans portui uidit super litus maris et fluminis innumerabilem Sarracenorum multitudinem. Dominus rex cum exercitu suo ipsos adgrediens occidit ex ipsis tres amiraudos et alios infinitos. Illi autem exterriti in fugam uersi sunt, exeuntes autem nostri de nauibus [e]rexerunt temptoria sua super terram prope mare. post duos autem dies intrauit domnus rex cum maximo [exercitu in] ciuitatem Damiatanam et ibi nemine[m] inuenit.
1265. Anno domini mccclxv Karolus comes Andegauis cum Christianorum multitudine ex iussu et a monicione domni Clementis pape processit ad pugnam in partes Pullie contra Manfredum publicum Christianitatis hostem et aggressus est eundem Manfredum in prelio apud Boneuentum quadam¹³ die Veneris qui tum erat xxvi dies Februarii. In quo prelio facta est tanta strages exercitus Manfredi ut pre occisorum multitudine terra uideri non posset et in eodem prelio occisus fuit ipse Manfredus, et tunc dictus Karolus confirmatus fuit rex in regno Sicilie.
1301. Hoc anno uersus partes occidentis circa festum Sancti Remigii apparuit cometes et secuta est dissencio maxima eodem anno inter papam Bonifacium et Philippum regem Francorum.
1310. Hoc anno condemnati fuerunt Parisius per prouinciale concilium templarii heretica prauitate conuicti.
1342. Hoc anno eddomada quinquagesime fuerunt aquarum inundaciones apud Vindocinum tam magne quod in abbacia omnes dicebant aquas esse magnas estimacione quinque pedum in alto.
1346. Anno xlii fuit quidam¹⁴ comes de Anglia qui cognominatur¹⁵ de Halbi¹⁶ qui uastauit quandam¹⁷ partem patrie et Sanctonie et Pictaue, et fuit ille dictus comes infra castrum Sancti Ioannis de Angele¹⁸ et ibi commoratur utque appasta¹⁹ et illic des[t]inauit bene tria millia Anglorum vel amplius et fuerunt illi Anglici usque ad festum omnium Sanctorum in sequenti anno xlii.
1346. Ipso anno fuit maxima guerra in Francia inter regem Anglorum et regem Philippum Francorum et fuit maxima occisio in ualle de Creci s[c]ilicet rex de Bahagna²⁰ et comes²¹ de Alaco²² et comes Blesis²³ et comes de Sanciria²⁴ et comes de Flandria et comes de Hallecourt²⁵ et comes de

¹³ MS. *quadem*.

¹⁴ MS. *quidem*.

¹⁵ MS. *cononominatur*.

¹⁶ Henry, earl of Derby, afterwards duke of Lancaster.

¹⁷ MS. *quandem*.

¹⁸ St. Jean d'Angely in Saintonge, was taken by him in September 1346. The French recaptured it in 1351. Cf. Robert of Avesbury, *Chronicon*, Rolls Series, p. 273.

¹⁹ Sic for *usque ad Pascha*.

²⁰ *I.e.* Bohemia. Froissart writes 'Behaygne.'

²¹ MS. *comnes*.

²² Charles II, count of Alençon, nephew of Philip the Fair.

²³ Louis I de Chatillon, count of Blois, nephew of Philip the Fair.

²⁴ Louis II, count of Sancerre.

²⁵ *I.e.* Harcourt.

Belonia et dux de Lonesia²⁶ et multi alii barones quam equitum quam peditum bene decem milia et amplius ultra qui fuerunt obsisi²⁷ in illo bello. In anno xlvii sequenti fuit ipse rex Anglorum²⁸ ante castrum quod cognominatur²⁹ Callez et fuit ipse rex unum annum integrum coram illo dicto castro et post captum fuit ab ipso rege Anglorum presente rege F[r]ancorum cum maxima multitudine gentis sue.

THE MOHAMMADAN CALENDAR.

I.

ON perusing Professor Röhricht's recently published scholarly book on the history of the kingdom of Jerusalem I was sorry to find that, as regards chronology, it was greatly spoilt, partly by misprints, but chiefly owing to the author having placed apparently implicit faith in the correctness of Wüstenfeld's tables for reducing Turkish to Christian dates. He does not seem to be aware of the fact—pointed out long ago by Prince Cantemir, Dr. Ideler, Sir Harris Nicolas, and others—that the Turks and Arabs begin each month on the day on the eve of which the new moon was actually seen. If the moon cannot be seen on account of the sky being overcast, thirty days are reckoned in the month, no matter what any *rusnameh* (perpetual almanac), or the almanac issued by the imperial astronomer at Stambül, or by any other authority, may state to the contrary. This arbitrary way of dealing with the number of days in the month can be best noticed in systematically kept diaries, such as, *e.g.*, the diaries of the campaigns of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, in which numerous instances can be found to prove my contention.¹ To regulate the beginning or the end of the fasting month, for instance, by the almanac, and not by the actual sight of the new moon, was always considered rank heresy, as is shown by the example of heretics mentioned in Albiruni's 'Chronology of Ancient Nations.'²

By the light of these facts many of the footnotes in Professor Röhricht's book read very oddly. Thus on p. 171 we are told that 'it is alleged by Kemal-ed-din that 19 June [A.D. 1124] or 4

²⁶ Raoul, duke of Lorraine. Cf. Adam Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, Rolls Series, pp. 216, 248; also Robert of Avesbury, p. 369.

²⁷ *Sic* for *occisi*. ²⁸ MS. repeats *fuit*. ²⁹ MS. *quonominatur*.

¹ Thus, *e.g.*, in the diaries kept during his four Hungarian campaigns of A.H. 927, 932-33, 935-36, and 938-39 the number of the days in a month differs from the ideal chronology in not less than thirteen instances.

² The almanacs do not always agree with the ideal chronology either. Thus in the *rusnameh* for A.H. 1224, published and explained by Navoni in vol. iv. of Count Rzewusky's 'Fundgruben des Orients,' the number of the days of the months is correct in five cases and incorrect in seven cases—that is, according to the accepted ideal chronology on which all tables are based.

Djumada I. [A.H. 518] fell on a Wednesday. In reality it fell on a Thursday.' Or on p. 557 we find the following remark: 'Bahâ-ed-dîn [Bohadinus] 224 (Sunday, 29 Djumada [I. A.H. 587], *i.e.* 24 June [A.D. 1191], which fell on a Monday).' From the numerous quotations derived from the same eastern authors it is quite clear, without even a reference to the originals, that in the above instances the former author meant Wednesday, 18 June 1124, and the latter Sunday, 23 June 1191. Such obvious slips can be counted by the score in the book, and in many instances they cannot be rectified without a reference to the original sources.

To appreciate fully the confusion of dates arising from this cause, the reader has only to turn to the chapter narrating the doings of Richard Cœur-de-Lion in the Holy Land in A.D. 1192. The new moon was evidently visible in the evening of 29 Djumada I. A.H. 588, and consequently a new month was immediately begun, and the following day was reckoned 1 Djumada II. by the Moslems, though '30 days hath Djumada I.' in the almanac. It is further clear that 29 days also were counted on that occasion in Djumada II. in accordance with the almanac. Consequently there is a displacement in the dates of one day throughout the months of Djumada II. and Redjeb in that year. To make matters worse, for some reason or other Professor Röhricht arbitrarily turns the 7 Redjeb into 20 July, and accordingly is in this instance two days out in his reckoning.

Professor Röhricht is not the only offender in this respect. Dr. Wüstenfeld himself considers it a moot-point whether the Mohammadan era began with 15 or 16 July A.D. 622, though ample evidence can be adduced, *e.g.* from Albiruni, that though the actual date of the flight may not be precisely known, it was the intention of nearly all ancient chronologers to begin the era of the Hijrah with 15 July. Albiruni names the only author known to him who advocated 16 July, this having been a Friday, and consequently a Djuma, or the Day of Prayers, the Lord's Day, as it would be called in England. It is, however, wholly immaterial on which day the era commenced, as tables based on either date may easily be upset, as we see, by a single cloudy evening, and the date cannot be fixed to a day or two, unless the day of the week is mentioned. Wüstenfeld's or any other tables, therefore, such as those in 'L'Art de vérifier les Dates,' or Playfair's 'System of Chronology,' are only correct 'weather and moon permitting.'

LEWIS L. KROPF.

II.

Mr. Kropf has touched upon a subject which has given a good deal of trouble to students of oriental history. The well-known tables of Wüstenfeld represent an ideal chronology which was

certainly not always verified in practice. Even in the present day, with printed almanacs, there is often a discrepancy between the true date and the date actually used. For example, Mr. H. C. Kay tells me that an Egyptian Arabic newspaper was lately sent him dated 25 Sha'bân, which is stated on the paper to correspond with Tuesday, 18 Jan. 1898. This would make 1 Sha'bân correspond to 25 Dec. 1897; but the new moon really occurred on 23 Dec. at 7:35 A.M. (Greenwich time), and Sha'bân should have begun on the evening of that day. Thus even at the end of the nineteenth century, in a country where European education has long been at work, there is an error in the calculation of the month, due, no doubt, to failure of lunar observation. Even when the moon is promptly observed there may be a noticeable margin, as the day must be reckoned from the ensuing evening. On the other hand, in Persia, according to General Houtum Schindler, the almanac has more authority. He says that errors due to non-observation of the new moon only occur at 'out-of-the-way places, where almanacs are little known. The Persian astronomical almanac always gives the first day of the months correctly. . . . After the thirtieth comes the first, even with the most fanatical part of the population, whether the moon has been seen or not. Seeing the moon is only of importance at the beginning and end of the Ramazân.' (See his letter, and much more on the subject, in the introduction to R. S. Poole's 'Catalogue of Persian Coins.') If such inconsistencies and ambiguities exist in the present day, it may easily be imagined that they were not less confusing in the middle ages.

The common practice adopted, not by Professor Röhrich alone, but by almost all editors of Arabic chronicles, is to give the European date corresponding to the *month* date of the Arabic, and to ignore the *week* date. This is obviously wrong. The month is an uncertain date, liable to an error of a day or even several days in its commencement; but the week day is not open to the same error. Just as, in dealing with Latin chroniclers of the crusades, the naming of a saint's day gives a date which must be preferred to a month day if inconsistent, so in the Arabic chronicles I have found the week day a safe date. The proper course is to give the European date corresponding to the week day, except in a few isolated cases where there is an obvious error. When the week day is not stated there must always be made an allowance for possible error in the month.

I had occasion to examine the dates in Bahâ-ed-dîn lately, when preparing my biography of Saladin, and the results may interest Mr. Kropf. I took sixty-one cases in A.H. 583-587 in which the day of the week and the day of the month were both given in the Mohammadan reckoning, and I compared them with Wüstenfeld's corresponding dates. Of the sixty-one I found that thirty-three were

correct—that is, that the day of the week and month corresponded accurately to those given by calculation in Wüstenfeld's tables, where the week day is set against each month day. In twenty-two other cases the month day was one day behind: *e.g.* Friday, 23 Rabî I. 583, ought to have been the 24th, according to Wüstenfeld, showing that the new moon had been observed one day late, or at any rate that the month was reckoned a day late. This occurred consistently in batches of three or four dates in the same month, as might be expected. In two cases only was the day of the month one day 'fast,' or too early; four were two or three days out. Considering that the records were made in the camp during campaigns, and allowing for mistakes of copyists, the average accuracy of Bahâ-ed-dîn is, I think, remarkable. Nevertheless it is always a satisfaction to be able to confirm his month days by the much more trustworthy week days, which are not only free from error of calculation, or observation of the moon, but are also more likely to be accurately retained in the memory.

The error due to the Mohammadan day beginning on the evening before the European day given in Wüstenfeld seldom causes any trouble; but when we read of night marches or of cities assaulted after sundown, we must be on our guard.

STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

DECREES OF THE GENERAL CHAPTERS OF THE FRIARS MINOR,
1260 TO 1282.

In an article entitled 'Die ältesten Redactionen der Generalconstitutionen des Franziskanerordens,' in the *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. vi., Father Ehrle, besides publishing the general constitutions as issued in the general chapters of Narbonne (1260) and Paris (1292), drew attention to the extreme rarity of any authentic records of the decrees of the general chapters of the Franciscan order in the thirteenth century, and printed from a variety of sources such notices and records as he could find. I am able to make a few additions to these records from a manuscript formerly in the Phillipps collection and now in my possession. This manuscript is a quarto volume numbered 'Phillipps MS. 207,' written on vellum, containing forty-six leaves, and dating from the end of the thirteenth century. It clearly belonged to some house in the province of France, but the name has been obliterated. The contents are:—

(1) ff. 1–36 a, 'Constitutiones generales Fratrum Minorum'—as issued in the chapter of 1292.

(2) ff. 36 b–43 b, 'Diffinitiones facte in capitulis generalibus.'

(3) ff. 44–46,¹ ‘Constitutiones provinciales ad certos titulos redacte’ (relating to the province of France).

In the present paper I shall deal only with the second of these articles—the decrees of the general chapters. The chapters of which record is preserved in this manuscript are those of Narbonne (1260), Pisa (1263), Paris (1266), Assisi (1269), Lyons (1274), Padua (1277), Assisi (1279), and Strassburg (1282), the chapter of Pisa in 1272 being omitted. The resolutions of these chapters as given in the Phillipps MS. are printed in full below whenever they differ essentially from the versions given by Ehrle, or whenever Ehrle had to rely on secondhand authorities. In cases where the Phillipps MS. is in essential agreement with Ehrle’s versions taken from firsthand sources, I merely note the chief discrepancies, additions, and omissions of the manuscript. The omissions are unfortunately of more importance than the additions, and seem to suggest that the house for which Phillipps MS. 207 was written was not much interested in the lives and works of friars studying at the universities or elsewhere. Whenever the decrees of these chapters appear incorporated in the general constitutions, a reference is given to the rubric (or chapter) of the constitutions and to the page in the *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte* (here cited as ‘Archiv’) where they will be found.

(fol. 36 b).—*Diffinitiones capituli Narbonensis.*

These are mainly the same as in Archiv, pp. 33–5, except that *studeant ministri to ordinis approbatam* (p. 33, ll. 10–12) and *capitulum generale punit to gravius punientur* (p. 34, l. 35–p. 35, l. 3) are omitted; *minutis* is inserted before *hospitibus*, p. 34, l. 2; the decree against collections at the sermons of friars (p. 34, l. 10) runs ‘Collectiones pecuniarum pro fratribus in predicationibus fratrum fieri nullatenus permittantur;’ and instead of ‘excepto uno pro conventu’ (p. 34, l. 15), the manuscript reads ‘excepto uno pro communione ubi opus fuerit.’

After *clementer* (p. 35, l. 18), the manuscript (fol. 38) adds: Pro sancto Ylarione et pro sancta Cristina virgine et martyre fiat officium ix lectionum. Item indicit generalis omnibus custodibus et gardianis quod faciant scribi in missalibus orationem sancti Ambrosii, sc. Summe sacerdos. Pro domino cardinali nostro omni anno a quolibet sacerdote dicatur una missa.

(fol. 38).—*Hec sunt diffinitiones facte in capitulo Pisano.*

Ordinationes officii serventur diligenter, et pro loco et tempore fratribus recitentur.

Item diffinitum est quod quicquid potest gardianus potest minister et custos.²

Ordinationes generales de officio chori que incipiunt Ad omnes horas canonicas etc., uniformiter et generaliter ab omnibus observentur.

¹ Numbered in the manuscript 46–48, for two leaves, containing the first four chapters or titles of provincial constitutions, are now missing.

² Rubric ix. *Archiv*, p. 127, n. 1.

Diffinitiones facte in capitulo Parisiensi.

Diffinimus quod ministri dicant fratribus omnibus ut in testamentis et aliis conciliis recommendatam habeant domum Parisiensem³ cum ibi fratres adiscant unde alii fratres per totum mundum erudiuntur.

Item diffinit generale capitulum quod nullus frater sigillum habeat nisi de ministri licentia speciali, qui ministri nulli concedant nisi cui hoc congruit ratione communis officii vel auctoritatis. Et nullius nisi de cera communi (*fol. 38 b.*) littere sigillentur.⁴

Item in terminis provinciarum non capiantur nova loca nisi de conscientia generalis.⁵

Nullus minister licentiet apostatas nisi ad loca ubi viget observantia regularis.⁶

Item diffinit quod in singulis conventibus datarium habeatur, et ante pretiosa secundum ordinarium legatur, que pretiosa immediate legatur post primam, etiam si missam tunc contigerit celebrari.

Item in vigilia nativitatis Domini cum pronunciatum in datario *Jesus Christus in Bethleem nascitur*, et in passionibus domini cum legitur, *et inclinato capite emisit spiritum* et simile, omnes ad terram prosternant se propter tanti beneficii memoriam et summam dignationem Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

Item volumus quod ministri dicant vel dici faciant sacerdotibus quod in *memento* ubi agitur memoria pro vivis in canone et etiam pro mortuis, post memoriam spiritualium personarum sic concludant in sua cogitatione, 'et omnibus recommendatorum ministro generali et capitulo generali.'

Item precipit generale capitulum per obedientiam, quod omnes legende de beato Francisco olim facte deleantur, et ubi extra ordinem inveniri poterunt ipsas fratres studeant amovere, cum illa legenda que facta est per generalem ministrum fuerit (*fol. 39*) compilata prout ipse habuit ab ore eorum qui cum beato Francisco quasi semper fuerint et cuncta certitudinaliter sciverint, et probata ibi sint posita diligenter.

Hee [sic] sunt diffinitiones facte in capitulo Assisiensi.

Ordinamus ob reverentiam gloriose virginis ut in quolibet sabbato ad ipsius honorem dicatur sollempniter missa, quando fieri poterit bono modo.

Ad cuius etiam honorem fratres predicent populo quod quando auditur campana completorii ipsa beata virgo aliquotiens salutetur.

Item sollempniter fiat officium in honore sanctorum in quorum vocabulis constructe sunt ecclesie fratrum, ita tamen quod iteratio antiphonarum non fiat, nec officium virginis nec commemorationes solite nec preces in prima et completorio aliquatenus omittantur.

Item fratres non dent sacram communionem alicui in die Paschatis nisi de licentia superiorum vel parochialium sacerdotum, nec etiam in extremis, nec excludant parochiales sacerdotes cum ad eorum confessiones vocantur qui sunt in extremis vel in articulo mortis constituti.⁷

³ Rubric iii. *Archiv*, p. 92, n. 6.

⁴ Rubric vii. *Archiv*, p. 113, n. 4.

⁵ Cf. Rubric v. *Archiv*, p. 102, n. 6.

⁶ Rubric vii. *Archiv*, p. 117, n. 2.

⁷ Rubric vi. *Archiv*, p. 106, n. 4.

Item nulli fratres vasis stagnis utantur in mensis neque pro se neque pro aliis aut vitreis cyatis in conventu.⁸

Item inhibemus quod heremite non recipiantur ad ordinem nostrum nec aliqui de aliquo ordine mendicantium.⁹

(fol. 39 b).—*Responsiones ad consultationes factas in capitulo Assisio celebrato.*

Si quis frater per duas vias, utpote per confessionem et per alium modum, excessum alicuius noverit, requisitus a superiore dicat veritatem; quia hoc nullo modo sigillo confessionis preiudicat, quin potius si taceret inobedientie crimen incurreret. Et si quis contrarium dixerit huiusmodi vel asseruerit et correctus revocare noluerit ab omni actu legitimo privetur.¹⁰

Si quis autem ausus fuerit affirmare quod quilibet sacerdos possit absolvere a peccato super quod non habent commissam auctoritatem [sic] et maxime de illis quinque quorum absolutio secundum generalem constitutionem et specialem determinationem certis personis committitur, tanquam errans et subversor nostri ordinis pena puniatur consimili et ipsius pertinacia¹¹ capitulo denuntietur generali.¹²

Item si aliquis frater visitetur a ministro vel custode testimonia plurium personarum singularum super eodem genere criminis sufficientia fore decernimus.¹³

Si quod provinciale capitulum statuerit aliquid quod sit repugnans statutis generalis capituli, cassamus ex nunc tanquam irritum et inane,¹⁴ et maxime illud de non publicandis vocibus in electionibus ministrorum et aliis electionibus quibuscunque, et de non eligendis discretis ad provinciale capitulum (fol. 40) transmittendis [sic] et de tempore diffinitorum servetur constitutio tantum generalis.

Item nullus frater simul fungatur officio custodis et lectoris nisi manifesta necessitas hoc requirat.¹⁵

Item volumus quod nullus frater detineatur in officio fratrum vel ab eo removeatur propter principum vel aliorum petitiones nisi propter causas alias instituendus sit in officio vel amovendus.¹⁶

Item visitator in capitulo provinciali post diffinitorum electionem uno dumtaxat die in corrigendis personarum excessibus suum officium exequatur.

Item nullus frater pro predicationis officio ad provinciale capitulum mittatur, nisi de ministri consilio et assensu.¹⁷

Adhuc ad extirpationem malorum in nostro ordine pululantium ne succrescant, iniungimus visitatoribus universis ut si quas inveniant provincias viciosas in congregatione bladi ad victum vel in sumptuositate edificiorum et vestium, vel in esu carniarum vel curiositate picturarum, vel in equitationibus vel et currisationibus vel relaxationibus regularis discipline vel generalium statutorum, tam ministros quam provincias teneantur accusare capitulo generali.¹⁸

⁸ Rubric iv. *Archiv*, p. 98, n. 4.

⁹ Rubric i. *Archiv*, p. 88, n. 5.

¹⁰ Rubric v. *Archiv*, p. 100, n. 11.

¹¹ 'pervicacia' in another hand in margin.

¹² Rubric vii. *Archiv*, p. 112, n. 4.

¹³ Rubric viii. *Archiv*, p. 123, n. 2.

¹⁴ Rubric vii. *Archiv*, p. 118, n. 6.

¹⁵ Rubric ix. *Archiv*, p. 127, n. 1.

¹⁶ Rubric vii. *Archiv*, p. 115, n. 3.

¹⁷ Rubric x. *Archiv*, p. 129, n. 1.

¹⁸ Rubric viii. p. 122, n. 4.

Hec sunt diffinitiones facte in capitulo Lugdunensi.

[These are identical with the decrees printed by Ehrle in 'Archiv,' i. pp. 43-5, from a manuscript without superscription, but rightly assigned by him to the chapter at Lyons in 1274.]

(*fol. 41 b*).—*Expliciunt distinctiones capituli Lugdunensis. Iste sunt responsiones ad consultationes dicti capituli.*

Vicarius ministri . . . peccantes punire, as in 'Archiv,' i. p. 45.

Item visitatores non possint absolvere custodes vel gardianos, nec ad monasteria ire, nisi habuerint licentiam specialem.¹⁹

Item festum beati Bernardi fit immediate post octavam (*fol. 42*) assumptionis beate virginis nisi dominica impediatur. Et nomen sancte Clare in sabbato sancto et in aliis letaniis ponatur, et eius legenda publicata in generali capitulo a locis singulis habeatur.

Distinctiones capituli Paduani.

Mandat capitulum generale ministris et capitulis provincialibus quod sine licentia capituli generalis non consentiant in construendum aliquod monasterium novum pauperum dominarum.

Item ordinat capitulum generale quod singulis annis pro hospitibus qui fratres in itinere recipiunt infra octavam beati Francisci ad honorem ipsius sancti approprietur una missa conventualis et una privata a quolibet sacerdote, et a quolibet clerico quinquaginta psalmi, et a quolibet laico centies pater noster.²⁰

Item mandat capitulum generale quod boni carceres fortes et multiplices habeantur et humani.

Item placet capitulo generali quod serviatur[?] dominabus sancti Damiani modo consueto ex mandato domini pape usque ad sequens capitulum generale.

Iniungitur omnibus ministris ut litteram reverendi patris generalis ministri missam ministris in capitulo Paduano, qui sic incipit, 'Venerabilibus et in Christo dilectis,' etc. cum omni diligentia executioni studeant demandare : cuius tenor est quod inquirent de operibus beati Francisci et aliorum sanctorum (*fol. 42 b*) fratrum aliqua memoria digna, prout in suis provinciis contigerit, eidem generali sub certis verbis et testimoniis rescribenda.

Item ordinat generale capitulum ut post commemorationem beati patris nostri sancti Francisci in matutinis et vesperis fiat commemoratio beati Antonii per ordinem universum.

Item vult generale capitulum quod accusationes et petitiones et statum provincialium insinuationes non simul in una littera sed singula sigillatim in singulis litteris ad maiorem expeditionem generali capitulo destinentur et forma communis scribendi, prout ordinavit alias capitulum generale generaliter ab omnibus observetur.²¹

Diffinitiones capituli Assisii celebrati.

Nomen sancte Elizabeth ponatur in letania breviarii.

Item dicatur a ministris in suis provinciis quod in litteris mittendis ad capitulum generale de statu provincie non ponatur ministri nomen provincialis.²²

¹⁹ Rubric viii. *Archiv*, p. 121, n. 6.

²⁰ Rubric xii. *Archiv*, p. 138, n. 2.

²¹ Rubric x. *Archiv*, p. 133, n. 5.

²² *Ibid.*

The manuscript contains the next two paragraphs printed by Ehrle ('Archiv,' p. 49) from the Borghese Cod. 86, but omits all the rest.

(fol. 43).—*Diffinitiones capituli Argentine celebrati.*

The version in this manuscript agrees with that printed by Ehrle from the Borghese Codex ('Archiv,' pp. 50-1), down to *privilegium est concessum*, with a few verbal differences; then occurs the following paragraph, which is the last decree of the general chapters contained in the manuscript.

Item propter periculum evitandum calix non elevetur supra quod dicit ordinatio, nec sacerdos celebrans genua flectat quando elevat corpus Christi.

A. G. LITTLE.

'MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.'

I AM able to produce evidence of a very early use of the term 'member of parliament,' not in the restricted sense of member of the house of commons, but in its larger sense of member of either house; and the quotation which I am about to make has a further interest in connexion with a forgotten parliamentary usage. In the year 1542, when the policy of giving English titles to Irish chieftains had just been commenced, Henry VIII wrote to the deputy and council of Ireland in connexion with the case of O'Brien, who was created earl of Thomond—

But you must remember that the heir of the earl of Thomond from henceforth must abide his time to be admitted as a member of our parliament till his father or parent shall be deceased, and to be only a hearer, standing barehead at the bar beside the Cloth of Estate, as the young lords do here in our realm of England.¹

The heirs of peers, of course, were only commoners, whatever titles of courtesy they held; and it is a very curious question how and under what circumstances commoners were admitted to hear debates in the house of lords. I believe members of the house of commons could always do so. Evidently at first they were expected to do so in a body, and as late as the reign of Edward VI it would seem that they frequented the house of lords in considerable numbers. Thus Peter Martyr writes to Bucer on 26 Dec. 1548 ('Zürich Letters,' p. 469, Parker Society), in reference to the religious questions then before parliament—

Those who are in the lower house, as it is called—that is, men of inferior rank—go up every day into the higher court of parliament, not, indeed, for the purpose of voting (for that they do in the lower house), but only that they may be able to hear these sharp and fervent disputations.

JAMES GAIRDNER.

¹ *State Papers*, iii. 395.

A MANUSCRIPT TREATISE ON THE COINAGE BY JOHN PRYSE, 1553.

My attention was drawn to the existence of this treatise in the library of New College, Oxford (MS. 317, iii.), by a note in Wood's 'Athenae.' I desire to express my sense of the very great kindness of the authorities of the college who allowed me the fullest facilities for examining it.

The author of the treatise is John Pryse, whom we may fairly, though not certainly, assume to be Sir John Price,¹ or Ap Rice, of the Priory, Brecon, the well-known civilian and visitor of the monasteries. In the course of the manuscript he mentions that he has written a larger treatise on the currency, but it has unfortunately not been preserved. This shorter work consists of an address to the queen, an exposition of general principles, a statement of the evils of debasement and of the condition of the coinage in 1553, and a careful consideration of the best means of reform. It is hoped to deal separately with the detailed information which Pryse gives in connexion with other evidence of the same kind, but his 'foundations,' as he calls them, are best set out by themselves. They may with advantage be compared with the speculations on economic theory contained in the dialogue on 'The Common Weal of this Realm of England' (1549, edited by Miss Lamond and Dr. Cunningham).

W. A. J. ARCHBOLD.

Things to be taken for sure grounds about the restitution of the coin :

First : that like as no prince can set price of any wares to endure for any time, no more can he bring to pass that his coin shall be better esteemed specially any long time, than the goodness of the metal that the coin is made of doth require, because every realm must have traffic with other, and metals have their prices set certain, one above another in their degrees through the whole world, as one portion of gold is worth twelve times as much silver, one of silver is worth one hundred and forty parts of tin and quicksilver, and of brass two hundred and twenty parts, and of lead eight hundred parts and of iron one thousand two hundred and eighty parts or therabout most commonly, but as the finer of every sort of these is somewhat dearer than the rest, so are they all better cheap, where they be digged, and where they be plentiful than elsewhere. And albeit base coin of coarse metal hath for a season sometime been reputed as good as fine silver, that was like as a man that taketh a counterfeit groat as good as a true, or a counterfeit diamond for a true, till he know it, and then esteemeth it as it is worthy. And if a prince might value his money at his pleasure, then might he provide that there should never be dearth of anything in his realm, but as the price of corn, or other thing doth rise, he might rise likewise the price of his money.

Then it must be confessed that money is the common measure of all things that are vendible and like as one metal is esteemed by another as

¹ See an account of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

afore is declared, so are other things vendible esteemed and measured by the metal, that the money which is given for it is made of.

Also that the coin or print of the money is but as a seal or a mark that should testify what quantity and goodness every piece should bear and contain, as some names of money, yet kept in use in the English tongue do declare as a pound of sterling money was also a pound in weight. . . .

This must be taken also for confessed that as the coin is abased the price of all things that are vendible must and do arise after the same portion that the coin is so abased, if it be more, more, if it be less, less. And that there is two ways of abasing the coin one by mixture of base metal with fine, and to utter it as though it were all fine, which is the deceit that is imputed to these alchemists. The other is by giving less weight of good metal in the coin, than the nature, name and credit of that coin doth require, which is much like as if the clerk of the market, would put the King's seal to a less bushel or to any other measure or weight, than that which was used and allowed beforetime.

Also it must be confessed that these two last faults are now comprehended and known universally to be in our coin both baseness of metal in the mixed coin and less weight in the fine, than the name which it beareth doth require by one part in three.

And yet besides that, one other fault as great as any of them, that is lack of equivalence in the coin current, forasmuch as one testoon is better than another the fine new coin better than the base universally, and yet all at one estimate in the market, which inequality is cause of much robbing of the treasure of the realm, while the best money is ever picked, and carried over, and the worst only left us. . . .

It must be therefore confessed for the causes aforesaid that therefore there is given for our coin now of any wares outward or inward, not after the name that our coin doth bear, but after the value of the metal that is in it (as in things bought beyond sea doth well appear) for as in ten shillings of our money now, there is but two oz. of silver which was before in twenty groats sterling so ye have but so much ware for your ten shillings now, as you had for twenty sterling groats before. And though it be so well of wares bought beyond sea, as of men that esteem things rightly, yet for most things bought within the realm, ye pay more than after that rate, over that ye were wont to pay, when sterling was at ten groats the oz: as if ye peruse and confer the old and new prices of a pig, goose, capon, chicken, and of all other victual for horse and man, ye shall soon perceive, which is by reason our people think our money yet worse than it is in deed. And so in more discredit with them than the right value of it doth require which is long of the baseness of the said coin, which being depured, would take away that discredit and bring all men to esteem the coin at the least ways at no less value than the stuff thereof did require. Also this can not be denied, but that it were better for all men to have this coin, once called to his right name correspondent to his just value, though there were once some loss to be borne therein whereby men should be ever after assured that they should have no less therefor than the name thereof doth purport than as they be now to be daily and yearly deceived the third part in every piece or sum that they receive. . . .

PRICES AT WOODSTOCK IN 1604.

It is generally assumed by the economic historian that with the decline of the gild system, with more rapid circulation of money, and with wider opportunities for the use of capital, prices gradually came to be fixed by competition rather than by custom or definite regulation, and that, with the exception of labour and of bread, this change was complete by the Tudor period. There is, however, a good deal of evidence to show that public control and regulation, acting through the central or through the local authority, to which power was delegated for the purpose, continued to be a common feature in some directions during Tudor and Stuart times, and covered a wider range than food, although this is the commodity of which, as might be expected, we hear most. Professor Ashley, in speaking of the sixteenth century, points to 'the general cessation of the attempt to assess victuals' as 'conclusive evidence of the diminishing vigour of municipal life;' ¹ and elsewhere, when dealing with the loss by the guilds of power to fix the prices of wares, ² he implies that such prices were henceforth unregulated. From this view I find myself obliged to dissent, for it would be possible to show that in every one of the victualling crafts, and in the case of some raw materials and some manufactured commodities, prices were frequently regulated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the state, which acted sometimes through the central, sometimes through the local municipal authority. Of the general enforcement of such regulation it is difficult to speak with certainty. The presence or absence of indictments can be used as an argument in favour of effective action or the contrary, but there is a fair amount of evidence to show that the local authorities in many different places, in connexion with many different commodities, endeavoured to maintain such regulation as had been laid down either by the

¹ *Econ. Hist.* pt. ii. p. 47.

² *Ibid.* p. 160. This loss of power Professor Ashley attributes to 19 Hen. VII, c. 7. But the preamble to that statute, in laying stress on the 'unreasonable ordinances, as well in prices of wages as other things,' definitely refers to 15 Hen. VI, c. 6. By this earlier act the crafts were to make 'none other ordinance of charge if it be not first discussed and approved for good and reasonable by the justices of the peace and the governors of cities and towns, and before them entered of record.' This was enacted 'to endure as long as it shall please . . . the king.' Thus the crafts as early as 1436 lost independent control over prices for a time; the expiration of 15 Hen. VI, c. 6, and the evil results which followed are stated as reasons for renewed legislation in 1504. By 19 Hen. VII, c. 7, the crafts are, in general terms, forbidden to make any ordinances without the sanction of the chancellor, treasurer, and some justices of either bench, or before the justices on circuit. But there is nothing in the later statute which would seem to mark 'a most significant departure' on the part of parliament, for earlier legislation had already robbed the guilds of supreme control in the matter of prices, and the main difference between the two acts is one of detail, as to whether supervision shall be exercised by central or by local authority. In neither case is there any suggestion that parliament intended to leave individuals freedom in the matter.

central or by the local authority, in any particular direction. In this matter of regulation there seems to be but little change during the Tudor and early Stuart period from the practice of an earlier time, of which, as of the later period, it would be difficult to prove that regulation of prices was universal, or that it was always rigidly enforced.

The following statements of prices as presented by the jurors of the royal borough of Woodstock in the 'Curia Assisarum' of 1604 is of some interest in this connexion, and indicates how minute were the details which came before such a court.³ Thus the price of a single or of a double bed, of a feather bed or a flock bed, by the night or by the week, is a matter upon which sworn information is given, and which apparently cannot be left for private settlement by individuals.⁴ Mr. Adolphus Ballard, town clerk of Woodstock, to whom readers of this Review are indebted for the communication of the document, tells me that copies of thirteen assizes of bread and ale are to be found among the Woodstock records, but this is the only one of a more comprehensive character. The document is, indeed, incomplete as an assize, for no note is made fixing future rates,⁵ but it is not unreasonable to infer that in this, as in cases where bread and ale were dealt with in the same court,⁶ sworn information was given with a view to authoritative regulation⁷ by the mayor, who acted as clerk of the market.⁸ Regulation of this kind was still sufficiently common to warrant the suggestion that we probably have another case here. The desire to keep down unreasonable prices in the interests of travellers comes out in various instances, and this may account for some of the elaborate details enumerated in the Woodstock document. Thus the maximum price of a meal was carefully fixed at Norwich in 1569,⁹ and at a

³ They were hardly less trivial than the fixing by statute of a maximum price for a nightcap, 21 Hen. VIII, c. 9.

⁴ The North Riding sessions frequently dealt with cases in the seventeenth century when innkeepers kept fewer beds than the court had stipulated to be necessary for the practice of their calling. In 1581 the Manchester Court Leet directed a jury to search all inns, and to certify to the steward 'what bedding they have . . . also to view what rowmes and stabling they have . . . and whether they have kept the assyse . . . *factum est.*'—*Manchester Court Leet Records*, i. p. 219.

⁵ Unless the words 'every man . . . to pay for his meale vjd.,' and 'the owner of the same horse to paye,' imply regulation.

⁶ The assize of bread and ale for 1626, printed by Mr. Ballard in his *Chronicles of Woodstock*, p. 140, is a good instance. The prices of wheat are quoted, and the mayor then proceeded to set the assize.

⁷ Such consultation with persons possessing special knowledge was common before changes of price were made. In the case of labour, the justices were instructed by 5 Eliz. c. 4 to call together 'discrete and grave persons,' and to confer with them respecting plenty or scarcity and 'other circumstances necessary to be considered' before fixing wages.

⁸ *Chron. of Woodstock*, p. 55.

⁹ 'Whereas There hath bene complaynte made to Mr. Mayor and to the Justices of the greate excessyve charges y^e Gentylnen Sarvingmen and other Travilors be at

much later date in London. In 1633 we hear of measures taken by the central authority, acting both directly and indirectly: of these it may not be out of place to make mention, as they bear on the general question as well as on the special charges of inn-holders. A proclamation published by the lord mayor in 1633 illustrates clearly what could still be done in London by authoritative regulation.¹⁰ From it we learn that the lord mayor and aldermen were enjoined by the privy council to 'set such prices as they should conceiue to be fit for all small Acates and other prouisions, and to set up the same in publike Tables . . . & also should vary them from time to time as they should find just cause.' This the civic authority did, 'streightly charging and commanding . . . that euery person do obey and keep as well the said prices, as all other prices that shall from time to time hereafter be set and appointed by the said Lord Mayor for any prouision of Victuall whatsoever.' The rates of maximum prices which follow are less exhaustive than we should expect, and deal with all kinds of poultry and eggs; this is explained by the fact that the high price of poultry is definitely mentioned as an intolerable grievance that required attention. The privy council are said

to have taken care to reforme many abuses . . . as the excessiue number of Tavernes, and the extortions used in the immoderate prices of all sorts of prouisions in Ordinaries and Hosteleries; and finding that the said abuse hath appeared in nothing more than in the excessiue rates of Poultry of all sorts being so unreasonably enhaunsed by Poulterers and Higleers have signified the command, &c.

In the same year we find that the attorney-general was instructed to study the laws and statutes concerning prices of victuals and horsemeat, and to consult with the judges. This was done, a report was drawn up and presented to the Star Chamber; a decree was then drafted, in accordance with the recommendations made,¹¹ which in the following month was confirmed by letters patent.¹² Definite prices are laid down:

when they have any occasion to resorte to this Cittie aswell for ther dyetts at ther ostes howses or at other victualing howses as for ther horses meate and gresse for ther horses Therfor this daye by the hole concente and advice of this howse yt ys ordeyned and agreid for the Reformaçon therof that No Inkeper nor Victuler Dwelling within this Cittie shall from this daye tyll the Feaste of the byrthe of our Lorde next comyng Take any more mony for a dynner or a Supper of any body then iij*d.*, and to provyde for them porrage or Sew (?) with befe or Mutton boyled and a stroke of Sūme kynde of Roste and no more. And that from the sayde Feaste of the byrthe of the Lorde tyll Ester then next following to take *vd.* for a mele and no more and the dyett to be as before ys declaryd savyng in Lente. And that no Inkepar nor other y^t use to take horse to grasse within this Cittie from this Daye till the sayde Feaste of the byrthe of our Lorde next comyng shall take above ij*d.* the daye and nyght for a horse and yf he tarry but a nyght then to take ij*d.* a night for a horse and no more. *Court Book 8 (1562-1569), under 7 June, 6 Eliz. p. 209.*

¹⁰ *Brit. Mus. Harl.* 1003, f. 43.

¹¹ *Foedera*, xix. 476.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 479.

We wish that Ordinaries in and about London may be regulated to a convenient summ, not to exceed two shillings for a meal. . . . six pence day & night for Hay for a Horse, and for Oats six pence a peck Winchester measure, is a competent rate to be taken by Innholders & to take nothing for Litter. . . . for Horses which come to Inns in the day time we conceive it to be a reasonable rate for the Innekeeper to take a penny for a horse for his stable room only, the horse not being unbridled: if he be unbridled and have hay and go away the same day to take two pence the horse and no more.¹³

These rates were made general for the whole kingdom, and 'where Grain and Hay are sold at lesser prices there the rates and prices shall be accordingly . . . until it shall be made to appear . . . to the Justices of the Peace that because of the increase of prices in the parts adjoining greater rates are necessarily to be permitted.'

Of almost every article mentioned in the Woodstock document it would be possible to quote instances of regulation during the Tudor and Stuart periods, scattered about in the statute book or in municipal records, but so far as I know there is no single list which is as full as the following statement, drawn up with a view to regulation of prices by the local authority at Woodstock in 1604.

ELLEN A. McARTHUR.

Burgus nove Woodstock in Com Oxon	} Curia Assissarum dñi Regis elirici predicti ibidem tenta vicesimo die Augustii Anno regni dñi nři Jacobi Regis Anglie secundo et Scocie Tricesimo Octavo Annoque dñi 1604 coram ven ^{ti} viro Willo Meatcalfe generoso maiore Burgi predicti.
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Noĩa Juř pro Dño Rege	} Johes Raunson Rad Bradshewe Will ^{us} Ball Richard Wrighte Michaell Nursse Johes Lowe Will ^{us} Edwards	} Aleř Headd Fraunc Carter Will ^{us} Wells Timoth ^o Walker Thomas Screeven Johes Batt Ričus Shadd	} Juř
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Qui presentant super eorum sacramentum modo et forma sequente.

Imprimis a quarter of the beste wheate cleene & sweete in the markt	} xxij ^s
Itm a quar ^t second wheate in y ^e mkett	} xvij ^s vj ^d
It̄ a q̄ter third wheate in the markt	} xvij ^s

¹³ This is a considerable advance on the price at Woodstock in 1604. Fynes Moryson, whose *Itinerary* was published in 1617, lays great stress on the excellence and cheapness of English inns as compared with those of the continent. For eating 'at an ordinarie table together where they had great plentie of good meate, and especially of choice kinds of fish, each man paid no more than 6d. & sometimes but 4d. a meale. . . . One horses meate will come to twelve pence, or eighteen pence, the night for Hay, Oates and Straw, and in Summer time commonly they put the horses to grasse after the rate of three pence each horse.'—*Itinerary*, pt. iii. p. 61.

Itm a q̄t best Mawlte cleene & sweete in the markt	xiijs ^s iiiij ^d
It a q̄t second Mawlte in the Markt	xij ^s
It a q̄t beanes or pease in y ^e m̄kett	xij ^s
It a q̄ter beste oates in the markt	vjs ^s
It a busshell of the same oates in e ^v ye house	xiiijs ^d
It a kilderkin of good Ale or dubble beere w th carriage	iijs ^s iiiij ^d
It a kilderkin single Ale or beere w th carriage	xviijs ^d
It a ffull q̄te beste ale or beere w th in & w th out e ^v ye house	j ^d
It a full q̄te single Ale or beere w th in & w th out e ^v ye house	ob
It a pownde of Butter sweete and newe in the markt	ij ^d ob
It Tenn Eggs the best in y ^e m̄kett	ij ^d
It iiiij of the same Eggs in e ^v ye house	j ^d
It a stone beste beefe at the Butcher's, weighinge viii lb	xiiijs ^d
It a stone seconde beefe at the butcher's	xij ^d
It a q̄ter beste Veale at the butcher's	xx ^d
It a q̄t second Veale at the butcher's	xviijs ^d
It a q̄t beste weather Mutton at the butchers	ijs ^s
It a q̄t second Mutton at the butchers	xvj ^d
It a fatt goose the beste in the m̄kett	x ^d
It a fatt pygg the best in the m̄kett	xvj ^d
It a leane or second pigg in the m̄kett	x ^d
It a coople of Caponetts the best in y ^e m̄kett	xvj ^d
It a coople second Caponetts in the markt	x ^d
It a coople of Chickens or Rabbetts the best in y ^e m̄kett	viijs ^d
It a coople second Chickens or Rabbetts in the m̄kett	vjs ^d
It a dozen pigions the beste in the m̄kett	x ^d
It e ^v ye man beinge in companye six or more togeather havige to dinner or supper goodd bread and drinke Beefe & Mutton boyled or rost Or els Veale boyled, pigg, beefe, or Veale rost, Or otherwise uppon the fflisse dayes havige good bread and drink salt fishe or Salt Salmon Ling, egge & butter, and so in default of one meate havige another to pay for his meale	vjs ^d
It a pownde of Tallowe candles made of wicke	iijs ^d
It a fetherbedd for j mā j night & so to departe	j ^d
It a fetherbedd with necessary apparrell thereunto for one mā alone by the weeke	vjs ^d
It the like fetherbedd & furniture for Two togeather by the weeke	viijs ^d
It a matterice or flockbedd for one or twoe together by the weeke	iiijs ^d
It iiij house loves at the bakers e ^v ye lofe weighinge xiiijs ozs troie	j ^d
It ij of the same loves in e ^v ye house	j ^d
It a C weighte of good sweete haye beinge cxij ^{li} w th carriage	xij ^d
It e ^v ye bottle of haie weyinge iiij ^{li}	ob
It a load of Strawe for litter w th cariage	iijs ^s vjs ^d
It haie & litter day & night for j horse in e ^v ye Inn	v ^d
It in e ^v ye other house	iiijs ^d
It good grasse for one horsse day and nighte and so departe	ij ^d
Itm good grasse for one horsse alone by the weeke	viijs ^d

It yff any horse abide in any pasture over and above one day & one night then the owner of the same horse to paye after the rate of the whole weeke for so longe as he shall abide in the same pasture beinge as aforesaide	} viij ^d
Itm a loade of Logg woodd w th cariage	iiij ^s vj ^d
Itm a C good fflaggotts w th cariage	iiij ^s viij ^d
Itm iij of the same fflaggotts in evye house	ij ^d
Itm a loade of good brushe Bavens w th cariage	ij ^s vj ^d
Itm a vacant or empty Chamber or Stable by y ^e weeke	iiij ^d
Itm a C of good Oke borde beinge inch borde w th cariage	iiij ^d
Itm a C good Elme borde being inch borde w th cariage	iiij ^s vj ^d
Itm a Thousand Bricke w th cariage	x ^d
Itm a q̄t beste clarett Wine at the vintners	vij ^d
Itm a q̄t best Sacke at the Vintners	x ^d
Itm a q̄ter of Charcoles contening viij busshells w th cariage	xiiij ^d

STAR CHAMBER PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE EARL OF SUFFOLK AND
OTHERS.

THE following account of the proceedings in the Star Chamber in 1619 against Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, the lord treasurer, the countess of Suffolk, and Sir John Bingley, I have copied from a manuscript volume to which I have been allowed access by the kindness of Henry John Pye, Esq., of Clifton Hall, near Tamworth. The book appears to be a kind of commonplace book in which various members of the Pye family entered from time to time extracts from books or pamphlets, copies of letters, and any other matters which seemed noteworthy in public affairs. Some of these entries are, I believe, in the handwriting of Sir Robert Pye of Faringford, who in July 1618 was made remembrancer of the exchequer and who died in 1662. Others are entered by his son Robert, who married Anne, the daughter of John Hampden, and who sat in the parliaments of 1654 and 1657 as member for Berkshire. He died in 1701. The commencement of the subjoined account appears to be in the handwriting of the elder Sir Robert and is continued and concluded by a clerk or secretary.

A. P. PERCEVAL KEEP.

In Camerâ Stellatâ coram Concilio ibidem decimo tertio die Novembris Anno decimo Septimo Jacobi Regis. Presentibus Dño Caç. Angl Archiepo Cani, Duce Lenox, Epo London, Marchõe Hamilton, Epo Winton, Coñte Pembroke, Dño Mountagu Capt. Justic. de Banco Regis, Dño Digby, Dño Hobart Capt. Justic. de Comũ Banco, Thom. Edmonds Mil., Robto Naunton Mil. Secret Rs., Geo. Calvert Mil, Secret Rs., Fule. Grevill Mil. Canc. Sc̄cii, Edw. Cooke Mil.

THIS day as also ten other sitting dayes this Terme were wholly spent in the solemne and deliberate hearing, discussing and sentencing of the

matters of complaint here exhibited by Sir Henry Yelverton K^t His Ma^{ties} Attorney Generall against the Right Hon^{ble} Thomas Earle of Suffolk late Lord High Trear of England, the Lady Katherine Countesse of Suffolk his wife and S^r John Bingley K^t writer of the tallies and counter tallies in his Ma^{ties} Reçpt of Excheq^r for and concerning divers misemploy^{ts} of his Ma^{ties} treasure and other miscarriages and misdemeanours ag^t the duty of these places & offices to the great disadvantage & dishonor of his Ma^{ty}: And for & concerning divers extortions briberies and oppressions to the wrong and injurje of his Ma^{ties} Sub^{ts} as in & by the information more at large is set forth. Upon the full & deliberate hearing of which cause & long time spent with great & mature deliberation in reading the proofes & weighing the arguments & allegations of both sides it appeared to this hon^{ble} court partly by the confessions of the defts themselves & partly by the deposicions of witnesses and other matters extant of record that whereas the King's most exelent Ma^{ty} out of his abundant grace and princely goodnes had bestowed upon the said Earle & Countesse as well great revenues in lands leases & otherwise as ample dignities offices & places of honor & other benefitts & favors and advanced the said Earle to the honor & great trust of a Privy Counselor of State & to the office of Lord High Trear of England whereupon he tooke the severall oathes incident to those places; and it also appeared that the said S^r John Bingley these ten yeares last past hath bin writer of the tallies as aforesaid; and all of them by speciall duty bound justly to serve his Ma^{ty} wthout doing causing or assenting unto any damage or disherison to his Ma^{ty} or oppression to his people, the said Earle & S^r John Bingley neverthelesse contrary to their office and places, and both they and the said Countesse ag^t the bond of so great duty to so gracious a soveraigne have committed sundry exorbitant misdemeanors as is after more particularly mentioned. As namely whereas his Ma^{ty} out of his princely providence for the safety of his Kingdome did heretofore in the sixth yeare of his Ma^{ty}'s reigne make and direct to the Trear & Under trear of the Excheq^r for the time being a warrant dormant under his Highnes' privy seale for the issueing & payeing to the Lieutenant or Cheife officer of the office of Ordinance for the time being such summes of money monthly or quarterly for the payment of the officers clarkes and others there daily attending & for provisions monthly brought into the said office and other charges growing in the said office as by particular bookes of charge made in the said office & subscribed by the principall officers of the said office should appeare to be due not exceeding the sum of six thousand pounds in any one yeare; And whereas the said £6000 pr. ann was duly payd unto S^r Roger Dallison K^t and Bar^{tt} late Lieutenant of the Ordinance for diverse yeares before and untill 31 March An^o Dni 1614 the said S^r Roger Dallison did not (as he ought) with the said moneys by him received pay the officers & workmen for the provisions by them brought in and wages due whereupon they refused to worke or send in further provisions whereby the office of Ordinance became unfurnished & so consequently no bookes of charge could be made nor any money was to be issued out. Neverthelesse the said Earle of Suffolk being then Lord Trear of England albeit the complaint of the workmen & others wanting their wages & dues was so generall & notorious as the said Earle could not be ignorant thereof yett

being ledd away more by his private affection̄s to the said Dallison than by any care or regard of the service of such weight & importance to the state did give warrant for the issueing out of six thousand & six hundred pounds to the said S^r Roger Dallison noe bookes of charge being made up contrary to the express directions of the said privie seale in that point & after such warrant given did cause the said S^r John Bingley to draw up two severall orders the one for issueing of one thousand and five hundred pounds the other of six thousand pounds not onely to maintaine these payments but also to issue out nyne hundred pounds more and although the said S^r John Bingley then & before the orders made or the moneys issued out did informe the said Earle that there were no bookes of charges brought in as they ought to have been yett the said Earle willed him to draw up the said orders w^{ich} he did accordingly & therein untruely mencioned that the books of charges were brought in both w^{ich} orders the said Earle signed knowing them to be untrue as aforesaid & sent the same to the Chancellor of the Excheq^r who believing the bookes were brought in as was mencioned in the said orders w^{ich} he sawe subscribed by the Lord Trear̄ the said M^r Chancellor being thereby misled did alsoe signe the same & hereupon the said S^r Roger Dallison being a man insolvent gott out of his Ma^{ty}'s treasure the sum of six thousand and five hundred pounds whereof two thousand and two hundred pounds were payd him long after he was out of his sayd office & noe parte thereof or very little was employed in the service of ordinance but to the payment of the said S^r Roger Dallison's private debt where through and with the somes that S^r Roger Dallison was in arreare before the said last day of March one thousand six hundred and fourteene the said Sir Roger Dallison after he was out of that office upon his Accompt appeareth to be indebted unto his Ma^{ty} in nyne thousand and nyne hundred pounds and above; w^{ich} his Ma^{ty}'s like to lose, he lying prisoner for it & maketh noe payment of the same And moreover by reason hereof the said office of Ordinance lay long unfurnished & in great confusion & cannot yett be reduced to his former perfection to the great hazard of the state, all w^{ich} proceeded out of the willfull default of the said Earle in issueing the said money contrary to his express warrant & directions & contrary to his knowledge It further appeared to this hon^{ble} Court that whereas the King's Ma^{ty} having disbursed above fivety thousand pounds for reducing the Allome workes into his have and for settling the same did give warrant by privie seale unto the said Earle being Lord Trear̄ & Sir Fulke Grevill K^t Chancellor of the Excheq^r to lett the same to farme for his Ma^{ty}'s best advantage whereupon the said Earle & S^r Fulke Grevill contracted for the same with Sir Arthur Ingram, Martin Freeman and George Lowe that they in consideration of tenn thousand pounds more, to be disbursed by his Ma^{ty} for building of more houses & better furnishing & preparing the workes, should undertake for one & twenty yeares the managing of the said workes & to make & deliver to his Ma^{ty}'s use and profit the first yeare one thousand & eight hundred tunnes of Allom the second yeare one thousand & five hundred tunnes the third yeare one thousand & eight hundred tunnes & from thence one thousand & eight hundred tunnes yearly during the residue of the terme of one & twenty yeares his Ma^{ty} paying unto them for every tunne soe made the sum of tenn pounds & they likewise

contracted to pay for every tunn that should happen to want of one thousand yearly the somme of thirteen pounds & for every tunn that wanted of the number above one thousand five pound the tunn wich contract was put into articles in writing wich were sealed and delivered by the contractors who with one William Angell their surety entered into a bond of twelve thousand pounds to his Ma^{ty}'s use for the performance of the said articles in the third year of the said contract at which time they were to make the greatest & highest quantity & proporcion & these articles & bond were by the said Earle delivered into the custody of the said Sr John Bingley and his Ma^{ty} accordingly disbursed the said sum of tenn thousand pounds to the said contractors but the said contractors performed not their contract for the first yeare wherein they should have delivered one thousand and two hundred tunns they failed to deliver five hundred and twenty six tunns of that quantity and of the one thousand & five hundred tunns to have been delivered the second yeare there wanted nine hundred & twenty five tunns wich being rated according to the said articles att thirteene pounds & five pounds the tunn respectively for every tunn wanting being no more than his Ma^{ty} might have made thereof in clare proffit if the same had been delivered amounteth in those two yeares unto the somme of thirteen thousand two hundred & sixty three pounds or thereabout. To avoyd the payment whereof the said arbitrators wrought with the said Earle for the cancellacion of the said articles & bond Whereupon the said Earle of his own head, the Chancellor of the Exchequer who was joined with him by the privy seal and without whom he had noe power to make any contract for the said Allom works refusing to join with him, did nevertheless make a new contract with the said contractors touching the said Allom workes & did thereupon without any satisfaction of the said great arreares & without warrant cancel & deliver up the said first articles and bond being his Ma^{ty}'s security for the said money in arreare and soe did without warrant discharge the said contractors of the said so^me of thirteene thousand two hundred & sixty three pounds and the said Earle offering the said new contract to be confirmed by his Ma^{ty} it appeared not by any proofs made that he did acquaint his Ma^{ty} of the said arrears due for the said first two yeares as aforesaid And whereas it was alleged in extenuacion of the said Earle's fault that the said latter bargaine was more beneficiall than the former for that by the latter bargaine the said Earle had made provision for the venting of a good quantity of Allom for which noe provision was made by the former contract it evidently appeared that the benefitt of the latter contract did in no sorte countervayle the loss of such great arrears much lesse would it excuse so high a presumption as the cancelling of his Ma^{ty}'s assurances without warrant whereupon soe great an arreare depended It appears likewise to this Hon^{ble} Court that whereas Alderman Johnson was appointed to be his Ma^{ty}'s agent for the said Allom workes & that the matter was soe farr proceeded in that the said Johnson had caused articles to be drawn and delivered to the said Earle to the intent a booke might be past betweene his Ma^{ty} and the said Johnson for setling the agencie Sr Francis Hildsey K^{nt} gave to the said Countesse of Suffolk one thousand and five hundred pounds to procure the said agencie & also the carriages of the said Allom with an allowance of fortie shillings the tunn

to himself & others & soe farr proceeded by the favor & countenance of the said Earle that secretly & underhand a pattent was procured for the said agencie to others while the said Johnson conceived the articles by him delivered had been advising on & it appeared to this Court that if the course intended by the said Hildesley had proceeded it would have turned to his Ma^{ty}'s losse of two thousand pounds a yeare yet nevertheless when the said Johnson opposed the same the said S^r Francis Hildesley was countenanced therein by the said Earle as much as might be but afterwards a commission being awarded to the said Earle & divers other hon^{ble} persons to settle the said Allom business it then appearing that the course intended was very prejudiciall to his Ma^{ty} the said agencie & carriages were taken away from the said Hildesley & others & settled in a more profitable course for his Ma^{ty}, but when the aforesaid commission depended & that divers abuses of the said Allom workes were questioned the said Earle fearing lest the said money taken by the Countesse should come to light caused the most part of the said money to be restored back to the said Hildesley. And whereas there were great sommes of money to be paid out of his Ma^{ty}'s Excheq^r to William Turner & his partners for the said Allom workes the said Turner often sought for payment but could not have it till at length he had lent the said Countesse of Suffolke about two thousand pounds & was content to remit that debt unto her soe as she would procure him payment of twenty thousand pounds part of the said money from the farmers of the customs which being done the said Earle presently gave order for strikeing tallies upon the farmers of the customs for the said twenty thousand pounds who satisfied or secured the same to the said Turner and his partners. And whereas it was offered in extenuacion of the said Earle's fault that he procured three yeares [day] of payment for the said twenty thousand pounds and therein did good service to his Ma^{ty} it appeared evidently by the record of the tallies that the said allegacion was untrue for that the tallies were stricken the third of March one thousand six hundred & fourteene upon the yeares rent beginning from December afore, and it alsoe appeared that when by reason of the afore mentioned commission the abuses touching the said Allom workes were brought in question & in examinacion & this matter among the rest likely to be discovered the said Countesse wrote severall letters to Michael Humfreys her servant w^{ch} letters were nowe read in Court being all written with the hand of the said Countesse by which it appeared that shee had offered Turner a bill to repay him againe to the end if he were put to his oath he might sweare he gave nothing & when the matter was ended hee should give her her bill againe & by the same letter required the said Humfreys to speake with the said Earle that Turner might not be put to his oath in any disgracefull manner and alsoe to make sure with Turner that if he came to his oath he should deny that he had given any thing It further appeared evidently to this Court that during the aforesaid commission the said Earle caused all or most part of the said twenty thousand pounds to be repaid to the said Turner but after the examinacion past the said Turner keeping the money contrary to expectacion the said Countesse in November 1616 sent to the said Turner & had from him five hundred pounds thereof againe but the matter coming to a re-examinacion

in July A.D. 1618 the said Countesse doubting it would at last be discovered caused Micheall Humphreys and one Bailes her servant to give the said Turner a bill of debt now read in Court for repayment of the said five hundred pounds & caused the same to be antedated & beare date in November 1616 and to be payable at Christmas 1616 as if the same had been made & sealed when the money was taken of the said Turner to the end that by the colour thereof the said Turner might upon his examination equivocate & say it was but lent It appeared likewise to this Honble Court that whereas his Ma^{ty} with the advice of his Counsell did take order that special care should be taken in the disbursement of his Treasure that such payments as most neerely concerned the publike state should be first payd :—as for the Navie, for the Army in Ireland, the supplying of forts & garrisons, and the buying in of pençions—& divers soñies were appointed to those purposes & not to be converted to other uses & yett other payments to be neverthelesse made in convenient time yett contrary thereunto the said Earle Countesse & S^r John Bingley have divers times taken divers greate soñies of money out of his Ma^{ty}'s Treasure and employed the same about their own or other private uses & made divers payments for their own gain & left those payments & disbursements undone for wìch the said moneys were particularly assigned as namely in June 1616 there was three thousand pounds taken up by the said Earle and S^r John Bingley from Phillip Barlamachy of the money due to his Ma^{ty} for the redemption of cautionary townes in the Lowe Countries & was by Privie Seale allotted part for the Navy part for the ordinance part for the service of Ireland & other his Ma^{ty}'s most needful occasions and employed the said three thousand pounds being his Ma^{ty}'s money towards repayment of the aforesaid mencioned soñies taken from Turner & S^r Francis Hildesley about the Allome workes thereby to hide & cover the corrupcions aforesaid & yett to coull^r the said employment the said Earle pretended & affirmed upon his oath that he took up the said soñies of three thousand pounds to buy in two pençions & arrearyes thereof due by his Ma^{ty}, one to the Lord Danvers, & the other to William Angell, whereas it appeareth that the first comunicacion for buying of the aforesaid pençions grewe about a yeare after the taking up of the said money from Burlamachy & when bargains was concluded for the said pencions yett the said Earle suffered the same to breake off for wante of payment of the moneys agreed to be payd for the same but two yeares after the said money was received from Barlamachy when a Commⁿ of Inquirie for misemploying of his Ma^{ty}'s treasure was in execuçon the said Earle to collour his doings therein did send back the same three thousand pounds to the said Barlamachy to be by him paid into the Excheq^r which was done accordingly In like manner there was in July 1617 two thousand pounds taken by the said Earle out of his Ma^{ty}'s treasure appointed for his Ma^{ty}'s service in Ireland for repayment whereof at Easter following a bill was given to the said S^r John Bingley who took upon him to stop the same bill that time but was not repaid in a good while after, whereby his Ma^{ty}'s service was hindered, and in the same July 1617 Michaell Humphreys the said Earle & Countesse's servant received another somme of one thousand pounds out of the money appointed for Irish services wìch thousand pounds was not to be repaid but was given the said Countesse

by Sr John Bingley's means for a gratuity for the Irish affaires & converted to the Earle's occasions Also there was detained and kept back from the Lord Ridgway late Trear att Warres in Ireland by the space of four months the soine of four thousand pounds out of a parcell of Treasure allotted for the service of Ireland & two thousand and one hundred pounds at another time out of another parcell of treasure allotted for the same service And because the Lord Ridgway repyned thereat the said Earle was displeased and to the intent to obtayne better payment the said Lord Ridgway gave the severall gifts hereafter expressed Also there being a tallie struck for payment of tenn thousand pounds to the army in Ireland wich money was to be paid by the Merchant Adventurers when the agent of the Treasurer at Warre came to receive the said money from the Company he found that the said Sr John Bingley had beforehand gotten nine hundred & sixty pounds thereof into his hands & kept the same to his own use four months while the army wanted it and soe it became an usuall thinge for the said Earle Countesse & Sr John Bingley to make use of the money appointed for the Irish services to serve their own turnes where through it came to passe that there was grievous complainte made for want of payment of the army in Ireland for it appeared to this Honble Court that in the year 1617 the Treasurer at Warre, with divers principall commanders and captaines there, were soe much grieved & troubled by the slowe unorderedly and evill payment of the moneys appointed for the service in Ireland that divers of them assembling together to advise of a meanes to procure better payment were content to abate two thousand pounds or two thousand and five hundred pounds yearely to be borne equally upon the army soe as they might have good payment of the residue and in the end concluded to present to the said Earle an annual payment of one thousand pounds by the yeare & two hundred pounds to Sr John Bingley to be allowed and defalked out of the money assigned for that service and accordingly bills were sent over for five hundred pounds to be allowed to the said Earle or Countesse & one hundred pounds for Sr John Bingley to be defalked out of the next half yeares payment wich were defalked accordingly & yette the payments nothing amended but the army kept in their former distresse for want of good payment It appeared alsoe to this Honble Court that besides the money assigned for Ireland the said Earle Countesse & Sir John Bingley did often times make use of other his Ma^{ty}'s moneys about their private occasion namely in December 1617 there being want of one thousand pounds to performe a corrupt contract w^{ch} the said Countesse had made with one Henshawe the said Henshawe pressinge to receive his money which the said Countesse had undertaken to pay, the sayd Bingley wrote a note to Michaell Humphreys that the Earle should command one thousand pounds out of the Receipt for a present service, which was accordingly performed & the money being delivered out of the Excheq^r was payed to the said Henshawe Also the said Earle in September 1617 by his warrant caused forty ponde to be taken out of the Receipt & to be delivered to Francis Carter who was imployed about the building the Earle's stables att Charing Cross; & one hundred pound more another time was by the said Earle's appointment delivered out of the Receipt to the said Carter & imployed about the Earle's buildings at Newmarkett. And it alsoe appeared that in May

1616 the said John Bingley got into his hands from Phillipp Barlimachy and Giles Vandeputt two severall sums of five hundred pounds apiece of his Ma^{ty}'s moneys due from the Cautionary townes, but had neither stricken tallyes nor given any discharge unto them in the Receipt for the same neither is there any record to charge any other person therewith or to make manifest what is become of the sayd thousand pound: And whereas by the antient & settled course & orders used & kept in the receipt of his Ma^{ty}'s Excheq^r neither the Lord Trēar nor any other unless it be in case of his Ma^{ty}'s pleasure without speciall warrant by his Ma^{ty}'s] greate seale or privie seale yett it appeared to the court that it hath been usuall with the said Earle & often times without him for the sayd S^r John Bingley of his owne authoritie without any urgent or pressing service of his Ma^{ty} to command his Ma^{ty}'s] treasure from the tellers of the Excheq^r, in whose charge the same is, without any privy seale or any warrantable directions, the tellers not daring to deny it, for that the said S^r John Bingley hath the directing of all the warrants to the tellers for issueing out of money soe as hee, by directing unprofitable warrant unto which of them he list, may take all the money from any of them to their disprofitt whereof they stand in a kind of awe. Moreover it appeared that it is usuall with S^r John Bingley to cause the tellers of the Excheq^r to make out payments of money without orders, which have continued many yeares blank and unsupplied by w^{ch} meanes there hath been a great liberty for the said S^r John Bingley, or any whom he would pleasure, to make use of his Ma^{ty}'s moneys in the mean tyme; and many times he hath changed the entring of money w^{ch} att first was entered to be payd to one service and sett it upon another long after, many of which alteraçons have been since the Commi[ssion] for Inquiries concerning his Ma^{ty}'s] treasure, as namely there was in July 1615 three thousand pounds taken in allowance for the Master of the Warrants¹ w^{ch} was not paid unto him but was afterwards & after the said Commission of Inquiries transferred to other persons & services (viz) one thousand pounds upon an order of the last of March 1616 for his Ma^{ty}'s roabes & two thousand pounds to S^r Baptist Hieke upon an order of Mar 1st 1616 grounded upon a privy seale obtained March 4th 1616 & not before, which was about twenty months after the money was issued. Alsoe there was one thousand pounds taken in allowance in September 1614 & sett upon the Trear of his Ma^{ty}'s Chamber w^{ch} he never received and therefore it was long afterwards transferred and sett upon the Trear of Ireland. And one thousand pounds paid out in July 1613 & then sett upon his Ma^{ty}'s navye and continued soe untill about a yeare past, when the matter being examined and the Treasurer of the Navie being called to his accompt, and denying the receipt thereof the said Sir John Bingley confessed the Trear of the Navie received it not but it should be removed & sett upon the Wardrobe, which he afterwards did. And four hundred pounds taken in allowance to S^r Gervas Elwis in February 1616 was not payd to him but S^r John Bingley received three hundred pounds thereof & hath since upon his owne noate without other order or direcçon taken it in allowance upon a privie seale of loane of the Earle of Salisbury, the other hundred pounds he changed to the Princee's cofferer. And fower hundred pounds

¹ ? Master of the Wardrobes.

delivered out in July 1615 for the Navie was by him afterwards changed to the old debt of Ireland whereof the said Sr John Bingley hath for many yeares past undertaken the managing. And one hundred & fifty pounds taken in allowance for the G^{ent} pençoners in September 1614 was by him transferred in September 1618 part upon debentors to Sr Richard Bingley & part on Gedeon de Lawne: And whereas five hundred pounds in August 1616 was sett upon Sr Richard Morrison K^t Lieutenant of the ordinance as part of the money due to the office of ordinance for provision brought into the said office & for wages due to the workmen there it appeared that the same was never paid to the said Sr Richard Morrison, but the same being money assigned for soe great a service soe nearly touching the safety & defence of the realme was by the appointment of the said Sr John Bingley paid to one Sexton for a debt supposed but not proved to be due by the said Sr Richard Morrison to Sr John Kinge in Ireland, & this was done without the privity or direcçon of the said Morrison, which this Court much misliked—that money assigned to such publique service should be soe unduely directed to the payment of a private debt of an officer albeit it had been proved a due debt, which was not; And divers other sum[s] of like nature have been either in such manner long after transferred or stand still blancke by means whereof and of the usage & power of the said Earle & Sr John Bingley to take out moneys without warrant or orders there is soe much disorder of late growne in the Excheq^r that it is almost impossible to charge accomp^tante[s] truly and exactly. It further appeared to this Honble Court that the said Earle whiles he was Lord Treasurer & the said Countesse his wife & Sr John Bingley have by collour of the office & places of the said Earle & Sr John Bingley unlawfully extorted exacted & taken from divers of his Ma^{ty}'s subjects diverse greate sum[s] of money for favor & furtherance touching the payment of such moneys as they were to receive from his Ma^{ty} & for other occasions incident to the severall places of the said Earle & Sr John Bingley as namely Sir Miles Fleetwood & others haveing annuitie[s] of five hundred marks payable out of the Excheq^r, whereof there was in arreare one thousand pounds & upwards for satisfaction whereof they had often sued but in vaine: the said Sir Miles Fleetwood & the rest contracted with Michaell Humphreys the Earle's servant to give the said Earle five hundred pounds for his favor to give way that the said annuity might be paid out of the Court of Warrds whereupon the said Earle gave way thereto & the said five hundred pounds was paid & converted to the said Earle's use. And Henry Stapleford a purveyor beeing to receive out of the Excheq^r two thousand pounds to the intent to obteyne payment thereof, having beene long delayed, gave to Sr John Bingley, who dealt as a broaker for the said Countesse, & was used as an instrument to such purposes, two hundred & fifty pounds which he received from the said Sr John. and att another tyme being to receive another thousand pounds to the intent to obtain payment thereof gave another hundred pound to Sr Thomas Howard Sonn to the said Earle & Countesse & one hundred pound to Sr John Townesend who delivered over to the said Countesse or disposed it by her appointment. Likewise the L^d Ridgeway in August 1614 gave unto the said Countesse one hundred pound in gold & a cupp of gold of one hundred pound value & promised

to give yearly four hundred pounds (viz) two hundred pounce to the said Earle & two hundred pounce to the said Countesse and accordingly payd the same one yeare. All which was done & promised to procure orderly payment of the money payable for the armye in Ireland & to gain the favour of the said Earle being displeas'd with the said L^d Ridgeway for his repining at deteyning out of former payments the severall sum[s] of four thousand pounds & two thousand and one hundred pounds before mentioned. Likewise S^r Richard Wingfield K^t now Viscount Powerscourt & Marshall of Ireland beeing to receive seventeen hundred pounce for the entertainment of himselfe & severall companies of souldiers in Ireland gave to the said S^r John Bingley three hundred pounds to obtayne a payment of the said money which was performed and the said three hundred pounds delivered by Bingley to the said Countesse. And whereas S^r Henry Dockwray K^t now Trear at Warrs in the realme of Ireland was to receive from his Ma^{ty} two thousand pounds upon a privie seale given to S^r James Sandilands K^t and transferred to the said S^r Henry Dockwray, the said S^r Henry haveing beene delayed many yeares & could not obteyne payment although he offered to accept of one thousand & five hundred pounce for the whole debt: at last he being to goe for Ireland, by the meanes of the sayd S^r John Bingley gave to the said Countess two hundred pounce and another hundred pounce to S^r John Bingley & had two letters into Ireland one from the said Erle & another from the said S^r John Bingley for the receipt of one thousand and five hundred pounds and for keeping & deteyning the same to his owne use as part of the said two thousand pounds upon which letters he received the one thousand & five hundred pound & intended to have kept to his own use, but howsoever there was such warrant given touching the said one thousand & five hundred pounce yett the same one thousand & five hundred pounce contrary to the tenor of the said letters for which the said S^r Henry Dockwray had given the said suñ was put upon the accompt of the army & the said S^r Henry Dockwray charged therewith as with money received for the army. And thereupon it being bruted amongst the army that S^r Henry Dockwray had received their pay he was enforced, to prevent a mutiny, to disburse the whole one thousand and five hundred pounce which he had received to his own use amongst the army, & the said S^r Henry Dockwray never had any other satisfaction by the means of the said Earle Countesse & S^r John Bingley. And whereas the said Earle was indebted to one John Cotton in five hundred pounds & one George Feriott was to receive a debt of tenn thousand pounds from his Ma^{ty} the said Feriott, upon an agreement with Humfreys the Earle's servant, caused the said debt of five hundred pounds to be secured to Cotton and thereby the said Earle's bond was discharged & he freed of the said debt of five hundred pounds to Cotton: And whereas Benjamin Henshawe was to receive great suñs of money from his Ma^{ty}, the said Henshawe by the meanes and mediaçon of S^r John Bingley his brother in law contracted with the said Countesse that for tenn thousand pounds to be paid to the said Henshaw in hand or secured to be payd to him with interest he would discharge twelve thousand pounds of his debt & the two thousand pounds overplus should goe to the benefitt of the said Countess whereupon the said Henshawe procured his Ma^{ty} to be acquitted

of twelve thousand pounds debt whereof the said Henshawe waived noe part; but tallies for twelve hundred pounds being leavyed upon the farmers of the Custome, the whole money from the said farmers was paid and disposed to the use of the said Earle & upon his occasions & in lieu thereof the said Henshawe received from the Countesse three thousand pounds in money and security by the Lord William Howard's bond for seventy thousand pounds whereof one thousand pounds was afterwards paid with his Ma^{tyes} money taken out of the receipt by warrant of the said Earle for a pressing service as is aforementioned. Alsoe John Huld being to receive a debt of fower thousand pounds was long delayed & by such delay forced to give the said Countesse fower hundred pounds which he payd to the said Sir John Bingley for the said Countesse before he received the fower thousand pounds, but afterwards when Huld was to be examined for the same upon the Comission of Enquire the same Countesse sent backe the said fower hundred pounds to the said Huld to the intent that if he were questioned thereof by the Commissioners he should swear that he gave it not but that he offered it and that was refused. Alsoe Sir John Spillman K^t being to receive three thousand pounds out of the Excheq^r the said Earle borrowed one thousand pounds thereof upon the bond of the said Earle & the Lord Walden but the money being not paid & S^r John Spillman often demanding his money was put of by the Countesse upon pretence that the Earle being Lord Treasurer should doe him a greater favour & procure him a suite from his Ma^{ty} whereupon the s^d S^r John Spillman delivered the s^d bond to the s^d S^r John Bingley with this caution that he should not deliver it up but upon payment of the money or a valluable suite obtained; but the said Bingley having gott the said bond did deliver it up to the Countesse and the s^d Spillman could never obtaine his money nor yett the bond nor any recompense therefore by any suite or otherwise. And one Gray having obtained a reference from his Ma^{ty} to the said Earl touching a grante of certaine concealed lands to be made by his Ma^{ty} to the s^d Gray, the said Gray gave for the said Earl's favour therein five hundred pounds part whereof was paid to Sir John Townesende whoe disposed it by appointment of the said Countesse and the residue was allowed to the Earl upon accompt with S^r Nicholas Salter. And whereas S^r David Murray K^t in the year 1617 was to receive three thousand pounds upon a privy seale & often resorted to the said Earle to have the same the said Earle given at first faire words and promises did neverthesse put him of with many delaies; and at last gave him such answer as the s^d S^r David Murray beinge hopelesse to receive his money was enforced for two thousand pounds to sell the said privy seale of three thousand pounds to S^r Arthur Ingram K^t, who dealt therein for the said Countesse & by her direction, whereupon the said Earle speedily made a warrant for payment of the whole three thousand pounds. And whereas the said Earl before he was Lord Treasurer had borrowed of the farmers of the Customes the sum of ten thousand pounds & had made them a lease of certain of his lands in Oswestry in the county of Salop for their security, afterwards when the said Earle came to be Lord Trêr, the said farmers sent the said Earle a new yeares gift of five hundred pounds but the same was rejected as not enough & then they were dealt with all on the behalfe of the said Earle

and Countesse to allowe & give unto the said Earle a yearly sume of five & twenty hundred pounds out of the customs over & above the rent & farm to His Ma^{ty}, which the farmers refusing, they were pressed to give two thousand pounds yearly; and that being also denyed, very indirect courses were used to enforce them thereunto, for not only the saide Earle withdrew his countenance & favour from them in the despatch of their business but also the said Countesse pretendinge that the said Earle was to use the said lease, made unto them for their security as aforesaid, at a tryall or some like occasion, gott the said lease from the said farmers upon promise that it should either be delivered again or else they should have other good security for their money but the lease being delivered to the said Countesse was cancelled, & noe other security would be given for the said money, but the said Earle utterly refused to give them any newe security & at last the farmers, to avoid the Earle's displeasure & such inconveniens as they might fall into, were content & did agree to allowe him fiveteene hundred pounds yearly for seven yeares if he should soe long continue Lord Trēr, and they contynue the farme of the Customes, to be defalked out of the said debt of ten thousand pounds & the interest to be due for the same. Moreover whereas the said Earle had much opposed himself against the Merchant Adventurers of the old Company yet after findinge that it was his Ma^{ty}'s pleasure to restore them to there trade, the said Earle himselve received of them from the hands of Mr. Towerson then deputy thirty three hundred pounds in gold for his favour & to the intent that he should not oppose against them. Alsoe the said Earle received of Sr Miles Fleetwood Receiver of the Court of Ward^{es} & Liveries the sume of one hundred pounds which was given for the favour of the said Earle, & to the intent he should not press the s^d Sr Miles to pay such moneys as came to his hands, unto the said Earle, or by his assignment, but suffer them to be paid as in former tymes upon such privy seales as his Ma^{ty} should appoint, & because the said Earle began to press him in that kind the s^d Sr Miles fearinge his Lordship would be too great for him did send him one thousand & one pounds to work his peace. And also Peter Bland gave the said Countesse a debt of eighty three pounds & six shillings & eightpence to be remitted & spared from the loane of five hundred pounds which he, as other citizens did, should have lent his Ma^{ty}: And William Lewis paid to the Earles' use two hundred & tenn pounds for a confirmation of certaine fees but he obteyned not the suite nor his money again. And whereas William Curteene beinge to receive a great debt from his Ma^{tie} made long and earnest suit for payment, the said Curteene was urged by Sr John Townesend K^t to buy certaine of the Earle's lands in the north part & out of the price he should be paid his debt, which he refused, because they were over rated above three thousand pounds whereupon the Earle shortly after sent for him & reviling him threatened him with a premunire, but the said Curteene departinge was againe urged and dealt with by the said Sir John Townesend to buy other of the Earle's lands lyinge in Dorsetsheire, which the said Curteene also refused for that those lands were as much overrated as the first, and when he would not yeild to take the lands att those unreasonable rates he was at last tould that for three thousand pounds he should have payment made him of his debt & should

have a great freind of the said Earle &, if he refused so to do, the witt of man could not helpe him to his money. Nevertheless the said Curteene refused to give soe much & therefore could never get any satisfaction thereof by the said Earle's meanes or warrant. And divers other like oppressions & exactions have been done by the said Earle & Countesse & their agents by cullour and countenance of the said Earle's place & greatness; And albeit many of the said summes soe corruptly & extorsivelie taken were not contracted for or received by the said Earle himself & by his own hands, but by the Countesse or other instruments, yet some of the corrupcions being acted by himselfe, this Honourable Court holdeth him faulty in the rest; for that it was evidently proved that untill the suitors gave or promised the said corrupt reward they could gett noe order from the said Earle for their despatch; but the said bribes & rewards beinge given to the said Countesse the Earle forthwith gave order for their satisfacon. And it also appeared that the moneys soe taken were converted to the Earles use either for payment of his debts or other occasions whereby it is eident that the said Earle himself was guilty of the said corrupcons. And for Sir John Bingley's particuler extorccons & exacons in that kind for his owne proper gaine besides his com[mission] & usual course of brookage for the said Countesse it appeared to this Court that one Paul Furrey about fowre years past being to receive one thousand pounds by privy seale waited four years or thereabouts for payment but could not gett it, whereupon being out of hope otherwise to obtaine his money he gave S^r John Bingley one hundred & tenn pounds & then had a speedy course & a tally stricken upon the farmers of the customs & was asseynd to receive his money from them. And Sir David Murray having solicited Sir John Bingley for payment of the arrearages of a pencon amountinge unto two hundred & forty pounds he procured him payment of one hundred & sixty pounds thereof to himself, but against the will of the s^d Sir David Murray defaulted forty pounds thereof to himselfe. Also Thomas Procter beinge to receive fower hundred pounds of the arrearages of a certain pencon out of the Excheq^r Sir John Bingley by composicon defaulted one hundred pounds thereof to himselfe, and paid to the said Procter only three hundred pounds. Sir Toby Calfeild² beinge to receive four & twenty hundred pounds for wages in Ireland S^r John Bingley tooke of him three hundred pounds to procure satisfacon of the rest. And S^r Francis Cooke being to receive six hundred pounds for his paie in Ireland did allow out of it fiftene pounds in the hundred to Sir John Bingley for procuringe payment, which he defaulted out of the six hundred pounds. And whereas S^r Robert Tias was to receive six hundred seaventy four pounds fourteen shillings & four pence out of the Excheq^r S^r John Bingley, without warrant from Tias, many years since gott it into his hands causeing it to be certified in the weekly certificate from the Receipt as if it had beene paid to Tias, whereas himselfe had it in his hands. And albeit Tias did continually send to & importune S^r John Bingley to satisfy the same, which he often promised, yett did he protract & delay the same soe exceedingly that albeit he were solicited for it first & last well nere a hundred tymes yett did he deteine a great part thereof untill after his commyttment by the Lords Commissioners for

² Caulfield.

inquiring of the abuses of his Ma^{ties} Treasure. And since his said conynttment he paid two hundred & thirty pounds thereof & three & twenty pounds thereof is yett unpaid. Alsoe Sr John Spillman being to receive money out of the Excheq^r gave Sr John Bingley a bill of one hundred pounds to procure him payment. But the said Sr John Spillman faylinge to pay the said one hundred pounds att the day & beinge after to receive other money out of the Excheq^r the said Sr John Bingley refused to lett him receive it unless he should first pay the said one hundred pounds upon the said bill, which the said Sr John Spillman beinge not provided to doe pawned a ringe to Sr John Bingley worth above a hundred pounde, & he keepeth both the ringe & the bill, and yett hath done nothing for the said Sr John Spillman and the said Sr John Bingley hath had from him thirty pounds & teene pounds at a tyme to procure the said Earle's hand to orders & warrants for the payment of money. Sir Allen Apsley within six yeares last past hath given Sr John Bingley six hundred & sixty pounds besides an usuall New Yeare's giift & to obtain payment of money due for victuallinge his Ma^{ty's} Navy. And of divers others, his Ma^{ty's} subjects, the like sums for the like favour have been extorted and unlawfully taken by the said Sr John Bingley. It appeared also by the Recorde of the Exchequer & by deposiçõs of wittnesses that payment of pençons, privy seals of gifts, & such as might better have bene foreborne were soonest & most frequently paid, for that they brought in profit by those kind of gratuityes, whiles the Navy, the Army in Ireland, & other most waighty & necessary employments for the safety of the kingdome & honour of the King & State were left unfurnished and unpaid, & the Treasury exhausted another way. Upon the readinge of all which proofs & the defence & allegaçõs of the defts being freely and deliberately heard & discoursed the Court taking grave & mature consideration of the same & duly weighing all the circumstances thereof was of opinion & did pronounce the said Earle the Countesse his wife and Sir John Bingley to have dealt in the premisses very unfaithfully and not accordinge to the duty & trust reposed in them by his Ma^{tie}. And that the s^d Earle had much offended in the s^d matters of the ordinance & the Allom workes in manner as aforesaid to his Ma^{ties} great loss which he ought to & make good; & that the said defendts had likewise highly offended in misemploying his Ma^{ty's} Treasure, wronging his Ma^{ty's} subjects in manner as aforesaid leadinge to the hazard of the State, the dishonor of his Ma^{tie}, & oppression of his people; for which several offences the Court hath ordered decreed and adjudged that the said Thomas Earle of Suffolk the Lady Katherine his wife & Countesse be committed to the Tower there to remaine, at there owne charges and apart, during his Ma^{ty's} pleasure; & shall pay a fine of thirty thousand pounds to his Ma^{tie}[s] use And that the said Sr John Bingley be comitted to the prison of the Fleete & pay to his Ma^{ties} use a fine of two thousand pounds.

Jo. ARTHUR dep: Cler: .

THE JOURNAL OF PRINCE RUPERT'S MARCHES, 5 SEPT. 1642 TO 4 JULY 1646.

THIS paper (now Clarendon MS. xxviii. 129) was drawn up for the use of Clarendon when he was writing his History of the Rebellion, but did not reach him till he had already completed the

first version of that work. He received it about April 1648 from Mr. Harding, one of the grooms of the bedchamber to the prince of Wales, as a contribution from Prince Charles. In a letter to the prince, dated 16 April 1648, Clarendon returns thanks for the great honour I have lately received from your Highness by Mr. Harding in the very useful Memorials of Prince Rupert's marches, by which the precise time of all actions appears, and many material circumstances may be recollected by a reasonable memory.

Harding does not seem to have been himself the author of this journal; at all events he was not with Rupert in August 1644, as the author of the notes appears to have been.¹ Mr. Warburton in his life of Prince Rupert (iii. 234) suggests that the somewhat similar collection of notes he quotes as Prince Rupert's diary may have been compiled by Dr. Watts, the prince's chaplain. Watts or some other person about Rupert no doubt drew up this also, and probably by the direction of the prince, who liked to have such memoranda of his actions in his possession. Whoever was the author, it contains a large amount of valuable information for the military history of the war, and helps to fix the dates of some of the undated letters in Rupert's correspondence.

C. H. FIRTH.

PRINCE RUPERT'S JOURNAL, IN ENGLAND: FROM SEPTEMBER 5.
1642 TO JULYE 4. 1646.

The Journall of his Highnesse Prince Rupert's marches and headquarters in England: from September 1642 till his coming away.

1642.

September 5. From Leycester to Quinniborow,² on Munday.

8. Thursday night he went with the Horse to Harborow: and back to Quinniborow next morning.

12. Munday, to Bunnye to Mr. Perkin's howse.

13. Tuesday, to Sir John Harper's of Swarson: and the King was come from Nottingham to Darbye.

17. Satterday, to Sir Harvey Bagot's of Feild in Staffordshire: but the Prince went to the King and came next daye to Feild.

19. Munday, marcht all night thorow Wolverhampton.

20. Tuesday, to Bridgenorth in Shropshire.

22. Thursday, to Bewdlye in Worcestershire.

Poick feild. 23. Fryday, the Victorye in Poick feild. After which, wee marcht away all night.

24. Satterday, to the Baron of Burfords by Tenburye.

25. Sunday, to Ludlow Castle. A false alarme.

26. Munday, to Haughmond, 3 miles beyond Shrewburye. The King came to Shrewbury, and began his Levyes.

October 10. Munday, from Shrewsbury to Shefnall.

11. Tuesday, to Wolverhampton.

¹ Clarendon, *Rebellion*, viii. 100.

² Queniborough.

13. Thursday, to Mr. Moselyes at Mere in Envile parish, in Staffordshire.

14. Fryday, to Mr. Folyes of Sturbridge, in Staffordshire.

17. Munday, to Kings Norton, in Warwickshire.

18. Tuesday, to Solihull. The King came with the Foote to Meriden heath: where wee had the first appearance of an Armye.

19. Wednesday, to Barswell.³ The King to Killingworth Castle.

20. Thursday, to Mr. Morgan's of Weston.

21. Fryday, to Dunchurche. The King to Southam in Warwickshire.

22. Satterday, to my Lord Spencer's of Wormylaiton. The King to Edgecott.

Edgehill. 23. Sunday, the Battle of Edgehill. The armyes all night in the feild.

24. Munday, towards night, Prince to Wardington: King to Edgecott.

25. Tuesday night, the Prince back to Edgehill to discover: but the Enemye were gone back to Warwick.

26. Wednesday, to Adderburye, to Sir William Cobbs. King to Aino.

27. Banburye taken. Thursday.

28. My Lord Sayes howse taken. The King went to Woodstock.

29. Satterday, the King and Prince Rupert went to Oxford.

31. Munday, the Prince to Abingdon.

November 2. Wednesday, to Henlye upon Thames.

3. Thursday, the King came to Benson.

4. Fryday, to Maydenheade, the King to Reding.

7. Munday, Windsore Castle summoned. After which, the Prince went to Eggam: and the King came to Maydenheade.

9. Wednesday, to Oatlands. King to Colebrooke.

10. Thursday, the Parliamentiers came to treat at Colebrooke, the Prince went to Eggam.

Brain. 12. Satterday, to Brainford. The King to Hounslow. That ford. night was one of the Parliament Regiments of Foote cutt off: and another next morning: and the Kingstone boates blowne up.

13. Sunday night wee retreated: standing all night in Battaglia on Hounslow heath. Kingstone entred.

14. Munday, to Walton. King to Oatlands.

18. Fryday to Yateleye in Hampshire. The King to Bagshott.

19. Satterday, to Pangborne. The King to Reding.

21. Munday, to Abingdon: where the Troope quarterd.

22. Tuesday, back to the King at Reding.

29. Tuesday, back with the King to Oxford, to winter quarters.

December 5. Munday, to Tame, in Oxfordshire.

6. Tuesday, faced Ailesburye.

7. Wednesday, back to Oxford.

22. Thursday, marcht all night to Deddington.

³ Berkswell.

23. Fryday, Sir Charles Lucas chased the Enemye from Banburye : marcht back thorow the towne : quarterd at Mr. Chamberlins.

24. Satterday, Christmas Eve, back to Oxford.

Januarye 6. Fryday, marcht all daye and night.

7.⁴ Satterday, faced Cirencester, in Gloucestershire. The Erle of Hertford came too late to the tother side. That night, wee marcht away to Biberrye : stayd there for Prince Maurice.

8. Sunday, back to Oxford.

21. Satterday, to Kirtleton.

22. Sunday, to Bracklye, in Northamptonshire.

24. Tuesday, to Daventrye.

26. Thursday, to Southam, in Warwickshire.

28. Satterday, to Butlers Marston by Edgehill.

29. Sunday, to Shipton on Stoure.

30. Munday, laye all night in the feild at Halling, by Sudelye Castle.

Februarye 1. Wednesday, to Northlech in Gloucestershire.

Cirences- 2. Thursday, Cirencester taken by assault.

ter. 6. Munday, back to Biberrye.⁴

7. Tuesday, home to Oxford.

22. Wednesday, to Lamborne in Barkshire.

24. Fryday, to Newberrye.

25. Satterday, to the Marquesse of Winchester, at Basing.

26. Sunday, to Hungerford in Berkshire.

Marche 4. Satterday, to Cirencester.

5. To Malmesburye in Wiltshire.

6. Munday, to Chipping Sodburye in Gloucestershire.

7. Tuesday night, on Durdam Downe, by Bristoll.

Bristoll. 8. Wednesday morning, advancing towards Bristoll, wee heard how Mr. Butcher and Mr. Yeoman's plott was discoverd : so wee instantly faced about to Chipping Sodburye.

9. Thursday, to Malmesburye.

10. Fryday, home to Oxford.

18. Satterday, to Abingdon.

19. Sunday, to Tetsworth.

20. Munday, to Denton in Buckinghamshire.

Treaters 21. Tuesday, the little skirmish before Ailesburye. That
to Oxford. night, back to Oxford : whither Northumberland &c. came from the Parliament to treate.

22. (Newes of Sir Waller's taking Malmesburye : and of my Lord of Northampton's death.)

24. Fryday, to Lechlade in Gloucestershire.

1643.

25. Satterday, to Cirencester : next day was Malmesburye quitt : and the Prince went thither, and came back at night.

27. Munday, to Oxford : but the Troopes to Northlech.

⁴ This night, we sawe the strange fire falling from heaven, like a bolt ; which with severall cracks, brake into balls, and went out, about steeple height from the ground.

- 29. Wednesday, to Chipping-Norton.
- 30. Thursday, to Shipson on Stoure.
- 31. Fryday, to Stretford upon Avon.

Aprile 1. Satterday, to Henlye in Arderne, in Warwickshire.

Birmi- 3. Easter Munday, Birmicham taken by assault.
cham.

- 4. Tuesday, to Wasall in Staffordshire.
- 5. Wednesday, to Kank.⁶
- 8. Satterday, to Lichfeild.
- 16. Sunday, our attempt upon the Cloase, repulsed.
- 20. Thursday, the first mine in England sprung.

Lichfeild. 21. Fryday, Lichfeild Cloase entred.

- 22. Satterday, marcht back to Colsill in Warwickshire.
- 23. Sunday, to Henlye in Arden.
- 24. Munday, to Oxford : and to the King at Wallinford.
- 25. Tuesday, the fight before Reding, back to Wallinford.
- 27. Thursday, Reding delivered to Essex, by Col. Feilding.
- 28. Fryday, King and Prince back to Oxford.—Newes of Sir W. Waller's taking Hereford.

Maye 1. Munday, the camp beyond Culham bridge by Abingdon, begun.

- 4. Thursday, the Prince to Abingdon.
- 7. Sunday, marcht all night to Newberrye.
- 8. Munday, pursued the Enemyes 4 miles : and back to Abingdon.
- 18. Thursday, 2 Regiments of horse sent after the Enemye, towards Farindon : the Prince marcht out 4 miles : and returnd that night to Abingdon.

19. Fryday, to Oxford.

—That daye, Prince Maurice and Marquesse Hertford, sett out from Oxford towards the West : 3 Regiments of Horse, and Colonel Bamfeild's Regiment of Foote, being marcht a weeke before.

June 2. Fryday, marcht all night to Pangborne.

- 3. Satterday, back to Abingdon : and that night to Oxford.
- 8. Thursday, towards Stoken church, to view the Erle of Essex : returned by night to Abingdon.
- 10. Satterday, Essex came to Tame.
- 12. Munday, the Prince ledd out a partee to quarter twixt Tame and Oxford : back that night to Oxford.
- 23. The Parliamenters plunderd Whatelye : whereupon our men were recalld to theyr old quarters.

17. Satterday, marcht all night to Chinner.

Chalgrove. 18. The victory in Chalgrove feild.

- 25. Sunday, Colonel Hurryes action at Wickham.
- 27. Tuesday, to Sir Thomas Cogan's at Blechinton.
- 30. Fryday, to Buckingham.

Julye 2. Sunday, the skirmish at White bridge in East Clayton feild.

- 6. Thursday, drew out of Buckingham : and all night in the feild.
- 7. Fryday, to Sir Rowland Egerton's at Farthingo.

⁶ Cannock.

8. Satterday, to Daventrye.
 9. Sunday, after dinner marcht all night to Lutterworth in Leyecestershire to fynd my Lord Grey.
 10. Munday, marcht all night to Southam: but the Prince went to Stretford upon Avon to the Queene.
 The victorye at Rownd-way downe. 13. Thursday, to Edgehill. Thither came the Queene: and to her the King. They with Prince Rupert quarterd at Sir Thomas Popes at Wroxton. Our Troope at Warmington.
 14. Fryday, came with the King and Queen to Oxford.
 18. Tuesday, to Mr. Dutton's of Sherborne in Glocestershire.
 19. Wednesday, to Cirencester.
 20. Thursday, to Hampton-Roade.
 22. Satterday, to Chipping-Sodburye.
 23. Sunday, to Westburye Colledge.
 24. Munday, Captayne Hills of Redland.
 26. Wednesday, Bristoll taken by assault.
 Bristoll. 27. Thursday, the Prince entred Bristoll.

August 1. Tuesday, the King came from Oxford to Bristoll.

8. Tuesday, the King and Prince to Cirencester.
 Seige of Glocester. 9. Wednesday, the King to Panswick: Prince to Pringnash. That daye was Glocester summond.
 10. Thursday, the King came to Matson howse, a mile from Glocester.
 26. Satterday, King and Prince to Oxford (with Montrose).⁷
 28. Munday, both back to theyr old quarters before Glocester.

September 3. Sunday, the Prince to Northlech.

4. Munday, faced Essex by Stowe in the Wold. Wee retreated and that night, lay in the feild by Compton.
 5. Tuesday, retreated still: to Cheltenham first; and after 3 howers to Glocester. That night was the seige reysd: and wee marcht to Panswick.
 6. Wednesday, the armye drew up on Birdlip hill. King went to Coberlye; the Prince to Withington.
 7. Thursday, the armye drew up by Sudely Castle: the King laye there: the Prince at Mr. Stratford's at Farncott; 14 miles from Glocester.
 11. Munday, the King to Evesham: the Prince to Sheriff Loch.⁸
 12. Tuesday, King and Prince to Pershore.
 13. Wednesday, Prince to Whitelady-Aston.
 Essex surprises ours in Cirences-ter, and marches hard for London. The Prince followes him. 14. Thursday, King back to Evesham: Prince to Charlton.
 16. Satterday, the Prince and armye marcht all night. The King rested some howers by Broadway.
 17. Sunday, the King to Alscott: the Prince to Stanford.
 18. Munday, the skirmish on Auborne chase. The Prince laye at Wantage: his familye at Lamborne.
 19. Tuesday, to Mr. Doleman's of Shawe: the King to Newberrie.
 20. Wednesday, the first battle of Newberrie.

⁷ This may belong to preceeding line.

⁸ Sheriff's Lench, three miles north of Evesham.

21. Thursday, the Prince beat the retreating Parliamentiers, at the heath's end, 3 miles from Newberrye.

23. Satterday, King and Prince home to Oxford.

Associated Counties and Newport Pannell. 27. About this time the Prince went to Towcester: and stayd there part of October. At which buisynesse I was not. Before this was the mistake about Newport Paganell; which spoyled all.

December 24. Munday, Christmas Eve, the Prince marcht from Oxford to relieve Grafton house: quartered at Biceter.

25. Christmas daye; to Sir Charles Sherlyes at Ashwell Parke.

26. Wednesday, hearing Grafton taken, wee returned to Oxford.

Januarye. Satterday, 19, marcht all night to Brill.

20. Sunday, before Ailesbury; where Ogle's plott was to betraye us. This discoverd, wee returnd to Oxford. This day the Parliament begun at Oxford.

Parlament at Oxford. 23. Wednesday, the Prince sate in the Parliament: being a few dayes before made Erle of Holdernesse, and Duke of Cumberland.

The Shrewsburye Marche.

Februarye 5. Tuesday, the Troopes advanced to Chipping Norton.

6. Wednesday, the Prince came thither from Oxford.

7. Thursday, to Pershore.

8. Fryday, to Worcester.

15. Fryday, to Bridgenorth.

19. Tuesday, to Shrewsburye.

After a few dayes, Broughton's and Tillier's Regiments came thither.

March 1. Fryday. Some Horse sent to Wem-gates: returnd to Shrewsbury.

4. Munday, some Foote sent before. The Prince marcht all night towards Draiton.

5. Shrove Tuesday, he beate Mitten and Fairfax from thence, and quarterd there that night.

6. Ash Wednesday, after dinner, home to Shrewsburye.

10. Sunday, to Chirk-Castle in Denbighshire.

11. Munday, to Chester.

The Newark marche. 13. Wednesday, back to Chirk Castle.

14. Thursday, to Shrewsburye.

15. Fryday, to Bridgenorth.

16. Satterday, to Wolverhampton.

17. Sunday, to Lichfeild.

18. Munday, to Ashby de la Zouch.

19. Tuesday, to Remson in Leycestershire.^s

20. Wednesday, quarterd all night in Bingham feild.

Newark 21. Thursday, the Seige of Newark reysd: and the famous victorye over Meldrum.

22. Fryday, Meldrum marcht away. Gainsborow forsaken.

23. Satterday, Lincoln allso forsaken by the Rebels.

^s Rempstone, just within the Notts border

1644.

27. Wednesday, from Newark back to Bingham.

28. Thursday, to Dunnington.

29. Fryday, to Ashby de la Zouch.

31. Sunday, to Lichfeild.

Aprile 2. Tuesday, to Brewood in Staffordshire.

Longford house. 3. Wednesday, to Newport in Shropshire. That daye Longford house taken by composition.

4. Thursday, home to Shrewsburye.

22. Easter Munday, to Ludlow.

23. Tuesday, to Evesham.

24. Wednesday, to Oxford.

Maye 5. Sunday, back to Evesham.

6. Munday, to Worcester.

7. Tuesday, to Ludlow.

8. Wednesday, home to Shrewsburye.

The Yorke Marche.

16. Thursday, to Petten, neere Wem.

18. Satterday, to Whitechurch.

20. Munday, to Draiton.

21. Tuesday, to Betlye in Staffordshire.

22. Wednesday, to Sandbach, in Cheshire.

23. Thursday, to Knotsford.

Stopford. 25. Satterday, Stopford¹⁰ passe wonne, Latham seige reysd.

27. Monday, to Eccles in Lancashire, by Manchester.

Bolton. 28. Tuesday, Bolton taken by assault.

30. Thursdays, to Berrye. Lord Goring's Horse came to us.

June 4. Munday, back to Bolton.

5. To Wiggen. Major Gen. Washington sent towards Leverpoole.

6. Wednesday, to Prescott.

Leverpoole. 7. Thursday, faced Leverpoole, quartered at Banck hall.

11. Whitsunday, Leverpoole taken by assault.

12. Tuesday, to Latham hall, my Lord of Darbyes.

13. Wednesday, back to Leverpoole.

19. Tuesday, agayne to Latham.

Eccleston. 21. Thursday, to Croston.

22. Fryday, to Preston in Andernesse.

23. Satterday, to Ribchester.

24. Sunday, to Clithero in Yorkshire. A mile short of this, was Mr. White's hall taken, Col. Daniel left Governor in Clithero Castle.

25. Munday, to Gisburne.

26. Tuesday, to Skipton Castle. By the waye, was Sir William Lister's howse (Thornton hall) taken: wee stayed at Skipton to fixe our armes, and send into Yorke.

29. Fryday, to my Lord Fairfaxes at Denton, by Otlye.

30. Satterday, to Knaresborow.¹¹

¹⁰ Stockport.

¹¹ If it were still worth while, attention might be called to the absence of any reference to the skirmish in which Cromwell's son was said, in the *Squire Papers*, to have been killed.

July 1. Munday, quarterd all night in ¹⁰ woode. - York seige
 York reysd : and they boate bridge gayned, over the Ouse.
 battle. 2. Tuesday, the battle on Hessam Moore. Prince laye in
 York.

3. Wednesday, wee retreated to Thrusk.¹¹ By the waye, Sir Robert
 Clavering came to us with 1,300.

4. Thursday, to Richmont : staying for the scattered troopes.

7. Sunday, to Bolton castle.

9. Tuesday, to Ingleton, by Ingleborow mount.

10. Wednesday, to Hornbye.

12. Fryday, to Garstang in Lancashire.

14. Sunday, to Preston in Andernesse.

17. Wednesday, back to Garstang.

18. Thursday, to Kirkby Lansdale, in Westmerland. Newes there of
 Sir John Mainyes action in Fournesse.

20. Satterday, back to Garstang.

21. Sunday, to Preston.

22. Munday, to Latham hall. Erle of Darbye gone.

23. Tuesday, to Leverpoole, the Horse passed at Haleford.

25. Thursday, the Prince came to Chester.

August 20. Tuesday, to Ruthen in Denbighshire.

21. Wednesday, to Mr. Lloyd's at Rhewedog, by Bala in Merioneth-
 shire.

August 23. Fryday, to Newtowne in Montgomeryshire.

24. Satterday, to Prestine in Radnorshire.

25. Sunday, to Monmouth.

26. Munday, to Bristoll.

September 23. Sunday, the Prince went from Bristoll to the King at
 Sherburne Castle in Dorsetshire.

October 6. Sunday, back to Bristoll.

13. Sunday night, by water crosse the Severne, to St. Peers in Mon-
 mouthshire. Northerne Horse came.

20. Sunday, back to Bristoll.

²¹ Newber- 28. Munday, to Marsfeld. In the waye the Prince to the King
 rye battle. to Bath ; then comme from the fight at Newberrye.

30. Wednesday, bothi Kinge and Prince to Marsfeld : whence the
 King to Cirencester, the Prince to Sherston.

31. Thursday, to Cirencester to the King.

November 1. Fryday, King to Oxford, Prince to Burford ; whither,
 Generall Gerard came with his forces.

Master of 2. Satterday, Prince to Oxford, made Master of the Horse.

the Horse: 6. Wednesday, the armye drawne up on Bullington Greene the
 and General. King declar'd Prince Rupert Generall.

7. Thursday, King and Prince to Benson.

8. Fryday, to West Illeslye in Berkshire.

³¹ New- 9. Satterday, the third battle of Newberrye. Dennington
 berrye reivid. wee quarterd in the feild, about the Castle.

battle. 10. Sunday, King and Prince to Lamborne.

¹⁰ Name omitted ; read ' Galtres.'

¹¹ Thirsk.

12. Tuesday, both to Marlingborow. Here (upon differences) the Prince desird his passe; but all reconcild.

16. Satterday, the Prince gave the passe to the Trumpetter, for the Parliament Treaters.

17. Sunday, King and Prince to Hungerford. Thence the Prince sent who reysd the seige of Basing.

19. Tuesday, the Prince to Shefford.

20. Wednesday, to Wantage. The Prince drew out to surprise Abingdon: but the night was so sharpe, the soldjers could not marche. So the Prince came home after midnight.

My Lord 22. Fryday, to Faringdon to the King.

Digbyes 23. Satterday, the King and Prince to Oxford. The Prince
treatie faced Abingdon, till the King marcht by. Treaters came with
with Brownne. 27 propositions.

1645.

My notes of the marche to relieve Beeston Castle, are lost: these following; I took out of Mercurye.

March. In March 1644, the Prince went from Oxford to Ludlow (there receyed letters of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's victorie at Pomfrett.

Aprile 9. Wednesday, to Bridgenorth. Sir Marmaduke Langdale came.

10. Thursday, to Wenlock.

To Draiton.

To Whitchurch.

To a little village.

19. Tuesday, Prince Maurice joynd on Stimmye heath, and Sir W. Brereton after 17 weekes seige, left Beeston Castle. (Valett
Beeston Castle. governer) The Prince quarterd a daye or twoe by it.—whence
back,—

To Whitchurch.

To Draiton.

To my Lord Newport's house, at High Arkall.

To Newport in Shropshire, where hearing of the Worcester and Herefordshire Associations, he marcht

To Bewdlye.

To Bromyard. There hearing of a Rendezvous in a village, he marcht out of the waye surprizd and freed the people, and went that night to Hereford. Thence,—to Monmouth, and Bristoll.

19. Satterday, from Bristoll to Mr. Moores of Crick, by Black rock.

20. Sunday, to Monmouth.

21. Munday, to Hereford. Thither my Lord Astely brought the Prince word, of Massyes being at Ledburye. The Prince marcht
Lcdburye. all night: and

22. Tuesday, rowted Massye. home to Hereford. After this staying a while at Hereford, he went to Oxford.

Leycester marche.

Maye 7. Wednesday, the King to Woodstock: the Prince to Chipping Norton.

8. Thursday, King to Stowe in the wold. Prince to Bradwell.
9. King to Evesham, Prince to Mr. Cannings of Bradfarton.
10. Satterday, King to Great Ingborow. Prince to Auster.¹²
11. Sunday, King and Prince to Droit-Wich.
14. Wednesday, King to Cottenhall : Prince's family to Bromesgrove : but himselfe went to beseige Hawksly howse : and quarterd before it, on Hawkslye Tuesday night.
15. Thursday, Hawkslye house taken : quarterd by it that night.
16. Fryday, King to Bishburye : Prince to Wolverhampton.
17. Satterday, King to Chatwin hall : Prince to Newport in Shropshire.
20. Tuesday, the King to Bitten : Prince to Draiton.
22. Thursday, King to Parkehall : Prince to Stone.
24. Satterday, King to Eaton in the Claye. Prince to Uttoxester.
25. Sunday, King to Tidbury castle : Prince's family to Burton on Trent.
27. Tuesday, King and Prince to Ashbye de la Zouch.
28. Wednesday, the King to Cotes : Prince to Loughboro'.
29. Thursday, King and Prince to Elston by Leycester, but the Prince laye in the workes before Leycester.
- Leycester taken. 31. Satterday, the Prince tooke Leycester by assault.
- June 4. Wednesday, from Leycester to Greate Glen. (the Northern Horse marcht back towards Newark.)
5. Thursday, to Harborow.
6. Fryday, to Daventrye.
8. Sunday, the releife of Cattell sent towards Oxford.
12. Thursday, King and Prince back to Harborow.
- Naseby. 14. Satterday, the Battle of Naseby. All retreated thorow Leycester : and by morning to Ashby de la Zouch.
15. Sunday, to Lichfeild.
16. Munday, to Wolverhampton.
17. Tuesday, to Bewdlye.
19. Thursday, to Hereford.
26. Thursday, the Prince rode to Cardiff : and so past the Severne to Barnstaple, to the Prince of Wales.
- July 1. Tuesday, the King from Hereford to Aburgavenny.
3. Thursday, to Ragland Castle.
4. Fryday, Prince Rupert came into Bristoll.
18. Fryday, to a Rendezvous of Somerset Clubmen.
21. Munday, to another on Lansdowne, by Bath. the Prince dynd in Bath : thence by Bristoll, past Severne to the King at Crick.
22. Tuesday, back to Bristoll.
24. Thursday, the King from Ragland to Cardiff.
Bridgenorth taken by Fairfax.
and Bath.
30. The Scotts beseige Hereford.
- August 5. Tuesday, the King went from Cardiff to Brecknock : and so on towards the North, as farre as Doncaster.

¹² Inkberrow and Alcester.

11. Munday, the Prince marcht all night.

12. Tuesday, by 4 in the morning beate up a Horse-quarter at Durslye in Glocestershire. And that forenoone tooke Mr. Trautman's howse at Stinchcomb. In it 46 slayne, 16 taken and Captaine Mathewes. Wee lost 2 and 2 wounded. Lodgd at Berklye Castle.

13. Wednesday, to Wotton under edge.

14. Thursday, to Chipping Sodburye.

15. Fryday, Alarmd Bath: and beate them in twice. That night back to Bristoll.

(Newes that Sherborn Castle was taken.)

Bristoll. 22. Fryday, Bristoll besieged by Fairfax.
September 2. By the King's coming to Worcester, the Scots rise from Hereford.

10. Wednesday, Bristoll taken by assault.

11. Thursday, the Prince convoyed to Stoke.

12. Fryday, to Little Bradmanton.

13. Satterday, to Cirencester.

14. Sunday, to Burford. Our Convoe left us. Layd down armes.

15. Munday, to Oxford.

17. Wednesday, by letters from the King, the Lords dischargd the Prince of his Generallship: cashierd his Regiments of Horse and Foote, his troope and firelocks. That daye was Colonel Legg discharged of his government of Oxford, and confin'd to his howse.

October 8. Wednesday, the Prince went to Banburye towards the King, then at Newark.

21. Tuesday, the Prince by 2 Courts of warre at Newark, cleerd from Bristoll. And by the King too. (Printed.)

December 9. Tuesday, the Prince returnd into Oxford; was reconcild, (The King after this, desird him to reyse him a Lifeguard of Horse: which the Lords crosst, except he would doe it about Lichfeild.

The Lords allso cashire 400 horse, whome the King commanded the Prince to take on).

March 1. Sunday, a partee from Oxford, surprise Abingdon: but were beatten out.

7. Satterday, the Prince sent to take Abingdon: but the designe and word (*now or never*) were betrayd.

8. Sunday morning, back to Oxford.

10. Tuesday, the newes of Sir Thomas Fairfaxes defeate in the west, provd contrarye.

21. Satterday, my Lord Astely defeated at Stowe in the wold.

1646.

Aprile 26. Sunday, Woodstock howse deliverd up.

27. Munday, the King went from Oxford.

Maye 1. Fryday, the Parlamentiers appeare before Oxford.

Oxford 2. Satterday, theyr Rendezvous on Bullinton greene.

seige. 6. Wednesday, the Prince sent to Fairfax for a passe.

11. Munday, the Towne summond: the Prince slightlye shott in the shoulder.

12. Tuesday, the King came to the Scotts at Newark.¹³
 15. Fryday, the Lords at Oxford, concluded to treatie.
 16. Whitsun eve, they sent to Sir T. Fairfax to name his Commissioners.
18. Whitsun Munday, 11 Commissioners sent out to treatie.
 20. Wednesday, the Parliamentiers putt off the
 22. Treatye, till Fryday 22.
 23. Satterday, the Parliamentiers brake off the Treatye: for our demands were too high.
 30. Satterday, Fairfax sends propositions into Oxford.
- June 1. Munday, they drawe our water from the mills.
 4. Thursday, our Treatters sent out agayne.
 20. Satterday, the surrender of Oxford concluded.
 22. Munday, the Prince from Oxford to Wickham.
 23. Tuesday, to Maydenheade.
 24. Wednesday, Midsummer day, to Oatlands. Oxford deliverd.
 27. Satterday, the Prince receyv'd the Parliament orders to be gone out of the Land.
29. Munday, he removd to Guildford.
 Julye 1. Wednesday, the Prince Elector came to Guildford.
 2. Thursday, the 2 Princes removd to Rigate.
 3. Fryday, to Maydstone: whence post to Dover.
 4. Satterday, post to Dover.
 [5]. Sunday morning, Prince Rupert tooke ship: and so to Calais.
 8. Wednesday, Prince Maurice went in Van Trump's ship, to Holland.
 10. Fryday, the Prince's servants and horses, landed at Calais.
 12. Sunday, they rode to Boloigne.
 13. Munday, to Nampon.
 14. Tuesday, to Abbeville.
 15. Wednesday, to Poict.
 16. Thursday, to Beavois.
 17. Fryday, roade all night.
 18. Satterday morning to Beumont.
 23. Thursday, to St. Germain: where wee found the Prince our Master.

Blessed be God, for his and our deliverance, from the Parliament.

[Endorsed :—] Prince Rupert's Journall.

Sent to Lord Clarendon by the Prince.—See his letter of thanks to him of 16 April 1648.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER ON THE ACTION AT VALEGGIO, 30 MAY 1796.

THE despatches of Colonel Thomas Graham, who was sent on a special mission to the Austrian army in Italy in 1796, are of interest to the student of Bonaparte's first great campaign, as revealing the internal difficulties of the imperialist forces. Colonel Graham arrived at the front on 22 May, when General Beaulieu's

¹³ A mistake. 5 May was the date of the king's coming to the Scots. Cf. Macray's edition of Clarendon's *Rebellion*, x. 33, note.

troops had evacuated Lombardy and had fallen behind the Mincio, except at the Venetian fortress of Peschiera, which they occupied. Holding a line of not more than twenty-five (English) miles, protected by a considerable stream, and flanked by the fortress of Mantua and by that of Peschiera on the north, Beaulieu might, it would seem, have held the French at bay until reinforcements were sent to him by the valley of the Adige. As is well known, he completely failed to hold that position, although there were only two places where the river could easily be crossed, Goito and Valeggio. Graham found that the Austrian force, 'particularly of the centre, was so divided into small corps at a distance from one another that no support could be given in time to any point where an impression was made.' The result of these bad dispositions was the forcing of the bridge at Borghetto-Valeggio by the grenadiers of Lannes (30 May) and the evacuation of the line of the Mincio by Beaulieu's forces. As to General Beaulieu himself, Graham's words are as follows:—

The General, from personal intrepidity, seems to expect too much from troops in the state of mind his are in, and his Language (publicly) is not conciliatory or encouraging either to officers or soldiers. His temper, naturally warm, seems irritated by disappointment, and he is anxious to vindicate his own plans by throwing the whole Blame on the execution; on the other hand, if I may judge from the very improper language held unreservedly by the officers I have conversed with, the army has no confidence in him. But as there is much of party intrigue in the Austrian army, I don't know that this sentiment is at all general, but almost all I have met are *Frondeurs*, and hope that he will be removed from the command; a younger man, more capable of *bodily* exertion, would be desirable in such a war as this.

Colonel Graham then encloses the following original letter which he had received from General Beaulieu.

J. HOLLAND ROSE.

Roveredo, le 1 de juin, 1796.

Monsieur,—J'ai reçu la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire par la quelle vous me demandé [*sic*] que je vous fasse voir le raport public de la journée du 30. Jusqu'icy je n'ai point encore fait mon raport circonstancié, j'ai averti à Sa Majesté l'Empereur que l'armée du General bona parte [*sic*] forte de vingt ou vingt deux mille hommes avoit forcé le passage du mincio à valegio ou pres, les personnes qui se sont trouvées dans la cohue du desordre des equipages fuyant dans valegio, ont naturellement cru à voir tout, ces tas de valets, que tout etoit perdu! Et il s'en est fallu de beaucoup, un seul bataillon de Strosoldo qui etoit près du pont a été rompu apres quoy [*sic*] il a été rassemblé en grande partie, et que l'armée n'a rien Souffert que l'ennemi n'a pas osé l'entamer ce jour là dans sa retraite parce que huit escadrons venant de Coito¹ que j'avais fait rappeler, pendant que j'étois encore a valegio, arriverent

¹ Goito.

precisement derriere le flanc droit de l'ennemi, qui fut completement renversé par les notres et un regiment du Roy cavalarie napolitaine,² nos hulans qui étoit de cette partie prirent plus de 80 chevaux pour leur part et firent prisonniers quatre officiers français entre lesquels un aide camp [*sic*] du General bona parte, et tous les corps placés en differens points de ma tres petite armée rejoignirent à Castel novo qui étoit le point ou tout devait se rendre et le lendemain matin le 31 passerent l'adige ou l'etsch dans l'ordre le plus parfait avec toute mon artilerie et munitions, &c. Cette journée ne couta à Sa Majesté L'Empereur que deux ou tout au plus trois cent soldats tués eschappés ou blessés qu'on ne put emporter n'ayant point de chariots suffisamment, les français chanteront de nouveau victoire, mais quand le public scaurat qu'ils étoit au moins double de ma force ayant laissé vingt deux bataillons dans Mantoue. qui n'étoit nullement present à cette affaire et quand ils calculeront ce qui leur en a coûté pour m'avoir fait aller un jour ou deux tout au plus tard vers le tirol que l'ennemi veut tourner par differens points, et qui m'auroit pressé extremement d'y arriver, Car je ne suis resté aux environs de mantoue q'autant de tems qu'il me falloit pour aprovisionner pour longtems une forteresse si consequente, j'avois parfaitement satisfait a cet objet, et je me tire du mieux que je puis vers ou dans quelques parties du tirol que je croirai convenir pour le mieux de ma defense en attendant des secours,³ mais ma troupe est toujours en ordre, et j'ai à ce que je viens d'apprendre deux canons de moins—très bien, patience, ma santé est délabrée et j'ai été sombre ce n'étoit seulement parce que ma troupe devoit se retirer parcequ'une double force l'y forçoit, mais encore par la fatalité que ce jour là meme je ne pouvois me tenir a cheval et c'est la seule chose qui m'a fortement affecte, je tacherai dans ces grandes difficultes de ne pas m'anoncer malade je vous prie de m'excuser sur le Stile, je souhaiterais que vous me fassiez parvenir de la cour de Vienne un ordre de vous avoir a mon quartier general, parcequ'il depend uniquement de Sa Majesté de determiner les officiers des Cours aliées qui peuvent rester au quartier general de ses armées je n'ai d'abord considéré que les deux lettres de recommandation dont les noms seuls doivent me determiner aux egards, qu'on doit à ces personnes memes, mais les choses seroient en regle si j'avais un ordre de ma Cour, en attendant soyez persuadé que je ferai mon possible pour que vous puissiez etre a votre aise dans un pays si embarrassé, j'ai l'honneur d'etre avec la plus parfaite consideration, Monsieur,

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur,

B. BEAULIEU.

Vous me feriez un mauvais service si vous rendiez ma lettre publique elle n'est pas faite pour cela—vous pouvez parler de ce qui a rapport à l'affaire du 30.

² Added at the side are the words 'qui attaqua avec le plus grand valeur' [*sic*].

³ The unreality of this excuse is exposed by Colonel Graham's despatch of 26 May from Verona, where he reports: 'From what he (Beaulieu) said to-day, he will very probably make the attack if a favourable opportunity offers.'

Reviews of Books

Western Civilisation in its Economic Aspects (Ancient Times). By W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D. (Cambridge: University Press. 1898.)

No handy book for students on the economic aspects of ancient history has until now been published in English. It would seem that the system of publication by series, now so much in vogue, produces enterprises of this kind, upon which perhaps the authors would otherwise never have ventured. A scholar may devote his lifetime to the investigation of the economic phenomena of antiquity, and produce a book of permanent value; but no one, whether scholar or not, would attempt a brief survey of a subject so infinitely complicated and obscure, without the necessary stimulus of the series. Whether this stimulus is always a wholesome influence may well be doubted. But it is at least too universal to be now easily condemned; and when it succeeds in tempting so great an authority as Dr. Cunningham to break new ground we may be duly thankful. He is, of course, thoroughly trained in the study of detail, in the handling of materials, and in the building of conclusions; thus armed he turns his attention to a new region of phenomena, where detail is far more perplexing, the material terribly scanty, and the conclusions of necessity doubtful and precarious, and gives us his results in a little volume of two hundred pages. The book is interesting and stimulating, and occasionally lights up some old familiar event of ancient history with a new meaning. If it should induce some English scholar with full as well as wide knowledge to devote himself to a scientific investigation of the same ground, it will have its reward.

Dr. Cunningham thus describes the general object of his work (p. 7):—

It is our object to see how each of the great peoples of the past has supplied its quota to the western civilisation, which is being so rapidly diffused over the whole globe at the present time; we want to detect the special contribution of each. This we are most likely to observe if we try to examine the condition of each country or people at the epoch when it had attained its highest point of industrial and commercial prosperity. As we approach each civilisation in turn we shall be able to describe what was available from its predecessors; we can see what were the characteristic features of the economic life of that people, and what new bent it gave, at the zenith of its greatness, to the energies of our race.

Thus each chapter should answer in general terms two questions: first, how far the people whose history it surveys left their mark upon others in the way of commerce, art, or conflict; and secondly, whether the economic basis on which their strength and prosperity rested, and

which enabled them to go beyond themselves and to influence others, was in reality a sound one. In fact these two questions, though perhaps not always kept very clearly apart, are before the reader throughout the book. Egypt, Judaea, Phenicia, Greece, Carthage, and Rome are successively put to the test, and their success or failure in contributing to civilisation is explained on economic grounds. There are two inevitable drawbacks to this plan, arising simply from the want of space: first, the impossibility of illustrating fully from the original authorities the economic characteristics of a people, which makes a reader tolerably familiar with ancient history either doubtful about the conclusions reached or eager for more appetising facts; secondly, the want of a single preliminary chapter in which the conditions of a sound economic basis of state life, and the relation of economic to political history, might be shortly yet adequately expounded. But we must be thankful for what we can get; and the second of these two drawbacks may be partly counteracted by the parallel volume by the same author on 'Modern Civilisation.'

It may be useful to give a brief sketch of the results of Dr. Cunningham's survey. To begin with, it needs a specialist to criticise in detail his account of Egypt; but on the other hand it is hardly possible to make a serious mistake in outline in dealing with a land that has at all times been influenced by much the same peculiar physical conditions. Dr. Cunningham sees in Egypt a case of a country which, in spite of the highest internal prosperity, failed, as China has failed, to plant its civilisation in other lands. The economic basis was stable in an unusual degree: the land attracted foreigners and their trade, and yet the area of Egyptian influence was never really extended beyond the Nile valley. Dr. Cunningham would seem to account for this by reference to the 'industrial tyranny' of the Pharaohs, who by controlling the Nile, and with it the entire food supply, destroyed competition and enterprise, and established a gigantic system of state socialism which does not reappear in history until the Roman empire, and then in a much milder form. The contrast between Egypt and Phenicia is remarkable. The Phenicians also failed to stamp their own civilisation on the world, but from a very different cause; their commercial instinct was strong, their enterprise overran the Mediterranean, but they seem never to have known what to do with their wealth. 'They had low personal ideals and did not aim at giving scope for the development of human life.' Wealth is but a means for the attainment of nobler ends, and the Phenicians made it an end in itself, and thus failed to make a solid contribution to civilisation. Dr. Cunningham explains this failure chiefly by the inherent weakness of the race itself on the social and political side, but also by the economic weakness of the whole Phenician system of trade, which exhausted the resources of other lands, while depending itself upon them for its existence.

Egypt, then, and Phenicia must be taken as failures in the history of civilisation, or at any rate owed such success as they had to the genius of the gifted race which absorbed and utilised all they had to teach. With the rise of the Greeks we enter on a new era.

Though all the elements of material prosperity were developed before their time, the Greeks gave them a new character; they took a step towards solving

the problem of reconciling the drudgery of labour with the liberty of the labourer. They realised that man's life does not consist in the abundance of the things he possesses; eager as they were in the development of commerce and the race for wealth, they treated material prosperity as a means to an end—an opportunity for the maintenance of political and intellectual life.

The two chapters on Greece, which are in fact a commentary on the paragraph here quoted, are very interesting reading, and will be found useful and suggestive to students of Greek history. Dr. Cunningham applies here with great force his favourite theory of the advantage in regard to civilisation of a system of money economy over one of natural economy. At Athens, for example, which is indeed taken as more typical of the Greek state than is perhaps historically justifiable, the introduction of coined money laid the basis of economic freedom, and therefore also of political freedom; even the very evils incidental to the new system—*i.e.* such economic distress as befell the small landholders in Attica, and afterwards in Italy—contributed indirectly to this end (pp. 100 foll.) This fruitful idea must be left to Dr. Cunningham's readers to apply and test; one critical suggestion may, however, be offered on his treatment of Athens. He is very severe on Pericles for spending the capital of the Athenian empire on unproductive public works—on magnificent buildings that were 'artistically superb but economically worthless'—when it should have been spent on the encouragement of trade and the development of the resources of the empire; and to this he seems to attribute the decay of Athenian enterprise and vivacity. This strikes the reader as inconsistent with his own criticism of the misuse of their capital by the Phœnicians. But putting aside this inconsistency, and also the question of the morality of Pericles's treatment of the tribute, is not the real economic reason of Athenian degeneracy in the fourth century B.C. to be found rather in the destruction of the free population of Athens during the Peloponnesian war?

Of the Alexandrine period Dr. Cunningham notes that from an economical point of view it was chiefly useful in diffusing over the Mediterranean the economic lessons that had been learnt from Greece; the city-state survived in it to do this work, as a centre of economic activity rather than of political life. It might have been as well to point out more clearly the fall in the *quality* of civilisation which was brought about in this very process of diffusion; the Greek cities degenerated as civilising agents, and exerted on Rome an influence which was far from healthy. But the causes of this depreciation of the quality of civilisation are by no means easy to explore, and lie for the most part outside the range of economic history.

Of the Roman republic Dr. Cunningham has little to tell us that is new; certain chapters in Mommsen's 'History,' and more recent works, such as Beloch's 'Italischer Bund,' have supplied him with his material. The right point is seized when he tells us (p. 155) that the whole of the economic tendencies of the time were against the small farmer, and that his disappearance opened the way for the organisation of large estates on the Carthaginian model. To this cause, and to the great wars, which produced a gigantic system of government by contract, and to the consequent waste of the material resources of the empire at the hands of an invincible

section of capitalists, the downfall of the republic is, economically speaking, to be attributed. There was no longer a sound economic basis, and the power of upholding and communicating civilisation was all but lost to the Romans. It was the work of the first century of the empire to do its best to reconstruct the economic basis, to reform finance, and to revive industrial life throughout the Mediterranean world. In this it partially at least succeeded, until from a variety of causes, very difficult to explain, at any rate in a short space, the civilising power was once more lost, and the empire became a huge governmental semi-socialistic system, accumulating in its own hands all the available treasure, which was growing less and less, swallowing up private capital and destroying private enterprise, and even thus unable to defend the inheritance of civilisation against barbarism. We return at last to something like a system of natural as opposed to money economy, and to a complete dependence of the people on the government, which reminds us of Egypt.

The loss of vigour may be partly ascribed to the very effectiveness of the administration, which led the people to depend on Caesar for all the affairs of daily life, and helped to impair a spirit of municipal self-help. They lost their interest in public life; men had outlived the old inspirations and enthusiasms, and none had taken their place as motives of individual effort or the will to live (p. 192).

Enough has been said to show the general drift of Dr. Cunningham's survey, and the thread that runs throughout it. As a first attempt to view the whole ground of ancient history from the point of view of a philosophical historian of economic phenomena it is deserving of all respect, and should be useful in turning the attention of students of antiquity to an aspect of their subject which has been too much neglected.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

Relationum Hungarorum cum Oriente Gentibusque Orientalis Originis Historia Antiquissima. Scripsit Comes GÉZA KUUN. Vols. I. II. (Claudiopoli. 1893-1895.)

In these two volumes, which were printed some time before they were given to the world, Count Géza Kuun has developed a new theory of the early history of the Magyars. It is a theory which must claim the attention of every student of the subject, and the author has collected a mass of curious information. But he has thrown his material pell-mell into pages of endless Latin (which would often provoke the jeer of a 'well flogged' schoolboy), seldom broken by a paragraph; the book is without form, and the chapters are chaotic; it has been no moderate labour to discover Count Kuun's views, and it has been still harder to distinguish the arguments by which he supports them. It would have been well if he had taken a lesson even from that not too well arranged work of his countryman Hunfalvy, 'Magyarország Ethnographiája.'

Count Kuun seeks the original home of the Hungarians in the regions west of Mount Altai, and adduces a number of proofs which he flings together in his disorderly fashion. They may be arranged as follows:—
(1) Arguments from the Hungarian language: (a) Mongol words, which point to geographical contact with Mongolians (e.g. *harang*, bell, Mong.

kharanga; *kebel*, bosom, Mong. *χebeli*, &c.); (b) Persian words (e.g. *farkas*, wolf; *arany*, gold; *nād*, reed), which can be explained by residence in regions where the ancient Hungarians were within reach of Persian contact on the Jaxartes; (c) the well-known close relation of Magyar with Ostjak is a proof of a long cohabitation of the Hungarians with the Ostjaks in *regione transaltaica*. (2) The name *Hunugur* or *Hunogur*. Count Kuun holds that by the *Hunuguri* Jordanes¹ meant the Hungarians, and that the name is equivalent to Hun-ugrian. This name, then, would point to a residence in regions in which the Huns dwelled. (3) Traces of the name of the Magyars in the neighbourhood of Altai, e.g. the river *Madschar*, and the name *Mecrit* (which he explains as Megyer, with the plural *t*-termination) in Marco Polo. (4) The names of the Hungarian dignitaries *kende* and *gila* (mentioned by Ibn Rusta and Constantine Porphyrogenetos) point to contact with the *Turcae montibus Altai accolentes*. (5) Reminiscences of this Mongolian period preserved in old Hungarian chronicles: *Mangalia* in Simon de Kéza is a tradition of the Mongolian name, and *Corosmina* preserves a recollection of Khwārizm. Besides these arguments one or two minor considerations are urged which I need not reproduce.

Towards the end of the first century A.D. Count Kuun takes his Magyars from the region of Altai ('probably' through the province of Tomsk) into *Jugria*, which corresponded to the greater part of the provinces of Perm and Tobolsk. Here they abode till the sixth century; and about the year 558 most of them moved southward into Northern Baškiria, which had been recently vacated by the Avars. Towards the end of the eighth century they migrated again, crossing the Volga near the place where the Khazars afterwards built the fort of Sarkel, and, descending the left bank of the Tanais, established themselves in the Khazar empire in the ancient Alania, between the river Kuban and Mount Caucasus. Here they remained for about fifty years apparently, and then in 836-7 migrated to Lebedia, between the rivers Don and Dnieper. Here they remained for another period of fifty years, and in 889 part of them returned to Alania, while the rest moved westward into the regions between the Danube and Dnieper, which they called *Atel-kuzu*. Here they remained eight years, and in 897 advanced to the permanent conquest of Pannonia.

Till we reach Lebedia the whole of this reconstruction floats in the air. The truth is that we have not data for arriving at anything more than the most general notion of the whereabouts of the Hungarians before they appear in Lebedia in the ninth century. Count Kuun has failed to present in an intelligible shape his arguments for the residence in Baškiria, and I will not attempt to criticise this part of the hypothesis. To the residence in Alania, where the Magyars had again an opportunity of intercourse with the Persians, Count Kuun attributes a number of Hungarian words supposed to be of Persian origin (pp. 92, 95); and here it was his duty to explain on what principle he discriminates the Persian words adopted in Mongolia from the Persian words adopted in Alania.

¹ The count at one time places Jordanes in the fourth century, at another in the sixth. He always places Theophanes in the sixth (i. 86, 91, 94).

It was in Alania, he holds, that the Hungarians were first called by the perplexing name of *Σαβαρτοιάσφαλοι*, which, according to the emperor Constantine, they bore in Lebedia. As to the origin of this name, he makes a new suggestion. Zeuss thought it was a name given to the Hungarians by the Scandinavians in Russia and Constantinople, and explained it (an explanation approved by Rösler) as *Swartias-phali, die schwarze Falen*, swarthy Fales. The name Fali was applied by German chroniclers to the Cumans, and seems to have been borrowed from the Russian name for the Cumans—Polov'tsi. Count Kuun finds in *Σαβαρτοι* the name of the Sabir Huns (*Σαβήρ, Σάβειρες, &c.*), and he interprets *ασφαλοι* as a metathesis of Basal, an ethnic name (apparently hypothetical in this form) which he compares with the *Σκόθαι Βασιλήγιοι* of Herodotus, the *Βασιλαιοι (καὶ Ούργοι)* of Strabo, the *Βερζιλία* of Theophanes, the Barsalai of Barhebraeus, and various other *r* forms. The Sabiri and the 'Basal' were near neighbours of the Hungarians in Alania, and from association with these neighbours the Hungarians, in Count Kuun's opinion, were called Sabartoiaphaloi. This analysis of the word is as unsatisfactory as that of Zeuss; why should not the compound name be *Σαβαροβάσαλοι*? Since Count Kuun wrote the name has been discussed in Hungarian journals by W. Pecz, K. Fiók, and J. Thúry. None of their explanations is convincing; but Thúry has rendered a service by pointing out that the name *Sjavortik* in Armenian writers, who seem to refer to a portion of the Hungarian race in Armenia, must be taken into account.

Perhaps the most striking divergence of the narrative of Count Kuun from the received story is the inversion of Constantine's statements touching the residence of the Hungarians in Lebedia and Atelkuzu. According to Constantine they remained three years in Lebedia; and thus nearly sixty years are left for their sojourn in Atelkuzu (c. 839-897). Count Kuun prolongs the stay in Lebedia for over fifty years (837-889) and leaves only eight years for Atelkuzu. He does not give any definite statement of his reasons for thus setting aside the evidence of Constantine, but leaves us to deduce them from his ill-ordered narrative as best we may. (1) He quotes a short notice in the 'Annales Sangallenses Maiores' in the year 888 (889): *Et Arnulfus in regnum elevatur; in cuius temporibus Agareni in istas regiones primitus venerunt.*¹ He interprets (p. 135) *istas regiones* of Germany, and explains this notice by a further notice under 892 (*Arnolfus . . . Agarenos ubi reclusi erant dimisit*). He seems to imply the argument that *primitus* means 'the first time since they took up their abode in Atelkuzu,' for the invasion of 892 was not the first invasion of Germany; the Hungarians had invaded Germany in A.D. 862. For this earlier invasion Count Kuun quotes Hincmar of Rheims; he ought also to have quoted the notice in the same 'Annales Sangallenses Maiores,' a. 863: *Gens Hunorum Christianitatis nomen aggressa est*. It seems to me that the simplest explanation of *in istas regiones primitus venerunt* is this: it was in Arnulf's reign that the Hungarians occupied the lands which they held since 897-8—namely, Pannonia. But in no case can any inference as to the time of the settlement of the Hungarians in Atelkuzu be deduced from the chronicler of St. Gall. (2) Count Kuun refers to another passage in the treatise of Con-

¹ Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.* i. 77.

stantine Porphyrogenetos, which, as he reproduces it, would seem to support his theory: *Constantinus invasionem Patzinacitarum in Lebediam quinquaginta, alio loco quinquaginta quinque, abhinc annis factam esse . . . memoriae prodidit.* But in this passage (c. 37 *ad init.*) it is quite clear that Constantine refers to the Patzinak invasion of Atelkuzu, not to the previous invasion of Lebedia; for he uses the expression τὴν σήμερον παρ' αὐτῶν κρατουμένην γῆν. Moreover there can be no question about the date. First we have πρὸ ἐτῶν πενήκοντα, and then a few lines down (not quite *alio loco*) ὡς εἴρηται . . . ἔτη πενήκοντα πέντε. It is plain that in the former case πέντε has fallen out, and that, according to Constantine, the expulsion of the Hungarians from Atelkuzu happened fifty-five years before Constantine wrote this chapter. As he wrote c. 29 in A.M. 6457 and c. 45 in A.M. 6460 he must have written c. 37 in either of these years or in one of the two intervening years—that is, in 949, 950, 951, or 952. The date would, therefore, lie between 894 and 897. (3) The notice in Regino's chronicle is the most plausible attestation which Count Kuun could cite to support his theory; and he ought to have quoted it in full and put it in the forefront of his argument. Under A.D. 889 Regino states that the Hungarians *a Scythicis regnis et a paludibus quas Thanais sua refusione in immensum porrigit egressa est.* Taken alone this statement would naturally refer to the migration from Lebedia to Atelkuzu. But reading on further we discover that when the Patzinaks drive them out of those abodes they wander not between the Dnieper and Danube, but through the *Pannoniorum et Avarum solitudines*, and then invade *Carantanorum, Marahensium ac Vulgarum fines.* Now it was in 894 that the Hungarians first crossed the Danube and invaded Pannonia (cf. Dümmler, 'Ostfr. Reich,' iii. 443, for the chronology); and therefore the natural interpretation of this passage of Regino, taken in connexion with the evidence of Constantine Porphyrogenetos, is that Regino refers to the ejection of the Hungarians from Atelkuzu and not to their ejection from Lebedia, and that he confounds their old abode beyond the Dnieper with their more recent cis-Danaprian land.

The general outline of the reconstruction of the early history of his forefathers which this Magyar scholar attempts will be most easily seen by referring to the chronological table in vol. ii. pp. 64-7. The good indices to both volumes are a laudable feature, and the second contains in an appendix the original texts of the passages of Arabic (Persian, &c.) authors which are cited in the book.

J. B. BURY.

Law and Politics in the Middle Ages. By EDWARD JENKS, M.A.
(London: John Murray. 1898.)

It is a task of no slight difficulty that Mr. Jenks essays in applying the method of Maine to the elucidation of the course of political evolution during the middle ages. For this task, indeed, he possesses some admirable qualifications, a wide knowledge of the barbarian codes, a lucidity of thought and terseness of expression not unworthy of his model, and a happy ingenuity in illustration. In tracing an elaborate legal conception, such as property or possession, to its origin under the simple conditions of early Teutonic society he is quite at his best. But wide bird's-eye views of the legal and political growth of a thousand years have their dangers.

They can only be surmounted by a very unusual combination of lawyer and historian, and Mr. Jenks seems less at home in the history of the middle ages than in its law. In medieval society he detects two antagonistic forces at work; the state founded upon military necessities slowly and not without retrogression disintegrates a primitive clan system founded upon rigorous principles of religion and kinship. The 'Germania' discloses a society which has not yet got beyond the clan; the open fields of the Teutonic village community—Mr. Jenks is no Romanist—are unintelligible save as the shell of an exclusive gentile group, while the *Leges Barbarorum* exhibit the Germans painfully emerging from the trammels of such clan institutions as caste and the blood feud. They owe their emancipation to the appearance of the state during the period of the migrations in the shape of clan leagues under war chiefs. The state offers a more effective justice and it saps the exclusiveness of the communal group while setting up alongside it a system of individual ownership destined to swallow it up. But the Frankish monarchy checks the process by imperial pretensions which from the first are a 'mimicry and a sham,' the clan finds a new *avatar* in the fief, and the work of the state has to be gradually done over again. Only in England does the state win an early and a complete triumph over the decentralising unit; the Norman Conquest enables the crown to treat the whole kingdom as royal domain. The French kings ultimately succeed in eliminating the great feudal vassal, but without establishing the direct and uniform authority of the state over the individual subject. In Germany the fief ends by reducing the state to a shadow.

That the clan precedes the state is as little open to question as that the state cannot be said to be completely successful until it has secured the direct and entire allegiance of every subject. But one may feel a doubt first whether the Teutonic state is not older than Mr. Jenks assumes; secondly, whether the connexion between the decentralising forces with which it has had successively to reckon is quite so close as is here represented; and, lastly, whether at all adequate weight is given to the influence of non-Teutonic ideas and institutions upon the evolution of the modern state. Is it true, in the first place, to say that Teutonic society in Tacitus's day was still wholly in the clan stage? Mr. Jenks rather begs the question by rendering the *civitas* of the Roman historian not, as is usual, by 'tribe,' but by 'clan.'¹ The clan, he says, has a natural leader who represents its eponymous ancestor, while the subsequent 'leagues of clans,' Franks or Saxons, or whatever name they may take, being artificial groups, produce a new leader, the war chief, who may borrow the old clan title of king, but is more correctly *heretoch* or 'host-leader.' But where, it may be asked, was the natural leader of the clan in those *civitates* which were led not by a king but by elective *principes*; and what was the *dux*, who in war might replace the king, but the 'heretoch'? Was Theodoric 'the Amaling' a mere host-leader, or were the 'leagues of clans' less artificial than we are asked to believe?

The truth is that though clan ties were still powerful in the small German tribe of the first century A.D., other and opposing principles

¹ Elsewhere (*e.g.* p. 109) he sometimes describes the kindred who shared in the *vergild* as a clan.

were already at work substantially identical with those which Mr. Jenks attributes to the state. The hundred with its chief, its *princeps* or *ealdor*, bore distinct traces of gentile origin. But it was also a military or judicial subdivision of the *civitas*, which, so far from being itself a clan, was plainly engaged in a struggle with a much more primitive gentile system. Not only had it recognised the principle of compensation for the blood feud, but it had already drawn the distinction between *wer* and *wite* which Mr. Jenks attributes to the rulers of the later 'clan leagues.' 'National' peace had gained ground upon 'clan' peace. In other words, the state, in however modest a form, had already come into existence. The process was, of course, carried on at much greater advantage and much more effectively by the wider and less homogeneous *Stammesstaat* of the next period, but this need not imply any sharp antagonism between the *Völkerschaft* and the *Stamm*. Had it existed, the early and complete disappearance of the popular organisation of the former in the Frank state would be hard to understand. The English shires retained the old folkmoot of the *civitas*, but in what sense can they be described as clans? Hampshire contained both Jutes and Saxons, and vague appellations like 'settlers on the Willy' do not look like clan names.

What are we to make, then, of the assertion that in the growth of feudalism during the anarchy of the ninth century 'the clan gained upon the state'? Suppose we accept the identification of *civitas* and clan, what has it in common with the fief? Both are groups of warriors, says Mr. Jenks. Both administer a customary law not enforced by the state. The blood feud awakes to new life in the feudal appeal of battle. But is the resemblance more than superficial? The fief is certainly not 'founded on principles of religion and kinship.' Its law is not that of the clan, but a fragment of that of the state. Trial by battle is introduced into England by the state. The fiefs most dangerous to the state do not even coincide in area with the old 'clan,' and their particularism rests on a much wider basis. It is the *Stamm* duchies abroad, the 'heptarchie' kingdoms in England which most impede the growth of the large state. The Anglo-Norman kings revive the shire courts as part of their anti-feudal policy. Mr. Jenks himself goes so far as to admit in his final summary that 'the fief was a compromise between the state and the clan.' If that be so, how is it possible to maintain that 'so far as historical continuity is concerned we leap from the days of Clovis to the days of Henry the Fowler and Rodolph of Burgundy'? In thus affiliating the *fief* to the old *civitas* it is hard to avoid a suspicion that Mr. Jenks is led away by anxiety to demonstrate the unmixed Teutonic pedigree of the state. He quietly strikes out four centuries of history as having contributed nothing to its evolution. The Saxon and Capet kings were, he contends, set up, like Clovis, as host-leaders,' and used their military position to extend state authority over fiefs, as he and other 'heretochs' had done over clans. But is it any more reasonable to draw a sponge over the history of the Frank state because 'its kings and officials decked themselves—like a party of savages disporting themselves in the garments of a shipwrecked crew—with the titles, the prerogatives, and the documents of the imperial state' than it would be to leap over the reigns of our own early kings, who dubbed themselves *basileus* or *imperator*? Surely it was no small thing to have provided the

mould in which the French and German nationalities grew up and to have bridged over the gulf between the raw Teuton and the Gallic provincial. It is absurd to talk of Henry the Fowler reviving the Teutonic state of Clovis, when Germany owed to Clovis's successors its very existence as a national kingdom with a share in such civilisation as had survived the wreck of the Roman empire. Mr. Jenks's savages might still in the tenth century have been disporting themselves *in puris naturalibus* but for that four centuries' discipline. His treatment of the early stages in the growth of modern France also leaves something to be desired. The confusion of Hugh the Great with his uncle King Eudes may be only a slip, but it is more serious to describe the Capet kings as chosen merely to be leaders in war against the invading heathen. What heathen invaders had France to fear in 987? More than one reason has been given for the supersession of the Carolingians in favour of the Capets, but we do not remember to have ever before seen it represented as a Teutonic revival. The important part played by the church in the election of Hugh Capet is wholly ignored. Mr. Jenks's confident explanation of the way in which the crown became hereditary in Hugh's line affords a good instance of the danger of generalising on insufficient knowledge. 'The elective king,' he says, 'had hereditary domains, and when these went to his heir it was natural that the kingship should go with them.' We are not told why this did not happen on the death of Eudes, nor does Mr. Jenks seem to be aware that Hugh Capet procured the coronation of his son Robert immediately after his own, and that this precedent was carefully followed by subsequent kings.

While thus venturing to think that there are serious historical misconceptions underlying the main thesis of the book, it would be unfair to conclude without a further word of praise for its acute exposition of early legal ideas, and for the labour involved in the synoptic table of sources with which it is provided.

JAMES TAIT.

Œuvres de Julien Havet (1853-1893). Two volumes. (Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1896.)

THESE substantial volumes form a worthy monument to a scholar gifted with a critical faculty of the rarest kind, whose achievements in a short life of forty years placed him without dispute among the masters of Frankish diplomatic, a field which from the days of Mabillon downwards has attracted more of the energy of medieval critics than perhaps any other. The obscurity of the period to which the documents belong, the puzzles of their palæography, the often unsuspected activity of the forger, and the various questions (the hardest of all) about what is or may be half genuine, half forged, have acted as a powerful stimulus to make the study the best training school for the advanced diplomatist. In this work no one has done more than Julien Havet. The first volume consists of seven 'Questions Mérovingiennes,' which appeared in the 'Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes,' and all but the first, which was published before this Review began, have been summarily mentioned in our notices of periodicals. Any one of them would have made a critic's reputation; and of the results which Havet attained only one has been seriously

contested. This was his view that the *VIR INL* in the protocol of Merovingian diplomas was not part of the title (*vir inluster*) but of the address (*viris inlustribus*), and on this we are inclined to hold that he unduly pressed his doctrine of uniformity; the abbreviation probably standing sometimes for the one and sometimes for the other. The article of most general importance is the second, in which Havet demonstrated that nine documents of capital value for the earliest Merovingian history were fabricated towards the middle of the seventeenth century by Jérôme Vignier, as it seems for sport, much as 'Raoul Hesdin' forged his 'Journal of a Spy' three years ago. The last article, on the 'Actes des Evêques du Mans' (unfortunately left unfinished), is a penetrating study of a literature which has a special interest since Bernhard von Simson traced the forgery of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals to the diocese of Le Mans. Havet accepts this conclusion, but vindicates the character of the 'Gesta Aldrici' and the genuineness of the charters it contains. It is the 'Actus Pontificum' and the larger half of the documents found in it that bear the mark of falsification. So far, however, from being, as Simson held, from the same hand as the false decretals, they were concocted by an advocate of the *chorepiscopi*, probably by the *chorepiscopus* David himself, and put forth as a counterblast to the decretals, which had just then been published, between 850 and 856. Another result of Havet's work was, following upon the investigations of Bruno Krusch, to reconstruct the entire chronology of the Merovingian kings from the end of the sixth century onwards. We have indicated but a few of the matters comprised in this remarkable volume, in which the severity of the author's method is only surpassed by the lucidity of his exposition. The second volume is made up of reviews or portions of reviews—among them some acute criticism of Fustel de Coulanges—and a number of short articles. Among the latter is one of Havet's most brilliant papers, that in which, working from some ingenious hints of W. Schmitz, he succeeded in discovering the key to the cipher used by Gerbert in his letters. By this means he was able to give a completeness to his edition of the letters which was wanting in the previous editions. Nor should we omit to mention the notes and documents on the government of the Channel Islands from the thirteenth century onwards, which are largely derived from English sources and are of special interest to English readers.

REGINALD L. POOLE.

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By EDWARD GIBBON. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Appendices, and Index, by J. B. BURY, M.A. Vols. IV. and V. (London: Methuen & Co. 1898.)

THESE volumes of Mr. Bury's edition of Gibbon will be found, if possible, even more useful to the student than those which have preceded them. In the Byzantine history Mr. Bury is peculiarly at home; and, as the fourth volume contains Gibbon's account of Justinian, and the fifth the story of his successors till the Latin conquest, there is plenty of opportunity for the application of his great knowledge, which is nowhere more conspicuous than in the appendices dealing with the 'authorities.' We may mention too, as an admirable example of compressed information,

the page (v. 523) in which he sums up the characteristics of the periods of the later empire. Moreover in treating the chapters on Mohammad and the Saracen conquest he has, with the help of Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, brought together the results of modern research in a very convenient form.

Any general criticism of an edition with such an established reputation as this would be out of place. And, indeed, we have been able to discover but few, and those not important, points in which any correction or improvement could be suggested. Some of these may be mentioned for the use of the reader. A certain number of incorrect or imperfect statements by Gibbon have escaped Mr. Bury's eye, or perhaps he has not thought it worth while to comment on them. For instance, the coronation of Leo by the patriarch of Constantinople was hardly 'the first origin' of that ceremony (iv. 29, n. 75), as the story about Theodosius in Theodoret¹ shows.² On iv. 33, n. 88, it might have been added that the situation of the Lupercal is now ascertained, at the south-west angle of the Palatine.³ Gibbon's conjecture (iv. 313, n. 86) that the word *Βαυδαλάριος* (in Procopius's account of the defence of Rome by Belisarius) means 'standard-bearer' is not quite satisfactory; for it is not a proper formation from *bandum*, and Procopius elsewhere uses *Βαιδοφόρος* (e.g. B. V. ii. 10). Hagiology was not one of Gibbon's strong points. We may notice that St. Pulcheria belongs to the Roman as well as to the Greek calendar (iv. 29, n. 72), and that it is not true to say that Charlemagne appears as a saint in the former (v. 283). The statement too that Gregory the Great was the last pope to be canonised (v. 36) requires correction. Not to speak of a whole series of seventh and eighth century popes, beginning with Martin I, Pius V had been canonised more than half a century before the time when Gibbon wrote. Among the omissions we might suggest that in iv. 53, n. 139, Mr. Hodgkin's plausible conjecture (iii. 172) that Barbaria, Gibbon's 'Neapolitan lady,' was the mother of Augustulus might have been mentioned. The appendix on the geography of Italy in the Lombard period would have been made clearer by a map than by mere lists of names. And more might have been said with advantage on the importance of the imperial positions, as brought out by Diehl and Duchesne. The additional notes on the theological chapter (p. 47) are perhaps rather sparing, but the remarks on the 'Henoticon' (p. 128, n. 74) and on Justinian's ecclesiastical policy (p. 136, n. 94) are admirable.

With so many references absolute uniformity becomes difficult. Very few are omitted, but the inscription of Narses on the Ponte Salario (iv. 412) should have been referred to C. I. L. vi. 1199. Like other people, Mr. Bury has apparently only recently acquiesced in the spelling 'Cassiodorus' (iv. 522), for the name frequently appears as 'Cassiodorius.' Again, in his account of Victor (iv. 524 and note) he follows Mommsen in calling him 'Tonnennensis,' but several other forms appear in the notes. To judge by the reference on iv. 187, n. 63, the old edition of Mr. Hodgkin's work has been used, at least for the third volume. The misprints are so few as not to be worth mentioning.

G. McN. RUSHFORTH.

¹ *H. E.* v. 6.

² See *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*.

³ Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 131, n. 1.

The Preaching of Islam : a History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith. By T. W. ARNOLD, B.A., Professor of Philosophy at the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, India. (Westminster : Constable. 1896.)

THIS is not in any sense a history of Mohammadanism, or an account of the various developments of the religion. It is strictly limited to an examination of the manner in which Islam was propagated from the time of its founder to the present day—from the preaching of Mohammad at Mekka to the missionary organisation of Senousi in the Sūdān. The subject is of wide extent and great difficulty. The materials for many periods and countries are extremely scanty, and it is only by collecting the scattered notices of chroniclers and travellers that isolated instances are found from which general results may be presumed. The Arabic writers, as a rule, were too full of the material conquests of Islam to spare room for a description of the mode in which the new religion subjugated the minds of foreign peoples. Christian writers naturally did not dwell on a matter so painful to them as apostasy. Still there are stray notices here and there which throw a flood of light upon the methods of Muslim propaganda, and from these two general considerations it is possible to draw fairly probable conclusions. Mr. Arnold has accomplished his interesting but laborious task with remarkable success. His work is eminently that of a scientific student. He has gone to the Arabic authorities and the contemporary travellers, and has compared his results with the researches of the leading European scholars. His book abounds in references, and as a rule he uses his authorities with critical judgment, and discriminates between first- and second-hand evidence. Chinese scholars will perhaps question his wisdom in accepting so unreservedly the statements of M. Dabry de Thiersant, and most readers will be surprised to find ‘Sir John Mandevile’ quoted without any explanatory reservation. In a work dealing with many nations and languages we are prepared for a moderate proportion of slips and misapprehensions, but the number of such errors, or even of trifling misprints, is remarkably small. Mr. Arnold may be justly congratulated upon the production of so scholarly and comprehensive a treatment of a peculiarly complicated and contentious subject. He has ‘endeavoured to be strictly impartial,’ and if a bias in favour of Islam is detected, it is a natural result of reaction from the bigoted and fallacious ideas which have long prevailed.

The main conclusion sought to be established is that Islam has not been propagated, to any considerable extent, by the sword ; that the Koran does not countenance, but forbids, compulsory conversion ; that the doctrine of *Jihād*, commonly construed as indiscriminate and unprovoked war against the infidels, finds no justification in the Book of Mohammad ; and that Islam, on the whole and throughout most periods of its history, has advanced by its own theological and ethical merits, by the peaceful efforts of numerous independent missionaries, and by its usually tolerant rule. The common notion of the alternative offered by Muslim conquerors to the vanquished—conversion or tribute—is here properly explained. The tribute was not a tax on nonconformity. The *jizyah* ‘was not imposed on the Christians as a penalty for their refusal

to accept the Muslim faith, but was paid by them in common with the other dhimmis or non-Muslim subjects of the state whose religion precluded them from serving in the army, in return for the protection secured for them by the arms of the Musalmanans.' When the people of Ḥirah contributed the sum agreed upon, they expressly mentioned that they paid this jizyah on condition that 'the Muslims and their leader protect us from those who would oppress us, whether they be Muslims or others.'¹ Again, in the treaty made by Khālid with some towns in the neighbourhood of Ḥirah he writes, 'If we protect you, then jizyah is due to us; but if we do not, then it is not due.'² In pursuance of this principle, when the caliph Omar found himself unable to protect some of the conquered cities of Syria from the army of Heraclius, he paid back the tax, amounting to an enormous sum, out of the treasury, insomuch that the amazed Christians said, 'May God give you rule over us again, and make you victorious over the Romans; had it been they, they would not have given us back anything, but would have taken all that remained with us.' This on the authority of Abū-Yūsuf's 'Kitāb el-Kharaj.' The evidence is overwhelming that in the early days of Islām toleration towards Christians was a marked characteristic, and the Nestorians and Copts flourished under Mohammadan rule. Mere sumptuary regulations (and these probably a later growth) were trifles in comparison with toleration of creed and worship, and just and equal government.

The book will be valuable to historical students who are occupied with subjects other than oriental. Its larger part no doubt treats of Islam in Asia, Africa, and the Far East—where, by the way, it possesses a special importance in the present political juncture—but there are chapters of great interest relating to the spread of the religion in Europe, in Spain, in Turkey, Servia, Bosnia, and in Crete, where it formed a happy contrast to the selfish exactions of the Venetian rulers. One of the most curious chapters describes the conversion of the Mongol tribes to Islam, and as an example we may quote the following passage concerning the way in which the Russian government set about converting the Kirghiz of Central Asia to Islam, under a doubly mistaken notion of their race and creed:—

The Kirghiz began to be Russian subjects about 1731, and for 120 years all diplomatic correspondence was carried on with them in the Tartar language, under the delusion that they were ethnographically the same as the Tartars of the Volga. Another misunderstanding on the part of the Russian government was that the Kirghiz were Musalmans, whereas in the last century they were nearly all Shamanists, as a large number of them are still to the present day. At the time of their annexation to the Russian empire only a few of their khāns and sultāns had any knowledge of the faith of Islam, and that was confused and vague. Not a single mosque was to be found throughout the whole of the Kirghiz steppes, or a single religious teacher of the faith of the Prophet; and the Kirghiz owed their conversion to Islam to the fact that the Russians, taking them for Muhammadans, insisted on treating them as such. Large sums of money were given for the building of mosques, and multās were sent to open schools and instruct the young in the tenets of the Muslim faith: the Kirghiz scholars were to receive every day a small sum to support themselves, and the fathers were to be induced to send their children to the schools by presents and other means of persuasion.

¹ Tabarī, i. 2055.

² *Ibid.* 2050.

This extraordinary Muslim propaganda was going on at the very time that the Russian government was doing its utmost by 'other means of persuasion' to force Christianity on the Muslim Tatars of Kazan, when its officials were empowered to 'pacify, imprison, put in irons, and thereby unteach and frighten from the Tartar faith those who, though baptised, do not obey the admonitions of the metropolitan.' It should be added that Mr. Arnold's book is clearly arranged and subdivided; and besides numerous references it has a useful list of authorities, illustrative maps and tables, and a good index. In many ways it is a model publication.

S. LANE-POOLE.

The Cid Campeador and the Waning of the Crescent in the West.

By H. BUTLER CLARKE, M.A., Fereday Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. (*Heroes of the Nations.*) (London and New York: Putnam. 1897.)

IN the *Cid* Mr. Butler Clarke has a romantic subject to which he is able to do full justice. He has many qualifications for his task. He knows Spain and reads Spanish, and even seems to be equal to consulting the Arabic sources. He writes excellent English, and is possessed by a generous enthusiasm befitting the age of which he treats, or rather the age in which the legends he recounts took literary form. He has the great advantage of an unimpeachable authority to follow in the historical data, and has naturally found it impossible to improve upon Dozy's accurate, one may almost say final work. The result of careful study of Dozy, El-Makkari, the Spanish historians, the chronicle and poem of the 'Cid,' and the writings of Huber, Molina, &c., is a remarkably interesting, complete, and accurate account of the history and legends connected with the Spanish national hero. The defects of the book are really in the nature of the subject. It is almost impossible to give a clear narrative of the complicated history of the period, when the rivalries of the several Christian kingdoms of the north are almost as confusing as the succession and relations of the minor Muslim kingdoms after the fall of the caliphate of Cordova. Mr. Clarke has done his best to make them clear, but readers unacquainted with Spanish history will find the various threads perplexingly tangled; and many will think that there is too much history and too little of the *Cid*. The other defect is the mingling of history and pure fable in the achievements of the hero. As Mr. Clarke well says, the imagination of the people 'working upon an old and half-forgotten story has produced the *Cid*, the national hero. In him the nation saw reflected its own bold independent spirit, its valour and its manliness, and in course of time added from its own heart the religious fervour, chivalrous feeling, patriotism, and loyalty that had sprung up in a gentler age than that of Rodrigo de Bivar. Thus it is necessary to understand both the *Cid* of history, a shadowy person the finer shades of whose character have faded in the past'—this is certainly a delicate mode of expression—

and the *Cid* of legend, the creation as well as the model of Spaniards of a later time. The former, so far as we know him, is unfit to be the hero of a great nation, but his compatriots soon forgot his cruelty, his selfish ambition, and

lack of patriotism; and remembering only his heroic valour and his efforts in a great cause, they, by the mouth of the minstrels [*sic*], endowed him with all the virtues and graces. The Cid, then, is a name round which the Spaniards have grouped the qualities they most admire, rather than an actual person who possessed those qualities; his legend is not the conscious creation of one mind or one time, but a successive growth in which may be traced, from the twelfth to the seventeenth century, the evolution of a popular ideal. Thus it is that the rough and turbulent freebooter, the destroyer of churches, whose lance was equally at the service of Moor or Christian—provided the pay were good—has become with time the pattern of religious zeal, the mirror of chivalry, the type of patriotism, and the model of unquestioning loyalty, as understood by the Spaniards of the seventeenth century.

This is true enough, and, as Mr. Clarke says, 'to reconcile these opposite characters and stories would be useless.' Yet we must regret that he makes scarcely any attempt, not to reconcile, but to distinguish them. We are constantly left uncertain whether it is legend or history that we are reading, and the result is not a little confusing. Had Mr. Clarke thrown the historical facts about the Cid into a single chapter, or even an appendix, or had he by foot references or other means enabled his readers to separate the historical from the legendary (not necessarily untrue, but unproven) events, a good deal of needless bewilderment would have been spared. There are many footnotes, though few references, in the volume, and Mr. Clarke might very well have inserted the necessary references to Dozy and the Arabic and Latin texts. The increasing tendency to eschew references in books for popular reading is to be condemned. The publishers assert that the public do not like them, but, even if this is true, scholars should resist a demoralising prejudice. Something might be done, in the form of an appendix to a second edition, to distinguish the historical facts of the book, and at the same time a few trifling slips might be corrected. Ummeyah throughout should be Umayyah; the 'suburb of Az-Zahirah' should be Az-Zahrā; the derivation of Cid from 'Sidy, Lord, or My Lord,' would be better given as from *Seyyid*, in Moorish contracted to *Sid*, 'lord,' without the pronominal affix -y; the derivation from *sa'id*, 'fortunate,' is most improbable. 'Al-mudaffar,' 'Al-mutadhed,' 'Abu-Abdu-r-rham,' 'Al-murabatin,' 'muslemīn,' 'Ar-Radhi,' 'Al-mutacim,' and other slight errors of spelling should be set right. 'Faquih' stands in odd contrast to 'Kadi,' though both have the same Arabic *k*; and 'Abdu-l-lah' for the time-honoured Abdallah overshoots the mark of accuracy. 'Al-mansur billah' does not mean 'the favoured of God.' But Mr. Clarke's Arabic names are refreshingly correct as a rule, and the whole work is distinguished by scholarly care. The illustrations from Señor Don Santiago Arcos's drawings are pleasing, and the use of Arabic inscriptions for decorating the chapters is appropriate, but there ought to be some explanation of what the inscriptions record and whence they come. The map of Spain is peculiarly bad; it does not contain half the names constantly used in the text, and spells others differently from the text.

S. LANE-POOLE.

Relations Politiques des Comtes de Foix avec la Catalogne jusqu'au Commencement du XIV^e Siècle. Par C. BAUDON DE MONY. (Paris : A. Picard et fils. 1896.)

THE political relations of Foix and Catalonia before 1311 seem but a small subject to fill two large volumes, and it cannot be denied that M. Baudon de Mony treats his subject with extreme and even excessive minuteness. On the other hand one of the two volumes is entirely taken up by a rich collection of *pièces justificatives*, which, taken largely from such remote archives as those of the bishop of Urgel, the duke of Mirepoix at Lérans, as well as from better known sources, such as the Paris and Barcelona archives, will add largely to the information accessible to the local historian of both sides of the eastern Pyrenees. Moreover the problems raised by M. Baudon's text are by no means exclusively of merely local interest. Though he avoids so far as he can giving the complete history of Foix, which can be read well enough in the 'Histoire Générale du Languedoc,' his minute and painstaking researches enable him to correct even the new edition of Vaissète and Devic's great work, and to give additional details as to the southward expansion of the French monarchy, besides throwing a flood of light on the obscure *origines* of the Catalan county, on the history of its original components, and on their relations with the counts of Barcelona after the latter had become kings of Aragon. Nor is more modern interest quite wanting. The present relations of the little autonomous community of Andorre are based upon the relations of Foix and Catalonia studied within this volume. The French republic as the heir of the counts of Foix shares with the bishop of Urgel the suzerainty over that curious survival. As a good catholic and stout defender of the church M. Baudon emphasises, with reason, it seems to us, the fact that the political as well as the ecclesiastical suzerainty of Andorre originally belonged to the bishops of Urgel. But the church found it hard to hold her own against the lay lords, and the rights of the bishop over Andorre were largely whittled down by the usurpations of the violent viscounts of Castelbon, whose domains passed to Roger Bernard II of Foix as a result of his marriage with the daughter of Arnold of Castelbon. All through the thirteenth century the fierce and aggressive counts of Foix struggled violently with the bishops of Urgel for the full enjoyment of the Castelbon inheritance. The details of the contest are often dramatic enough, though the sober, slow, and somewhat old-fashioned methods of M. Baudon hardly suffice to emphasise the more striking aspects of his theme. Yet the narrative becomes really interesting when we read of such incidents as that of Bishop Pons de Vilamur deposed by Innocent IV for enormities that were intolerable even in the rude valleys of the Pyrenees. At last in 1278 the first *paréage d'Andorre* settled the struggle. The supremacy over Andorre and some other neighbouring valleys was substantially divided between the bishop and the count. The count got the lion's share of the revenue and jurisdiction, but recognised in return that he held his rights of the see of Urgel. M. Baudon's insistence on this has led him to be denounced as a bad Frenchman by a writer so learned as M. Brutsails. He has, however, the complete answer that the politics of the nineteenth century should

not influence a man's views of the thirteenth; but the controversy, it is clear, has excited no small amount of bad blood among the specialists in eastern Pyrenean history.

Those hasty generalisers who treat the Pyrenees as a natural or historical boundary will find it hard to retain their illusion after reading this book. In it we see the counts of Foix playing the same shrewd policy between France and Aragon that Savoy many hundred years later played so cleverly between her French and Italian neighbours. The chief interest in this struggle centres round the long reign of Roger Bernard III (1265-1302), the son-in-law of the fierce Gaston of Béarn and the brother-in-law of our Henry of Almaine. In the early part of his rule Roger Bernard strove to make head against the French crown, just as Gaston sought to uphold the feudal cause against Edward I. But Philip III overran Foix and took the count prisoner, whereupon Roger Bernard prudently changed his policy. He obtained freedom from his dungeon at Carcassonne, was restored to his county, and performed homage for it to Philip in terms that made it clear that the upper and lower lordships alike were French fiefs, though in earlier times, as M. Baudon shows, the valley of the upper Ariège may well have been an independent allodial possession. Roger Bernard kept after his restoration the faith that he had pledged in prison. He fought well for France during the invasion of Navarre and the crusade of Aragon. He now looked to Aragon as the best field for his power, and finding the gravest disaffection among the Catalan nobles against Peter III, he posed as the champion of the feudal independence of Catalonia, and formed two great coalitions against the Aragonese king. In pursuit of this policy he concluded in 1278 the agreement with the bishop of Urgel as to Andorre to which reference has already been made. Meanwhile, by his marriage with Margaret of Béarn, he prepared the way for the union of Foix and Béarn, while he claimed for James II, Peter III's son and successor, the lordship of Moncada, in Catalonia, as part of the same family settlement that procured for him the land of Béarn. Gaston, his son and successor, succeeded, after troublesome wars and negotiations in establishing himself in the widely scattered dominions of the house of Moncada. This made the power of Foix at its strongest in Catalonia, and with this the book ends.

M. Baudon has taken pains to explain the intricate geography of the eastern Pyrenean valleys, and, though not compiling a strictly historical map, has marked in on the modern map on a large scale, which he gives at the end of the book, a series of red dots that indicate the Catalan possessions of Foix. He also affords us a sufficient geographical and historical introduction, so that his book may be consulted with advantage on the early history of the baronies that united to form the county of Catalonia, and in especial on the origins of Andorre. He, of course, will have nothing to say in favour of the myth of the Carolingian origin of the privileges of Andorre, though on one or two points he is apt to press the *argumentum a silentio* rather further than seems safe. He does not tell us much about institutions, though he gives us a little about the ecclesiastical relations of the north-east of Spain, its reduction under the province of Narbonne, and the re-establishment of the archbishopric of Tarragona after the expulsion of the Moors. It is perhaps M. Baudon's

exclusive preoccupation in the rather minute political dealings of the Pyrenean valleys that makes much of his book rather hard reading. Otherwise it is an eminently judicial and careful piece of investigation. There are a good index and some interesting facsimiles of manuscripts in photogravure.

T. F. TOUR.

The Story of the British Army. By Lieut.-Colonel COOPER KING, F.G.S. (London : Methuen. 1897.)

THE work of criticism is in the case of this book more than usually ungracious, owing to the recent death of the author; but, though the information is valuable, there are serious errors of method and style. The first obvious remark is that a specialist on modern conditions of warfare is not necessarily conversant with those of our earlier history. 'With Senlac,' we read, 'perished the militia system of the Saxon rulers of England' (p. 10); but Harold chiefly relied at Senlac on his personal retainers and after Senlac the militia was the recruiting ground of the Plantagenet kings. 'The Army of the Nobles' is the heading of chapter ii., yet it is acknowledged that men were raised on the contract system and paid by the crown. Between chapters ii. and iii.—that is, between Barnet and Edgehill—the gap is too big. A few pages might have been spared for the reasons of the decay of archery, and for the doings of English mercenaries in the Low Countries, which are essential as leading up to the civil war. In chapter iii., on 'The Puritan Host,' it is rightly said that 'the true professional soldier was being made;' but Strafford and the army in Ireland, the Leslies and the Bishops' wars, the Militia Bill, the Eastern Counties Association, are passed over in silence. The phrase 'new model' does not once appear. We cannot avoid thinking that Colonel Cooper King has misunderstood the nature of the earlier tactics dependent on the use of the long bow, and the transitional tactics of the days of mixed pikes and muskets. Yet he has quoted Mr. Hereford George, who might have taught him the secret of England's defeats and victories. From Stirling Bridge to Flodden, when the archers are in the rear, England is beaten; when the archers form the front line, England wins. The men-at-arms, fighting on foot from Halidon Hill onwards, form the backbone of resistance, but the archers do the work. Scottish pikes alone never triumph, except at Bannockburn; French lances are equally impotent, and after Crecy always dismount. Yet we are here told (p. 22) that the pike and gunpowder taught the lesson; that 'cavalry were useless against determined infantry;' and (p. 33) that 'shock tactics in battle were *just beginning* to give way to the fire tactics of bow and musket.' This last remark is made apropos of Barnet, only 173 years after the first great victory of the bow at Falkirk. Everybody knows that ultimately gunpowder triumphed, but from Poitiers to Minden, the first battle where infantry faced in line and beat cavalry in the open, we have a period of just over 400 years. Curiously enough Colonel King acknowledges this (p. 80) when he comes to Marlborough's campaigns. 'Good as the infantry was, it was not the principal arm yet. The infantry supported the main attack of the cavalry.' 'It was only, therefore, where the

ground was hopelessly bad for the mounted arm, as at Oudenarde and Malplaquet, that the decisive blow was given by infantry.' He should have put it more clearly: in the days of the long bow infantry won the battles and cavalry was hardly ever used; in the days of the musket cavalry invariably won, except where the ground was unfavourable.

The want of method in these earlier chapters could have been remedied if the text of Colonel King's remarks had been the relative efficiency of each weapon in turn. A connected account of the musket would have explained the transitional period. The interesting development from the matchlock through the snaphance to the fusil or flintlock of the eighteenth century, with the corresponding evolution of the plug, ring, and socket bayonet, which finally ousted the pike, should not have been scattered through various chapters. The rivalry in France between the old matchlock musket and the new flintlock fusil is well told in Rousset's '*Histoire de Louvois*,'¹ but our author has not shown England's great indebtedness to the France of Louis XIV. In a work dealing with regimental history the word 'fusilier' surely ought to have been explained. James II in 1685 incorporated a special regiment of fusiliers, as Louvois had done, to guard the artillery train, without pikemen or grenadiers, and equipped them with 'snaphance musquets [really the improved snaphance or fusil], strapt [*i.e.* with slings], with bright barrels [*i.e.* not browned, as the muskets usually were], with good swords, cartouch boxes [in place of bandoliers], and bionetts.'² They were a *corps d'élite*, armed like the guards and the grenadiers of line regiments, and, again like them, wore a special tall cap. They were soon treated in other respects as an ordinary line regiment, but though dissociated from the artillery retained their peculiar caps and fusils and name (Royal Fusiliers). The present 21st, raised in 1678, were apparently first called the Scots Fusiliers in 1691,³ and the 23rd became the Royal Welsh Fusiliers in 1713,⁴ so that each of the three countries had its choice regiment. The name and headgear survived even when all the army was equipped with flintlock fusils. The 5th, 20th, 27th, 87th were made fusiliers at various periods when the name had no meaning. Curiously the word 'musket' was retained for all smooth-bore firearms after the matchlock had disappeared. The bayonet is also treated inadequately in this book. The inventions of Vauban in France, and of Maçkay in England after his Killiecrankie experiences, merit some mention, even if it were only to point out how more than one mind was groping towards the perfection of a weapon which would make the pike superfluous. Surely that story of the Scottish Borderers meeting a French regiment which could fire with fixed bayonets is mythical;⁵ at any rate the battle was not Ramillies, for on Colonel King's own showing (p. 75) the 25th did not serve under Marlborough.

Chapter iv., on the 'Standing Army,' is inadequate and dull. The reason of the peaceful disbanding of the Cromwellians was their con-

¹ *Jusqu'à la Paix de Nimègue*, i. 188-94; *Depuis la Paix de Nimègue*, i. 326-30.

² Richard Cannon, *Seventh Foot*, p. 1: Colonel Clifford Walton, *Standing Army*, p. 44.

³ Dalton, *English Army Lists*, iii. 171; Clifford Walton, p. 180.

⁴ Clifford Walton, p. 79. ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 348. Colonel King gives no authority.

sciousness that they no longer had a paymaster; the ease with which Charles II raised men when he wished must be due to the readiness of the Cromwellians to enlist, as in 1667. Mr. Charles Dalton has called our attention to two colonels, Rossiter and Ingleby, who commanded independent troops of horse in that year, and were praised by Rupert.⁶ Colonel King might have said who were the Buffs, and why they were called the Holland regiment. The 4th he has first mentioned only in William III's army, whereas it was Charles II's second Tangier regiment, and fought at Sedgemoor. The 5th and 6th were two of the three English regiments in the Dutch service, accompanied William III to Torbay, and were ranked next to James II's four line battalions when William reorganised the army. The 7th was the original fusilier regiment mentioned above; the 8th to the 20th were raised by James between Sedgemoor and William's coming, but they had not all been fully equipped by that time; they were reformed, *i.e.* purged of Roman Catholic and Jacobite officers, by William. The 21st was the Scots Fusilier regiment, and placed similarly to the Scots Greys and Third Guards on the English establishment; all these three had fought against the Covenanters under Charles II, and had been brought to England by James. The 22nd to the 27th were regimented by William in 1689, the last-named being drawn from the Protestant volunteer defenders of Inniskilling. The 28th dates from 1694. William's other troops were disbanded after Ryswick. Mr. Dalton and Colonel Walton have made this piece of work interesting by quoting, for instance, Schomberg's confidential report on the regiments in Ireland in the autumn of 1689, where the present 18th Royal Irish received special praise. Mackay's force at Killiecrankie included the Scots brigade in the Dutch service, his own regiment, Balfour's, and Ramsay's, together with the newly raised regiment of Leven (25th Scottish Borderers), and Hastings's 13th, the only English force there present. The 26th Cameronians were not up in time, but did extremely well in their initial effort at Dunkeld. Again, of the five regiments cut to pieces at Steinkirk Mackay's and Graham's were of the Scots brigade, Leven's and Angus's were the 25th and 26th, and Cutts's was one of the English brigade which had come with William in 1688, but was disbanded after Ryswick. Corporal Trim's lament is more pointed when we know that the hapless van at Steinkirk was chiefly composed of the men of Killiecrankie and Dunkeld. Other corps also suffered as severely at Steinkirk.⁷

Something more might have been said about the reforms partially worked out in the seven years' war. The stiff 'clumsiest Prussian system' which Cumberland loved, was modified. Culloden had previously been won because even he recognised the necessity of new tactics to suit a Highland rush. Minden may have been won by an accident, but the accident was only the immediate cause; the real cause was the conscious adoption of linear tactics combined with good fire discipline. In America Braddock's defeat was due to his adherence to stiff parade tactics in the backwoods. A light infantry, therefore, was needed, which could skirmish against Red Indians and Canadian rangers, and which could also face French regulars in line. That Wolfe's reform was conscious is seen

⁶ *English Army Lists*, vol. i., under date 13 June 1667.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii. 403, 404; Clifford Walton, chap. xiv.

in the story of Major Knox. For two years the 43rd had been vegetating 'in dreary exile' in Acadia, and in 1759 was called up to Louisburg. The colonel was afraid of Wolfe's censure, as he had had no opportunity to study the new exercises. 'New exercise? New fiddlestick!' answered Wolfe. 'As long as your men are well disciplined and will fight, that's all I shall require of them.'⁸ But the lesson was forgotten, and the issue of the war of independence was the result. Colonel King in chapter vii. has done this part very well, though by the nature of his subject he has not called attention to the question of sea power as deciding the war against us.

The rangers and light companies were reduced at the peace of 1763. But Howe did much to revive them, and from 1770 each line battalion had its light *company* for outpost work. To Howe, indeed, and to a 'German officer of distinction,' who is otherwise nameless, Sir John Moore owed much of his knowledge.⁹ The result was seen in the Shorncliffe camp of 1803-5, to which Colonel King has done full justice. The order of the light *regiments* is¹⁰—

1794. Perthshire Volunteers.

1803 (January). The 52nd (Sir John Moore colonel).

1803 (July). The 43rd, Monmouth: present 1st batt. Oxfordshire Light Infantry.

1808. The 68th, Durham: present 1st batt. Durham Light Infantry. The 85th, King's: present 2nd batt. Shropshire Light Infantry.

1809. The 71st, Glasgow Highland Light Infantry. The 51st, King's Own Light Infantry: present 1st batt. Yorkshire Light Infantry.

1815. The 90th, Perthshire, the above-mentioned Volunteers brought into the line: present 2nd batt. Scottish Rifles.

1822. The 13th, Somerset.

1858. The 32nd, Cornwall.

But that there was still a great deal of needless stiffness in the drill of line regiments, and of equally needless severity in discipline, is to be seen in such judgments as those of Baron Christian von Ompteda,¹¹ of the German legion.

English evolutions are too exact to be applicable over broken country. . . Really I incline more and more to the conviction that excessive drinking among the English soldiers and sailors is a result of despair proceeding from the situation in which they are subjected to a discipline indisputably the most severe to be found in any European army.

This gives us an explanation of the horrible story of plundering and debauchery at Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and San Sebastian, which it is so difficult to reconcile with the undoubted steadiness of our soldiers in the field and their gallantry in the breach.

In the Peninsular war chapters Colonel King has not given us the proportion of English soldiers to Germans and Portuguese; otherwise very little fault can be found. It is a matter of individual taste to decide which regiments should be specially mentioned, but we miss from his account of Talavera the charge of the 48th to rally the Guards in the centre, also Craunford's (not Crawford's) outpost work on the Agueda and

⁸ *The 43rd and 52nd Chronicle for 1896*, p. 97.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 296 (an article on light infantry).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 1895, p. 296.

¹¹ *Memoirs* (Engl. trans.), pp. 175, 200.

Coa. Napier's heroic friend, young Major Macleod, and Colonel Sidney Beckwith, are familiar figures whom we are sorry not to find here. Some of Tomkinson's graphic touches would not have been out of place, such as the nicknames given to the divisions.¹²

Light division : *the* Division.

1st (including the Guards) : the Gentlemen's Sons.

2nd (Sir Rowland Hill's) : the Observing Division, because Hill, unlike Beresford at Albuera, would not be drawn into fighting at a disadvantage. He was nicknamed Daddy Hill.

3rd (Sir Thomas Picton's) : the Fighting Division.

4th (Sir Lowry Cole's) : the Supporting Division, because it included the Fusiliers of Albuera ; and afterwards the Enthusiastics.

5th (Leith's) : the Pioneers.

6th (Clinton's) : the Marching Division.

7th : ' They tell us there is a 7th, but we have never seen them.'

Or this touch about the cavalry : ' To attempt giving men or officers any idea in England of outpost duty was considered absurd, and when they came abroad they had all this to learn.' Or this from Captain Cooke : ¹³—

There was a something peculiar to each corps. . . . The 43rd were a gay set, the dandies of the army. . . . The 52nd were highly gentlemanly men of a steady aspect, . . . and now and then relaxed, but were soon again the 52nd. The Riflemen were skirmishers in every sense of the word ; a sort of wild sportsmen, and up to every description of fun and good humour.

Colonel King has told us very little about the rifle. In fact there is but little to tell, as the historians of the 60th and 95th admit. Rifles were certainly used in America, but probably by colonial irregulars only. The weapon was suited to hunters and backwoodsmen, but not to regulars. On the other hand it was used against our men with deadly effect in both American wars, at Saratoga as at New Orleans. The 60th Royal Americans, raised from foreigners and the German and Swiss colonists of the middle colonies, though the senior officers were English, apparently were armed with smooth-bores. At least they were clothed in red, and counted as in the line, though exclusively for service in America. In 1758 a few ' rifled-barrel fuzils ' were issued to their first battalion ; in 1794 one battalion, ' probably ' the first, was armed with a rifle, ' probably ' not the Baker. In 1797 their 5th battalion was formed from existing corps of German mercenaries who already had green uniforms and foreign (Brunswick ?) rifles. In 1803, after experiments in 1800, the 95th, the ' first British rifle corps ' and the original ' Green Jackets, ' was raised ; they from the first used the Baker, sighted to 200 yards. Major Wade and some crack marksmen used to practise at targets held out by each other at 150 to 200 yards. Colonel Sidney Beckwith, a familiar figure to readers of Napier, said that in a skirmish ' the 95th proved that the rifle is a fully sufficient weapon to defeat the French in the closest fight.' In square at Waterloo they and the Germans posted behind Hougoumont proved that riflemen could beat off cavalry. But they

¹² *Diary of a Cavalry Officer*, p. 133.

¹³ *The 43rd and 52nd Chronicle for 1894*, p. 173, quoted from ' Narrative of Events in the South of France.'

were essentially skirmishers. The Baker, with its mallet and greased patch, was awkward to load, and Wellington favoured the Brown Bess. Meanwhile the 60th had been raised to ten battalions, but only two were kept after the peace; both were dressed in green for the first time in 1816, and both armed with rifles in 1824. The 95th were 'taken out of the line,' and became the Rifle Brigade in 1816. When territorialisation came in, the 26th Cameronians and the 83rd Dublin regiment, together with their linked battalions, became respectively the Scottish Rifles and the Royal Irish Rifles; they are now 'green' regiments, but the change in name and uniform is meaningless. The Brunswick rifle, with its belted ball, to which Colonel King has once referred casually, was issued in 1836 and 1841; in the Peninsula and at Waterloo it was used only by our German light battalions and the Brunswickers themselves. We cannot find a reference in Colonel King to the Baker.¹⁴

Throughout the whole of any military history there ought to be a persistent reminder that we always have fought our enemies with numerous allies and often mercenaries on our side. Each battle ought to be so described that the proportion of British troops to foreign is perfectly clear. The importance of Hanover and Portugal cannot be overestimated. And when it is remembered that in 1855 we raised three German legions it is useful to reflect that insularity is at present a source of danger. United Germany will never again lend us such men as those who shared the hardships of the Peninsula and Waterloo, nor are we ever likely to attack from so secure a base as Portugal.

Another question to which such a book as this ought to give the answer is that of the second battalions. How many actually served in the Peninsula? We know that several, and even third battalions, were at Waterloo; but what was the actual proportion of trained to untrained men there? For instance, the 2nd battalion Royal Welsh Fusiliers¹⁵ transferred 447 men to their 1st in the autumn of 1814; the 2nd battalion 32nd, Duke of Cornwall's,¹⁶ transferred three drafts of 114, 138, and 173 respectively, so that over a half of the regiment had had little or no service before Quatre Bras. Moreover it is annoying to find historians of Waterloo omitting this vital point; Wellington was expecting to receive immediately from England, *en route* from America, many of his veterans of the Peninsula, which explains his wish to concentrate near Brussels rather than near the frontier. Lambert's brigade of the 4th, 27th, and 40th was just up in time, but some fourteen more battalions were on their way. For instance, the 43rd,¹⁷ from New Orleans, reached Dover on 7 June, received some drafts, and embarked on 16 June, and was actually as far up as Ghent on the 18th. The 88th was a month too late. These facts, which we miss in such histories as those of Ropes and Hooper, ought assuredly to be in the work of a specialist like Colonel King.

¹⁴ *Government Text Book for Small Arms*, p. 51. Hans Busk, *Handbook for Hythe*, p. 121, *sqq.*; Captain Verner, *First British Rifle Corps*; Colonel Groves, *Navy and Army Illustrated*, 11 March 1898; Colonel Wallace, *Regimental Chronicle of 60th*, *passim*.

¹⁵ *Historical Records of the 23rd*, by Major Broughton-Mainwaring, p. 139.

¹⁶ *Historical Records of the 32nd*, by Colonel Swiney, p. 123.

¹⁷ *The 43rd and 52nd Chronicle for 1892*, p. 193; Gurwood, xii. 680.

The civilian student of military history wants a text-book. Colonel Walton's volume is of enormous bulk, and professedly deals only with the rise of the standing army. 'The Records and Badges,' by Chichester and Burges-Short, takes each regiment separately. Regimental chronicles are often very hard to obtain. Now Colonel King's book is of handy size, and gives a mass of information, the last half being by far the best and therefore not criticised here. But it needs an exhaustive index for reference; it was hurried through the press, and is full of obvious slips and misprints; and it frequently fails to give the exact facts which a civilian wants to know. If properly re-edited it would be the best, as now it is an interesting, summary of the deeds of the British army.

J. E. MORRIS.

Alien Immigrants to England. By W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D. (London: Swan Sonnenschein. 1897.)

'This volume contains,' writes Dr. Cunningham, 'as I believe, the first attempt to give a connected view of the whole of the subject with which it deals.' As a first attempt to deal with the history of alien immigration to England, it is of no little value and deserves a cordial welcome. But it cannot be regarded as anything more than an attempt to give a connected view of the whole of the subject. Dr. Cunningham treats of a big subject in a small compass, and is consequently faced with a dilemma. Either he must eschew details and content himself with a rapid sketch; or he must choose certain phases of his subject and neglect others. This book is crowded with details which must have cost Dr. Cunningham much labour to collect and arrange, but it follows that there are not a few *lacunae* in his treatment of the subject. For reasons that are not wholly conclusive he rejects the Jutes, Angles, Saxons, and Danes, but accepts the Normans, as alien immigrants, and begins his book with the influx of foreigners under Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror. Then follows an account of the immigrants of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, financiers like the Jews, Templars, and Lombards, Gascony merchants, and Flemish weavers. Next come the religious refugees of the sixteenth, the Dutch and Huguenot immigrants of the seventeenth, and the Palatines and French *émigrés* of the eighteenth century. The book concludes with a few words on the question of pauper alien immigration to-day.

Missing links in this chain of alien immigrations will occur to every one; the most important, perhaps, is the influx of foreigners under Henry III which involved him in a prolonged and momentous constitutional struggle. More singular are the limitations which Dr. Cunningham has imposed upon his treatment of the movements with which he deals. The alien immigrant interests him only as an economic factor and not at all by reason of his influence on the political, constitutional, or ecclesiastical history of the country. There is no mention of Lanfranc, Anselm, or Simon de Montfort, of the many foreign immigrants whom the Tudors employed as diplomatic or commercial agents, or of the mercenaries who often settled, as well as served, in England. Several pages are devoted to the story of the ill-fated Walloon weavers whom Somerset established

at Glastonbury, but there is no hint of the influence which foreign divines exerted on the course of the reformation in England. Similarly, though Dr. Cunningham has collected some interesting information about the immigrants who have developed English industry and commerce, he passes by in silence those who have wrought at the finer arts of painting, music, and sculpture, or come to enrich English learning and literature. He gives a full account of Cornelius Vermuyden, who tried to drain the fens, but finds no place for painters like Holbein, Vandyck, Lely, or Kneller, scholars like Magister Vacarius or Isaac Casaubon, musicians like Handel, sculptors like Roubiliac, engravers like Simon Pass, or medallists like the Roettiers. The list might be indefinitely extended by including names like D'Israeli, Bentinck, Romilly, Goschen, Sabine, Panizzi, Rossetti, Labouchere, Thesiger, and Rothschild, of whom some note might have been taken, even at the expense of curtailment in other parts of the book. Dr. Cunningham gives admirably full references, but we are surprised at his quoting Henry Knighton and Richard of Cirencester as authorities on the eleventh century. Napier's 'Synecombe and Ewelme' (p. 84) should be 'Swyncombe;' the Poyntz mentioned (p. 181) was probably not an alien immigrant, but a member of an English family of baronial rank in the thirteenth century. Fuller details of the Glastonbury weavers are given in the Acts of the Privy Council and Domestic State Papers than by Strype; and in dealing with foreign workmen in 1549 reference might with advantage have been made to the act (2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 15) granting naturalised immigrants the right of following any trade in any town, which was repealed the next year. A. F. POLLARD.

Ein Donaueschinger Briefsteller. Lateinische Stilübungen des zwölften Jahrhunderts aus der Orléans'schen Schule. Herausgegeben und erläutert von ALEXANDER CARTELLIERI. (Innsbruck: Wagner. 1898.)

A GOOD deal of material has been accumulated in recent years concerning the literary schools of Orleans¹ and of its neighbour Meung-sur-Loire in the twelfth century, and Dr. Cartellieri has done well in publishing a formulary which was without doubt drawn up originally in one of these two places by a scholar, whether direct or indirect, of Master Bernard. Like most formularies, the book contains many genuine letters and documents interspersed with others which were composed merely as exercises of style; and the former point to a date not long subsequent to 1187. But the manuscript itself was written in Germany nearly a century later, the copyist having made several by no means successful attempts to adapt the French text to a German framework. The editor claims for the collection the peculiar merit of completeness, and from this point of view it is to be regretted that he has only printed in full a small proportion of the 304 letters it contains. On the other hand, the diplomatic interest of the book is not considerable; there are many other similar collections partially or wholly in type; and Dr. Cartellieri assures us that the

¹ See bibliographical list at the end of Dr. Cartellieri's work, to which we may now add the notices put together by E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, ii. 724-731 (1898).

important pieces are printed at length. A few of these may be noticed here. No. 20 is a letter from C., bishop of Spires, ordering his clergy to pray for the king's recovery. 'C. bishop of Spires' is the copyist's invention: the real name, as it appears in another text of the letter, printed by Dr. Simonsfeld (*Sitzungsberichte der k. B. Akademie zu München*, 1892, p. 499), is 'M. bishop of Orleans.' Dr. Simonsfeld took this personage to be Manasses II, who was bishop from 1207 to 1221, and oddly enough understood the illness to be that of Philip Augustus, which only became serious in 1222, when Manasses had ceased to be bishop (*ibid.* p. 449). Dr. Cartellieri properly goes back to bishop Manasses I (1146-1185) and refers the document to the time of the paralytic seizure of Louis VII in the spring of 1179. Letter 59, to which the editor hesitates to assign a date, may be placed confidently in 1168, when a marriage was proposed between Richard of England, count of Poitou, and a daughter of the French king. There are several other letters (103, 111, 112, 182, 186) relating to Richard. In one the pope reproves him, who had been the first to take up the Cross, for laying it down: *abiecisti namque crucis signaculum, ut nobis dicitur, et in eos assidue, mater ecclesia quos Deo deparit, degrassaris* (111). Richard replies excusing his laying down the Cross for the time on the ground of the attack made on him by the count of Toulouse (112). The story which reached the pope's ears is not otherwise supported, and probably came from an enemy in Count Raymond V's following; but Giraldus Cambrensis the scandalmonger tells us ('De Principis Instructione,' *Opp.* viii. 245) that Henry II himself put every difficulty in his son's way, and it is quite possible that Richard may have been driven formally to give up his enterprise for the moment. A pardon dated at Rouen (126) cannot, we think, possibly be one of Henry II: it is manifestly French, and therefore the place is in all probability wrong; for to assume a French king passing a document at Rouen would involve a later date by many years than any other in the collection. There are several letters (152-154) relating to the war with Henry II, here styled 'Rufus.' Others concern Philip Augustus's difficulties with his kinsfolk (149, 150), and his relations with the duke of Burgundy (163, 164, perhaps in or before 1180). In a notable letter to the provost of some city the king relates that after his father's death *toti regno prestitimus sacramentum, quod antiquas et liberas consuetudines que a patre nostro serrate fuerunt prorsus immunes gravamine servaremus* (176). It is a pity that the real bearing of a number of letters is obscured through the wanton insertion by the copyist of names like Spires, Passau, Salzburg, &c., instead of the proper ones. A Spanish document, for instance, appears in a curious guise in no. 123, where the delegates to whom a cause was remitted have been turned into a count palatine of the Rhine and a bishop of Spires. Very many letters relate to various forms of immorality. The secular scribes delighted in exercising their art to the discredit of monks and canons regular; but we must not take them too seriously, any more than we take Giraldus's tales about the Cistercians. Many letters illustrate the student life of the time. In one (283) a master begs his scholar to return the books which he lent him *cum tenderet Parisius ad scolarem miliciam*. Altogether the collection presents many points of interest, and is well edited. Among misprints we notice *filium* for *filiam* (67), *servicium*

for *seviciam* (146), and in *ab eadem gracia Spirensis episcopus* (123) the *ab* must be a blundered form of the bishop's initial letter.

REGINALD L. POOLE.

Statuti delle Società del Popolo di Bologna. A cura di AUGUSTO GAUDENZI.
Vol. II. Società delle Arti. (Fonti per la Storia d' Italia.) (Roma :
Sede dell' Istituto storico Italiano.)

THIS volume is the complement to the statutes of the *Società delle Arti* already published by the indefatigable editor. The statutes of the arts are of the highest interest, not only commercial but political, for the formation of the constitution of the *popolo* from these bodies preceded by nearly a quarter of a century the similar movement at Florence. At Bologna there was no formal distinction between the greater and lesser arts, but those of the merchants and changers long enjoyed an admitted pre-eminence, and the consuls of these two societies continued to hold, for some constitutional purposes, a position aloof from the corresponding officials in the other arts. The fact that they between them controlled the foreign trade of Bologna gave them a marked superiority. To the changers naturally was given the control of the coinage, and also to some extent of the customs. In other respects the statutes resemble, *mutatis mutandis*, the rules of the Stock Exchange, the committee of which has many of the functions of the consuls and *sapientes* of the changers.

At first sight there would seem to be some confusion between the art of the merchants and that of wool, for the former are exclusively concerned with the clothing trade. It becomes clear, however, that foreign trade and distribution is the function of the former, and manufacture that of the latter. Not the least interesting of the clauses is the prescription as to the length of the cloths derived from thirty non-Italian sources, including those of England. The date of the merchants' statutes as a whole is a puzzle, but this clause the editor would attribute to about 1247, and it is thus an item of some small interest in English economic history.

The art of the notaries obtained the precedence over those of the merchants and the changers towards the close of the thirteenth century in consequence apparently of the expulsion of the faction of the Lambertazzi in 1274 and 1280. The statutes here printed date from 1304 only, but they are probably reproductions of a somewhat earlier collection. They are written in a magniloquent style by Giovanni di Bonandrea, master of rhetoric at the university, and author of an 'Ars dettandi' which long had vogue. It is a pity that the editor has not supplied a facsimile page of his exquisite calligraphy. The notaries were very highly organised; they had not only consuls as the changers and merchants, but a preconsul, whilst their deliberative bodies consisted of two councils containing respectively forty and two hundred members. The reader will not wonder at the high reputation enjoyed by the Bolognese notaries if he peruses the stringent regulations for the examiners, whom many modern draughtsmen would fail to satisfy. Illiterate notaries, even if they had passed, were liable to summary expulsion, for a knowledge of *grammatica* was essential, *ut in contractibus, ultimis voluntatibus et iudiciis eo latino uti sciat quod negotiorum nature conveniat et contrarium non pariat intellectum*; igno-

rance and clumsiness, concludes the statute, are destructive of the rights of many suitors and subversive of the truth.

The statutes of the other trades fall chiefly within a narrow range of dates from those of the cheese and bacon mongers (1242) to those of the art of wool (1256). This synchronism the editor ascribes to the first appointment of a *capitano del popolo* in 1255, when the statutes of the arts were presented to the *consiglio del popolo* for approval, and for that purpose recopied or recast. To the last eighteen years of the century, however, belongs the differentiation of the arts of swordmakers and knifers from the parent trade of the smiths, and that of *lana bisella* (the coarser woollens) and *bambagina* from the art of wool.

The cheese and bacon mongers excel in scientific arrangement and explicit statement. Adulteration acts have rarely equalled the following clause for brevity and comprehensiveness: *Statuimus quod nullus de societate predicta debeat vendere unam rem pro alia scienter, vel carnes aut lardum de femina pro masculo; sed semper teneatur dicere veritatem, si interrogatus fuerit.* Equally trenchant is the next commandment: *Statuimus quod nullus vendat carnes malsanas, vel teneat ad vendendum aliquo modo.* The Bolognese have always been remarkable for susceptibility and vivacity; abuse of the officials of the arts must needs be averted by pecuniary penalties. The cheese and bacon mongers insisted on intermarital responsibility for a scolding tongue, for the husband was made responsible for the violence of his wife to the extent of half the fine for his own ebullition, a gallant concession humiliating to the advocates of the equality of woman. The art of wool has an elaborate scale of fines for slaps, fisticuffs, pulling of the hair, kicking, hitting with a stick, cutting and wounding. The statutes of this art and of that of the *lana bisella* are necessarily highly technical. The precautions as to the genuineness of materials are precise and detailed; a foundation of hemp or linen is strictly prohibited; the manufacture of such an article as flannelette would have entailed severe penalties; the very presence of the hides of non-ovine quadrupeds, such as oxen, asses, or dogs, was regarded as symptomatic of fraud. The regulations as to fixed holidays, employment of labour, Sunday trading, and the prohibition of home manufacture, all touch on problems of to-day. It is almost needless to add that each art is at once a religious guild and a benefit society, while, in the event of political disturbance, its hall is a rallying centre. Craftsmen are stringently forbidden to repair to the house of any magnate.

Commercial and political exclusiveness is a common feature in all trade or municipal statutes of this age in Italy, and naturally receives illustration at Bologna, where party passions ran high in a population always turbulent. Party faction is strongly marked in the statutes of the notaries. The recently banished Lambertazzi are deprived not only of citizenship, but of profession. The notaries' council of two hundred must consist exclusively of partisans of the church and the Jeremienses, and the party attachment of the preconsul and his notary must be, in the present and the past, without stain or wrinkle; *Lambertatorum enim consortium abhorremus ut pestem.* It is noticeable that the statutes of the two original premier companies of merchants and changers contain only casual references to exclusive dealing as applied to Ghibellines. The municipal

statute of 1274 goes far beyond a mere monopoly of power granted to the Jeremienses. It is one of the most striking instances of the exclusion of men of knightly rank from the privileges of citizenship. Here at Bologna the societies of arts and arms alike were closed to knights, their brothers, sons, nephews, and grandsons, and to men of noble birth, except to such members of cadet lines as had a vested interest of fifteen years' standing in the arts of the changers and merchants. While judges of noble birth suffer from this wholesale exclusion, all judges are deprived of the right of municipal office. Together with these are ranked householders and inhabitants of the rural districts who have not been rated for the *estimo*, panders, assassins, persons of notorious ill fame, and all those who have been imprisoned and condemned for fraud, or banished, or painted upon the walls in effigy. The reader will understand the story of the notorious criminal of Florence, who, when all other punishments had failed, was as a crowning penalty 'made a gentleman.'

Jealousy did not extend only to high birth. The middle class occupants of power rigorously forbade the formation of arts in the lower trades, such as bakers, millers, victuallers, gardeners, barbers, dyers, fruiterers, poulterers, and hay and straw dealers. Noticeable also in the statutes of the art of notaries, the stronghold of the *pars ecclesiae*, is the exclusion or even expulsion of all who had privilege of clergy, on the ground that they were not subject to temporal jurisdiction and the authority of the preconsul. On the other hand foreigners, if only of the Guelfic party, received liberal treatment. Tuscans after ten years' residence were admitted to municipal office on a very low pecuniary qualification. Of the art of wool one of the three chief officers must be a Tuscan, another a Veronese. But the art of wool is clearly exotic; its statutes are drafted by Veronese, the title of the chief officers, *gastaldi*, is Veronese, while the art is described under the alien phrase *mistero*.

The appendix is full of good material. The statutes of the flagellants the author claims as the earliest known. They present to the reader a sober quakerish society with no fanatical extravagances. The Bolognese *battuti* would have looked askance at their loathsome successors in comparatively modern Spain, or at the fashionable flagellants who, in the Paris of the latest Valois, attracted eyes too curious. At Bologna the flagellation was strictly limited as to time and place, and a wise provision ordered that none should sing in procession through the streets unless selected by the guardians. The members could not enter the society under eighteen, and required two months' probation. No flagellant might have a mistress, or wear gaudy clothes, or walk through the shops and *turpiora et indecentia loca* save for the purpose of trade. Every morning they must go to church, bow low before pictures of Christ and Mary, raise their hats at the elevation of the host, confess once a month, and communicate at least at Easter and Christmas. All are sworn to settle their disputes, civil or criminal, not in the courts of law, but by the arbitration of the rector and guardians. In time of civil strife they must not visit the house of any magnate, but must betake themselves to the hall of the congregation or to that of their own society of arts or arms. Provisions

for the care of the needy and the sick, and for the burial of the dead, necessarily find their place in the statutes.

These statutes are followed by the matricula of the notaries from 1219 to 1230, and by various regulations of the municipal statutes of 1288 and other documents relating to the arts. Important above all, however, is the civic code of 1248, the first of its kind known, with supplements of 1251 and fragments of 1258, 1288, and 1295. Nowhere, probably, is it possible to get so close to the method of election of the *anciani* and corresponding magistracies in other towns, and of the ever-shifting special and general councils. At Bologna can be traced the precise relation of the arts to the municipal government, the respective shares of lot and nomination in the elections, the joint representation of locality and guild, which marks the fusion of older and newer constitutional forms. The supreme magistracy, the *anciani*, appears to be absolutely under the control of the arts; its members may neither speak against the will of the majority of the officials of the arts, nor even confer with the chief executive officer, the *podestà*, without their knowledge and consent. The art is the unit, political, military, commercial, and religious.

E. ARMSTRONG.

The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III and its Culmination in the Barons' War. By OLIVER H. RICHARDSON, A.B., Professor of History in Drury College. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897.)

THE object of this little volume is stated to be to portray, first, those movements which tended to denationalise the church and state of England, and, second, those counter-movements which resulted in the complete triumph of the national principle and the establishment of the constitution upon a basis both national and popular. As a sketch of the constitutional development of English institutions from the beginning of Henry III's reign to the end of the barons' war it is, from its own point of view, successful enough. So far as his researches extend, Professor Richardson has consulted both contemporary and modern authorities with diligence and care. His point of view is that which accepts Simon de Montfort as the founder of the house of commons, and makes of him a somewhat immaculate hero, who could neither do nor imagine anything wrong. But his knowledge of authorities is by no means complete; he does not appear to be acquainted with Professor Prothero's or M. Bémont's *Life of Simon de Montfort*, nor even with the English translation of Dr. Pauli's *Life*; Blaauw's '*Barons' War*' is cited from the edition of 1844 instead of from Pearson's edition of 1871; among contemporary authorities there is no reference to the valuable continuation of Gervase of Canterbury, nor to the '*Annales Londonienses*' in Bishop Stubbs's '*Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*' (though they are once referred to as Add. MS. 5444 through Pauli); whilst the '*Flores Historiarum*' are quoted from the old edition of '*Matthew of Westminster*.' Much use has been made of the '*Song of Lewes*,' from Wright's edition. But I cannot help thinking that Professor Richardson attaches too great weight to the '*Song*' as an adequate theory of government from a popular point of view. In the preface to my own edition I described its character as a party pamphlet as

constituting its true value. If we once lose sight of its purely partisan character, it becomes a misleading guide. It is, I think, a mistake to try and read into the writer's words a democratic or quasi-democratic meaning. His use of the terms *communitas* and *universitas* sometimes seems to support such a theory (as in the passage from lines 765 to 811); but what the author would seem to have really had in view was a government controlled by the *magnates* or *nobiles* (cf. lines 540, 577-9, 595-8, 921-5, 953). He was, in short, the pamphleteer of the oligarchical party of his time and not the prophet of a democratic movement. The partisanship of the writer of the 'Song of Lewes' comes out also in his laboured defence of Earl Simon from the charges brought against him; it is not a little remarkable that these charges agree so closely with the charges contained in the chronicle of the royalist Wykes; this very circumstance in itself shows that the charges were a matter of common talk, and not the invention of a single writer. Similarly Professor Richardson should have used the other political poems in Wright's collection with more caution; e.g. the 'Song on the Corruptions of the Time,' quoted in notes 2 and 3 on p. 40, is found in the Bodley MS. Add. A, 44, and belongs to the end of the twelfth century and not to the middle of the thirteenth.

C. L. KINGSFORD.

Yorkshire Inquisitions. Vol. II. Edited by WILLIAM BROWN, B.A. (Yorkshire Archæological Society, Record Series, Vol. XXIII.) (Printed for the Society. 1898.)

THE inquisitions (*post-mortem* and *ad quod damnum*), the substance of which is here given in English, come from the years which lie between 1283 and 1295. We must, I fear, agree with their accomplished editor when he says that they are inferior in interest to those published in his first volume. A series of medieval records often puts its best foot foremost. People seem to tire of writing down some of those details which they perhaps could take for granted, but we cannot. However, besides materials for the genealogist, there is much in this volume which will be welcome to students of legal and economic history. The general impression that it will leave upon their minds will, so I think, be that on the estates of the laity in Yorkshire there was much less villeinage or bondage of an onerous kind than might have been expected. So far as we can see, very little 'week work' is being done, and there are many small freeholders. But it is easy to make mistakes about this matter, and I am not quite sure that even Mr. Brown, whose work is of the best kind, has not made one. He says that 'a very striking instance of what may be termed the enfranchisement of the bondmen occurs in No. LVI., where a man holds in bondage nine bovates and nine tofts at Ostwick, in Holderness, by the free service of one marc yearly.' I should like to submit to Mr. Brown's better judgment that the phrase *tenere in bondagio* can be used in two different senses. You may and oftenest will apply it to the tenant who does bondage services; but you may also apply it to that tenant's lord. It is common to find a contrast drawn between what a man holds *in dominico* and what he holds *in servitio*; and what he holds 'in service' is what is held of him by another man who does him service. It might in our own day be said of the lord of a manor that he

has so many acres of copyhold land, and this would not mean that he was a copyholder. Mr. Brown's enfranchised bondsman looks to me like a very considerable person, who seems to have an abbot as one of his freehold tenants. But few know the language of inquisitions so well as Mr. Brown knows it, and I would not willingly dissent from him.

There is a very interesting record touching the hospital of St. Nicholas at York. These municipal hospitals have not yet attracted their fair share of attention. There was a great deal of quarrelling about the patronage over them between the bishops and the municipal communities, and they seem to have stood on the border line between ecclesiastical and temporal institutions. This hospital at York was in many respects like a religious house; 'the brothers had tunics with scapulars of russett, with hood of the same cloth, and were shorn; the sisters, clipped (*tonsate*), had tunics and mantles of russett;' 'the master was elected in the king's name by the mayor and community of York, [and] presented to the archbishop of York, who admitted him.' For all this, however, when irregularities occur in this hospital the king 'visits' it. He delegates the work, it is true, to the archdeacon of York, but the archdeacon acts under a royal writ, and, though the visitation closely resembles the episcopal visitation of a monastery, a jury is employed, and the king issues the injunctions, commanding, for example, that the brethren must not go untonsured. We are familiar enough with the crown as 'visitor,' but in what case was this visitatorial power first exercised? Perhaps in the case of these half lay, half ecclesiastical town hospitals, for the whole process of visitation smacks of the church and its hierarchy. I may remark also that in 1291 the people of York seem to have been pretty ignorant about the origin of the hospital, and, though the king said that it had been founded by the alms of his ancestors, the election of the master by the civic commonalty points in another direction.

F. W. MAITLAND.

Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Petitions to the Pope. Vol. I: 1342-1419. Edited by W. H. BLISS, B.C.L. *Papal Letters.* Vol. III: 1342-1362. Edited by W. H. BLISS, B.C.L., and C. JOHNSON, M.A. Published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1896, 1897.)

MR. BLISS'S great undertaking goes forward apace, and, as the English 'Calendar' has now far outstripped the full registers in course of publication by the *Ecole Française de Rome*, it is for the present the only means by which any large part of their contents is made known.

The third volume of 'Papal Letters' is by far the most interesting that has yet been published. Upon its every page it bears some sign of the times. The pope is still claiming to be arbiter among the nations of Europe, but he is under French influence, and England is at war with France. The first entry, 18 June 1343, is Clement VI's request that Edward III shall send envoys 'for the reformation of the peace;' the next—and the sharp transition is characteristic—is a claim for the fines due from the archbishops, who have neglected to visit the pope once in

three years, two such terms having now elapsed.¹ It is clear that trouble already threatens in the matter of collecting and making up the English accounts; the apostolic see is finding some difficulty in harmonising, to the satisfaction of all men, its duties as a foreign office for France with its duty to its own exchequer. Exhortations begin to come thick and fast to those whom the pope can hope to influence, and in particular exhortations to induce the king not to acquiesce 'in the novelties suggested by others against God and the Roman church.' What these novelties are soon appears. The pope has received letters praying him to cease from making provisions and reservations to bishoprics. He replies that as the universal pastor of all churches he does not intend to make any which he does not believe to be expedient for the churches themselves. He knows that there has been opposition to the reservations made by his predecessors, but surely the king must be well aware that his councillors, by making ordinances against the liberties of the church, have incurred divine and canonical penalties. There has been, he learns, a stoppage of papal letters and grants, so that hardly any one dares present them in the realm. Edward's bad example is finding imitators, for there is Alfonso of Castile in like manner attempting novelties against God and ecclesiastical liberty. On 28 Nov. 1344 the pope writes that he has received Queen Philippa's request; he regrets that he cannot grant it, and suggests that she should use her influence to revoke the novelties by which God is offended and the royal honour diminished. The next entry is a mandate granted at the request of Queen Isabella to carry out papal provisions of benefices made to certain canons, rectors, and clerks without examination. William of Pudding Norton and a dozen others have, it appears, satisfied the examination of Queen Isabella. Writing 7 Dec. 1344 to Joan, queen of France and Navarre, the pope thanks her for some nice cheeses which she has sent, and observes that he has been putting off his answer to a request for a dispensation for marriage between King Edward's eldest son to a daughter of John, duke of Brabant, his own intention being towards the queen's daughter Blanche. The refusal of King Edward's request follows two days later. In 1346 Clement learns of Edward's design to take the fruits of all those church benefices in the realm which are held by foreigners; this order the pope exhorts him to recall, and the archbishop of Canterbury's aid is invoked to induce the king to acquiesce in the pope's monitions. But Edward asks why it is that King Philip has been granted a tenth of the benefices for six years, which was not allowed in his case, and there follows some graceful explaining. It is true that Philip had asked for a tenth for six years, but it is not true that he got it. His petition was suspended until the envoys of both kings met for the treaty of peace, and then, as a sign of the pope's joy, a grant of two years seemed fitting; wherefore the pope begs King Edward not to be offended if his petition touching the same is *not* granted, and to believe that by the pope as mediator no partiality is shown to Philip. These are specimens of what we may learn from the early pages of this volume.

The petitions tell something of the same story, but from another point of view. The first entry introduces John de Rate, M.A., and cursor in theology, candidate for the archdeaconry of Aberdeen, void by the con-

¹ The date 1317 is apparently a misprint for 1339.

secration of Alan, bishop of Caithness, notwithstanding that he has a canonry and prebend of Aberdeen, and a canonry with expectation of a prebend in St. Donatian, Bruges, and the church of Kilehodilseam, in the diocese of Aberdeen. He is ready to resign the church and the prebend of Aberdeen. '*Granted, Avignon,*' &c. We do not hear what he was called on to resign. As the volume begins so it proceeds; candidates do not always appear singly; the universities are sending them up in batches. The university 'roll' sends in some fifty candidates for benefices, value about 30*l.* with cure of souls, 20*l.* without, notwithstanding that so and so has or expects this or that; but these are mostly young men, it would seem, for many have no 'notwithstandings.' Then comes the 'black death,' and page after page is filled with the petitions for plenary remission at the hour of death for the petitioner, and as many others as he petitions for. And in the way of ordinary business here are all the petitions for dispensations to marry within the prohibited degrees, all the petitions of illegitimate sons applying for dispensations to be ordained. These last might be worth counting.

The volume of petitions is preceded by a very useful short account of the chief offices of the papal administration, especially of the diplomatic of the papal chancery, by Mr. C. Johnson, and in the introduction to the papal letters Mr. Bliss has reprinted the regulations of the chancery made by Clement VI and Innocent VI. Several reforms in the method of editing have been introduced since the first two volumes were reviewed in the *ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW* for 1896 (xi. 562). All officials are now identified and entered in the index under their personal names, instead of under the name of their office only. Bulky entries under the name of the office—for instance, 'Canterbury, archbishop of'—are, however, still continued, it would seem unnecessarily. The absence of chronological sequence in the volumes of registers here analysed is unfortunately very troublesome. Even within each volume no sequence is followed, and whether a particular letter is registered under *secreta* or *communia* is determined by accident. M. Berger has explained the urgent reasons for adhering to the order of the original, because of the frequent references to matter which precedes in the register, though not chronologically. But he promises a chronological table at the end of his edition; some such table is urgently needed in the present volume of papal letters. The want of chronology makes the use of the index, where the entry is a large one, an arduous undertaking if search is made for an entry of a particular date. The existence of this difficulty makes it hazardous to assert that a certain bull which should be here is not here. I have failed to find four which are in Rymer, pp. 351, 375 (the first), 603, 641. The references to published sources are still somewhat erratic. It should be noticed that although the volume of letters is said to cover the pontificate of Innocent VI no bulls of the years 1361 or 1362 are entered.

MARY BATESON.

A Short History of British Colonial Policy. By HUGH EDWARD EGERTON, M.A. (London: Methuen & Co. 1897.)

MR. EGERTON'S thoughtful and laborious work covers the whole ground from Cabot's voyage in 1497 to the present time—a period long enough

to have produced great changes in any department of national policy, especially in one which is ever shifting its centre, if not changing its ground, and has at different times been concerned with very different fields. The colonial history of Great Britain is, in fact, the history of two distinct and successive colonial empires; an earlier one, which has developed into the United States of America, and a later one, consisting of the communities of colonial origin belonging to the composite British empire of to-day. Mr. Egerton's work would probably have gained in clearness and force if this fundamental distinction had been recognised as the basis of its arrangement. He has preferred to treat British colonisation as a continuous movement, affected rather by voluntary alterations of policy than by changes of space, time, and circumstance; and these successive alterations have produced four successive phases of colonial history. First we have the dark age of 'Trade Ascendency,' not terminating, as might have been expected, with the American revolution, which was substantially caused, according to Mr. Egerton, by the maintenance of this principle, but with the year 1830. After this we pass through the 'Period of Systematic Colonisation and the Granting of Responsible Government' (1831-1860); then through the 'Period of the Zenith and Decline of *Laissez-aller* Principles (1861-1885), and since 1886 or thereabouts we have been living in the 'Period of Greater Britain,' which will last, let us hope, longer than its immediate predecessors. It is not surprising to find that the best chance for the maintenance of 'Greater Britain' as a going concern, in the opinion of the only school of colonial politicians who can be said to have any policy of a practical kind, lies in 'knitting the colonies more closely in commercial bonds with the mother country.' To whatever point this commercial union may be carried, we recur to that extent to the principle of 'trade ascendency'—the original practice of all European colonial nations, and, in fact, the only colonial policy worth calling a policy ever adopted by Great Britain or any other country.

Mr. Egerton is not in accordance with the best opinion in holding that the Navigation Acts, the prohibition of certain manufactures, and the antiquated apparatus of 'trade ascendency' generally, caused the revolt of the old American colonies. The policy of restriction, under which the colonies flourished exceedingly, was scarcely called in question; the restrictive regulations themselves were modified as circumstances required, and would doubtless in due time have been further relaxed. The real cause of revolt was an unjustifiable act of aggression, such as would probably have led to similar consequences whatever commercial relations might have subsisted with the mother country—an act entirely outside the range of colonial policy, and aggravated by being successively protested against, withdrawn, again attempted, and persisted in to the point of armed resistance. The abolition of the slave trade and slavery engrossed attention in the period following American independence; and when in the second act of the imperial drama the curtain rose on a larger scene, and new colonial dominions were seen springing up in three quarters of the globe, Great Britain found herself in fact without anything that could be called a colonial policy at all. The economic plan known as 'systematic colonisation,' with its successes and failures,

scarcely rises to the dignity of a policy. 'Responsible government' had of necessity to be granted in Canada and Australia, because government from the Colonial Office had become impossible. It had long been recognised that when the demand for such a change should be made it would be impossible to resist it; in South Africa it had to be pressed on rather than conceded to the colonists, in the hope of getting rid of the incessant troubles caused by the Boers and the native races. *Laisser-aller*, by which we understand the suggestion that the colonies or colonial groups should take up with as little loss of time as possible the independence which is assumed to be their destiny, is rather the negation of all policy than a policy in itself, and probably has never had many advocates among those who have taken the trouble to realise what the suggestion, if carried out, would really involve. Mr. Egerton's 'Period of Greater Britain' appears to commence with the time when this country found itself compelled, much against its will, to participate in the celebrated 'scramble for Africa.' While his conception of policy as affecting events, and his division and nomenclature of the successive phases of colonial history, are open to exception, there can be no doubt as to the industry and ability with which his task has been performed, though its usefulness would have been increased if a summary of contents had been prefixed to each chapter.

E. J. PAYNE.

Entrevue de François Premier avec Henry VIII à Boulogne-sur-Mer en 1532. Intervention de la France dans l'Affaire du Divorce. D'après un grand nombre de documents inédits. Par le P. A. HAMY, de la Compagnie de Jésus. (Paris : Lucien Gougy. 1898.)

THE event which forms the subject of this book is obviously one of far more than local interest, and yet it has been passed over by historians hitherto with the most slender notice. Superficially it was, of course, a far less splendid affair than the Field of the Cloth of Gold, twelve years earlier. But the Field of the Cloth of Gold was little better than a piece of gorgeous insincerity, the effects of which were transient, while the interview at Boulogne, though contrived, on Henry's part, with no less duplicity, and agreed to on the other side with far more misgiving, was a thing which nevertheless helped mainly to bring on great and lasting effects. I mean, of course, what is suggested on Père Hamy's title-page itself, that the interview at Boulogne was a very important step in the story of Henry VIII's divorce. And Francis I, in agreeing to it, quite understood it in this light, but had not the least conception of the extraordinary new world that he was helping Henry VIII to establish. He was willing enough to join the English king in putting pressure on the pope, and to support his brother potentate against the indignity of being summoned out of his own kingdom to Rome in a cause moved by himself. He also enjoyed the idea that Henry's efforts, whether they should turn out successful or not, to get rid of his Spanish wife would naturally lead to an Anglo-French alliance against the emperor, the very lure, in fact, by which Henry was artfully drawing him on. But it never occurred to him as a possibility that Henry, after he had obtained from the pope, through his intervention, indulgences to which he had really forfeited all claim by his own disrespectful conduct towards the holy see, would

finally go a considerable step further, marry Anne Boleyn on his own responsibility, defy the spiritual power which Francis was endeavouring to conciliate for him, and protect himself against papal excommunication by making it treason to bring in papal bulls, or in any way acknowledge in his kingdom the old source of spiritual authority.

Henry was simply bent, as he had been for years past, on making Anne Boleyn his wife, either with the pope's sanction or without it. Of getting the pope's consent he had now very little hope. The legatine court in England had proved a failure. The opinions afterwards obtained by bribery and intimidation from English, French, and Italian universities offered, no doubt, a specious plea for treating his marriage with Katharine as invalid, but his suit was still pending at Rome, whither the cause had been removed on Katharine's protest against its being heard in England, and he could not marry again *pendente lite* without being guilty of contempt of court. Henry sent an 'excusator' to Rome, to plead that he should not be compelled to appear there, either in person or by deputy, and proceedings were prolonged for years without definite result, the pope himself being only too willing to avoid a crisis as long as possible.

It was merely to get as much indulgence out of the pope as could possibly be obtained, while preparing to throw off his spiritual allegiance, that Henry proposed this interview to Francis I, who undoubtedly had no great mind for it, except as a means of strengthening himself against the emperor. Past experience could not have made him desirous of another interview with Henry, and it is certain that he put it off for a whole year on very reasonable excuses. In June 1532, however, the matter was settled, and a league for mutual assistance against the emperor was signed in London, which Francis ratified in September. The conditions were kept strictly secret. The imperial ambassador at the French court was told that Henry had petitioned Francis for an interview for more than a year, but the latter had put it off, hoping to meet with the emperor instead; that it was now at last to take place, but that nothing would be done against the emperor, the great object being the defence of Christendom against the Turk, to which there was no doubt Henry would give the most cordial aid, though not in person.

These pretences, of course, did not in the least deceive the imperial agents. The interview was manifestly intended to diminish imperial influence at Rome, giving the pope to believe that England and France were one in heart and soul, and that a papal excommunication of Henry VIII would be as deeply resented by Francis as by Henry himself. The French correspondence with Rome at this time is remarkably instructive. Just after the Boulogne interview had taken place Francis despatched to Italy Cardinals Tournon and Grammont, to be present at the meeting between the pope and the emperor at Bologna. Before they left he had instructed his ambassador in the papal court to warn Clement of the dangers of the situation; for the emperor had promised the princes of Germany to procure a general council, a thing which his holiness by no means relished, and which it would be in the power of France and England to prevent. The cardinals themselves were commissioned to complain to the pope of a host of abuses connected with the church in

France, and especially of the excessive exactions of the court of Rome. It had been seriously suggested to assemble the church of France to repair these grievances on its own responsibility, but Francis had put away the thought out of deference to the holy see. Notwithstanding this loyal devotion, however, scandals had been circulated against the French at Rome, and had been tacitly accepted as true by the pope himself, who could not but know, Francis said, that they were baseless. To these and other complaints the cardinals were to add, as soon as the emperor was gone, that Francis and Henry had each other's interests greatly at heart, and it would be very dangerous to provoke them to undertake anything against the holy see. They were content at present to be respectful petitioners, but if redress were refused or delayed it would not be difficult to convoke a general council. From that moment the sending of money to Rome would be forbidden; and if the pope on this account launched censures against Francis he would appear at Rome with such a force that his holiness would soon be glad to grant him absolution.

That these instructions were virtually drawn up by Henry VIII, and not by Francis I, seems plain. They savour strongly of the policy adopted by Henry himself shortly afterwards in England. M. Hamy has no doubt about their authorship. Yet the parts relating to specific French grievances could only have been drawn up by a native draughtsman; and, curiously enough, our whole knowledge of the document itself is from a French source. For if any part of these instructions was drawn up by an English secretary of state, or any copy was sent to Henry for his satisfaction, no such document appears to have been preserved among the English state papers. Still their inspiration is evidently English, and it is clear that the cardinals did not act upon their instructions so far as to use any threatening language to the pope. M. Hamy says it is probable they did not, but from Benet's letter of 14 January we should say it was certain they did not. They thought it inexpedient to use menaces. The desired effect was, in fact, obtained without them. A meeting was arranged to take place between the pope and Francis, in which the latter would act as mediator between Henry and the holy see. Clement meanwhile agreed to suspend the process of the divorce at Rome on the understanding that Henry would take no further step on his side. Henry was greatly pleased, and, taking advantage of the pope's good humour, got him to accept the nomination of Cranmer as archbishop of Canterbury, a thing which he did all the more readily as Henry, on his side, was willing to suspend the new law just passed for the abolition of *annates*, provided the holy see would not be too exacting in its charges for the bulls.

Next year, having got an archbishop on whom he could rely, Henry secretly married Anne Boleyn and then, after obtaining a sentence of nullity as to his first marriage, which no one in England dared to dispute, proclaimed her his queen. Of course he was at once excommunicated by the pope. Worse still, he got Bonner, during the pope's visit to France, to thrust himself into the holy father's presence and intimate to him an appeal against the sentence of excommunication to the next general council, thus adding urgency to that very demand for a council to save him from which Clement had been exhorted to throw himself on the

protection of France and England. It was really very perplexing to Francis to have to do with such an ally.

The documents from which all this is made out are not altogether new, but they have not till now been made the subject of careful and elaborate study. Père Hamy is, however, quite justified in his statement that he has also used a very large number of documents hitherto unedited; and these with the others will be found, either at full length or in abstract, in his bulky appendix of 498 pages. The new documents relate almost entirely to the interview itself, giving the lists of French and English gentlemen present, with estimates and accounts of expenses, bills of fare, and such matters. The old documents contain the diplomatic history of the interview and of its immediate consequences. A large folded engraving of the town and harbour of Boulogne, from a print of 1611, is another feature of interest in the volume.

JAMES GAIRDNER.

Svensk Ryska Förhandlingar, 1564-72; Erik XIV's Ryska Förbundsplaner, af H. HJÄRNE. (Upsala: Almqvist. 1897.)

THIS short sketch of 129 pages by Professor Hjärne, published by the Literary Society of Upsala, is devoted to the negotiations between Erik XIV of Sweden, the mad king, with another insane tyrant, Ivan IV of Russia. Erik was anxious to have the assistance of Ivan against the king of Denmark, with whom he was always at war. In return for this help he was ready to favour the designs of Ivan upon Livonia and Esthonia. The sketch is the result of a careful study, and the list of authorities, both Swedish and Russian, quoted at the beginning is extensive. If we hear the Swedish side in this matter, it is also well to read what the Russians have to say, and we cannot do better than study the remarks of the eminent historian Bestuzhev Riumin in the second volume of his work. That Ivan should desire these provinces was very natural. He had shrewdness enough to perceive that Russia must have an outlet to the sea. She did not, however, get this outlet till the days of Peter the Great (treaty of Nystadt, 1721). We cannot wonder that Ivan was at war with Poland and Sweden, because they did all they could to prevent the Russians from entering into any commercial relations with foreign powers. Bestuzhev Riumin has also shown how entirely selfish was the policy of the Hansa at Novgorod. When Ivan III seized the city he was able to start commercial relations on his own account with the west. The Hansa kept all the trade to itself and depressed the local merchants; and a feeling of opposition to it was shown in other countries. Thus Bestuzhev Riumin cites the case of England, where the privileges of the Hansa were put an end to in the reign of Edward VI. Among the terms of the treaty negotiated between Erik and Ivan were the surrender to the Russians of the princess Catherine Jagiellonka, the wife of John, brother of Erik, whom the czar wished to marry. Professor Hjärne duly comments upon this extraordinary and indeed brutal proceeding. Catherine had honourably shared the captivity of her husband at Gripsholm, where he had been incarcerated by his brother. She firmly refused to quit him. In 1567 the Russian ambassadors came to Stockholm, where they stayed a year. Here, after having been rudely treated by Erik, they were unexpectedly freed from his violence. The

rule of the mad monarch was overthrown, and the unfortunate John was called to succeed him. Erik ended his days in prison in 1577, as appears, by poison. And thus the whole of this extraordinary negotiation fell through. John was crowned at Upsala with Catherine in 1569. The highly dramatic story of the adventures of him and his wife was told in a pamphlet printed at Cracow in 1570. It is supposed to have been written by the historian Kromer, and has been lately edited by M. Kraushar for the Library of Polish Authors of the Sixteenth Century, now in course of publication at Cracow.¹ According to this pamphlet three embassies were sent to Stockholm with splendid presents, and Erik is represented as doing all he could to gratify the whim of Ivan. He admonished his sister-in-law how great a thing it would be to be united to such a powerful monarch. Ivan seems to have used very violent language to him. ‘ . . . if you will not send her to me, then know that as long as I live I will fight with you: not only in Livonia, but in that land I will seek you.’ Erik was quite willing to hand over to Ivan his sister-in-law, and slew with his own hand some of his courtiers who endeavoured to dissuade him. In extenuation of the conduct of Ivan we must remember that he had been originally a suitor for the hand of Catherine, and according to Bestuzhev Riumin² Ivan thought at the time of the treaty with Erik that the princess was a widow. But this is hardly credible. Professor Hjärne furnishes his interesting sketch with many valuable notes, but we do not always agree with his inferences. Thus on p. 51 he depreciates the efforts of Ivan to secure useful artificers for Russia by means of the famous Hans Schlitte. He thinks that it is an anachronism to assign progressive ideas to such a tyrant, but surely Ivan’s favouring the introduction of the printing press and his welcome to the English merchants mean something. He may have been a barbarian, but he was certainly a very shrewd one. He was not the less a wise man that he did not sit down with folded arms and let the Swedes pursue their favourite plan of hermetically sealing Russia. Meanwhile the unfortunate province of Livonia was the battle-ground of Russian, Swede, and Pole. We can see what it suffered when we read the contemporary Russian narrative of Prince Kurbski.

W. R. MORFILL.

The History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century.

By G. P. GOOCH. (Cambridge: University Press. 1898.)

No one can be so versed in the history of the Puritan Revolution as to fail to derive instruction from Mr. Gooch’s book. There are few, if any, books or pamphlets bearing on his subject which he has not explored, and he has, moreover—what is not always the gift of students of documentary evidence—the power of selecting just those words or expressions which are capable of throwing a clear light on the points that he wishes to illustrate. Occasionally, indeed, as in his remarks on Hugh Peters, he adduces evidence which appears to me to be eminently untrustworthy, but such cases are very rare, and the book, as a whole, is

¹ *Historya Prawdziwa o przygodzie, zalosnej księżcia Finlandzkiego Jana i Krodlewny Katarzyny, 1570.*

² *Russkaya Istoria*, ii. 278.

as well grounded as it is attractive to the reader. The latter quality, indeed, is partly due to the fascination which Mr. Gooch's subject exercises over all who take any worthy interest in historical study. What men, who lived in an heroic age, wished or planned to do is of more importance than what they actually accomplished. The danger which it is difficult for the chronicler of political ideas to escape, and which it is peculiarly difficult for the chronicler of the ideas entertained by one party or group of parties to escape, lies in his forgetting that though such ideas spring from particular minds they take their shape from the circumstances amidst which they lived. Mr. Gooch, however, is not to be seriously blamed if his book fails to bring before the reader this side of his subject, or if the impression left by his work is rather that of a succession of thoughts handed down from one generation of thinkers to another, whilst the dependence of these thinkers upon the events and troubles of their day is left somewhat in the background. Every author has to sacrifice something to his plan of operation.

Those who like to see every expression of thought in its historical setting may ask Mr. Gooch in his next edition to add dates more frequently in his notes, as, for instance, to Waller's speech quoted at p. 206, and to the work of Peter Cornelius referred to at p. 209. At p. 233, note 2, there is some mistake in a supposed mission of Blake to Scotland at a time when he was incapacitated by a wound from being sent anywhere. At p. 152 'Mildmay' is probably a misprint or a slip of the pen for 'Wildman.'

SAMUEL R. GARDINER.

De Regeeringe van Amsterdam, soo in 't civiel als crimineel en militaire (1653-1672). Ontworpen door HANS BONTEMANTEL; uitgegeven door Dr. G. W. KERNKAMP. 2 deelen. ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff. 1897.)

HANS BONTEMANTEL, a portion of whose manuscript remains are given to the public in these volumes, belonged to a well-to-do family of the merchant class in Amsterdam. Born in 1613, he was during his early years engaged in business, but before reaching middle life he had apparently secured sufficient wealth to devote himself henceforth to the service of his native town. He was a strong partisan of John de Witt, and during the entire period of the stadtholderless *régime*, from 1650 to 1672, he filled a long succession of municipal offices. These were mostly of the secondary order, the most important having been that of president of the bench of sheriffs in 1669 and 1672. A full list is given by Dr. Kernkamp in his introduction (pp. xx-xxi). Bontemantel was, in fact, a useful and exemplary citizen, keenly interested in local affairs, but not of sufficient capacity or influence to play a leading part. He had, however, one quality, which has perpetuated his memory. He had a perfect mania for taking notes, and left behind him a mass of information upon the life, manners, and internal government of the Amsterdam of his days. Particularly did he love to record the *chronique scandaleuse* of the town, the intrigues and cajolery which were rife at elections, the double-dealing and unscrupulousness in obtaining places of influence or profit, or the shabby tricks by which local politicians tried to get the better of their rivals, and he does it naively and for the mere pleasure of telling

the story, much in the manner of our own Boswell, the narrator being often quite unconscious that, according to his own account, he himself is represented in a far from complimentary fashion, and, in fact, cuts a very sorry figure in many an anecdote in which he appears as one of the *dramatis personae*. After the murder of the De Witts Bontemantel was ejected from office, and posterity is undoubtedly a much greater loser by his dismissal from public life than were his contemporaries. He died in 1688, leaving behind him a number of heavy tomes in manuscript, containing, besides his notes and observations on all kinds of public events, in which he was interested or took part, copies also of quantities of documents, such as resolutions of the corporation, resolutions of the states of Holland, of the states-general, and of the West India Company's directorate, together with a mass of judicial cases and decisions. What was his object in writing it is impossible to say, for Bontemantel appears to have left no testamentary directions as to the disposal of his literary remains; but, whatever may have been the author's intentions, their fate has been a peculiar and in some respects an unfortunate one.

For upwards of 130 years the manuscripts remained in the possession of the family undisturbed, and, as far as is known, were never used by any one for historical purposes, except to a small extent by Wagenaar, who certainly consulted them. With this single exception, however, they lay forgotten and disregarded until 1817. On 14 June in that year a letter from a certain Mejufr. E. J. D. Baart reached King William I, stating that she had in her possession a collection of manuscripts written by Hans Bontemantel, her ancestor on the mother's side. She asked the king, as she was advanced in years, and feared that on her death the collection might fall into unworthy hands, to appoint a person to examine the documents, and to direct that, if the collection were deemed worthy, it should be placed in the royal archives. The letter was sent to the archivist, Van Wijn, for consideration and advice, and he, after examination of the volumes, reported that, though of varying importance and interest, they were of great value for the history of Holland, and especially of Amsterdam, and recommended that the collection should be accepted for deposition in the archives. Despite this recommendation, for some reason or other unknown the Bontemantel manuscripts never found their way into the archives, and it is much to be regretted that the opportunity was not seized for preserving such a storehouse of reference for Dutch seventeenth-century history in its original completeness. There is nothing to show how the volumes passed from the hand of Mejufr. Baart into those of the Jhr. G. J. Beeldsnijder van Voshol at Utrecht, but a list of them appeared in 1838 in a catalogue of the manuscripts of that bibliophile, and two years later they were put up to auction by the Amsterdam bookseller C. Weddepohl. The sale list gives the number of bound volumes as sixteen, but a comparison of the contents of these with a list written by Mejufr. Baart, and appended to her letter¹ to the king in 1817, bears evidence that as yet the collection was practically complete, though probably already mutilated by the excision of various portraits, maps, and autographs of distinguished persons. It is quite possible that they were not sold in 1838, but remained in the possession of Jhr. Beeldsnijder.

¹ Now in the Algemeen Rijksarchief at the Hague.

Certain facts brought forward by Dr. Kernkamp support the supposition, and either he or their owner, whoever he may have been, seems to have taken to pieces some of the volumes, the contents of which became separated and dispersed. Eleven bundles of Bontemantel papers were purchased in 1859 for the Amsterdam archives, and ten years later, at the sale of the well-known book collector Isaac Meulman, the Amsterdam authorities were able to get into their possession the intact portion of the Bontemantel remains, but it consisted now of but thirteen tomes. Three had wholly disappeared, among these the two volumes dealing with the affairs of the West India Company between 1641 and 1664. This is a real loss, as the sources of information for the history of that company during those decades are very scanty.

Dr. Kernkamp has now published in its entirety that portion of Bontemantel's writings which bore the title 'The Governments of Amsterdam, as well Civil as Criminal and Military, 1653-1672,' and he has added twelve appendices, containing extracts from other portions of the manuscripts on subjects illustrative of or bearing upon the same theme. The whole has most carefully been edited with a thoroughness beyond praise. A lengthy introduction deals with the history of Bontemantel, of the Bontemantel manuscripts, and of their past and present condition and contents, so as to furnish the reader with all that is to be known about this interesting collection of seventeenth-century records in the fullest manner. It is a complete monograph upon the subject. The text has further been supplied with copious but judicious notes explanatory and historical. The volumes conclude with two indices, the first of personal names, the second of principal subjects, and a detailed list of the contents. To all students of the history of the United Provinces in the period of John de Witt this publication will be welcome. It is to be hoped that Dr. Kernkamp will shortly deal in like manner with other portions of Hans Bontemantel's manuscripts.

GEORGE EDMUNDSON.

'*Brief Lives, chiefly of Contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey between the Years 1669 and 1696.* Edited from the Author's Manuscripts by ANDREW CLARK, M.A., LL.D. Two volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1898.)

MR. CLARK'S publication of the 'University Registers' between 1571 and 1622, and his editions of Wood's 'Life and Times' and 'City of Oxford,' in the Oxford Historical Society's series, marking him as the first of modern Oxford antiquaries, have now been followed by the complete text of Aubrey's 'Lives,' which has seen the light almost simultaneously with Mr. Clark's 'History of Lincoln College.' The 'Lives,' it is true, are not specially those of Oxford men; but they were, for the most part, jotted down with the view of assisting Anthony Wood in the compilation of his 'Athenae Oxonienses,' a true text of which, we are delighted to see, Mr. Clark promises. That incomparable work embodies the pith of Aubrey's labours. A few of the biographies, transcribed from Aubrey's manuscripts in the Ashmolean, were published by Caulfield in 1797 under the title of 'The Oxford Cabinet;' and in 1813 appeared Bliss and Walker's

'Letters written by Eminent Persons . . . and Lives of Eminent Men, by John Aubrey, Esq. . . . in two volumes,' a somewhat mutilated and inaccurate selection from among the author's papers. We have now before us the entire four hundred and more Lives in as nearly as possible their original form. But a faithful representation of what Aubrey wrote has not been a simple matter, for the manuscripts are not one but four, and consist of minutes and jottings, 'putt in writing,' as he explained to Wood, 'tumultuarily,' often bits and scraps which the memory of the morning preserved from the 'after dinner talk' of the last night's potation. They would have, the writer said, to be 'reduced into order,' and the task has not been an easy one. There are numberless gaps in Aubrey's manuscript for words and figures to be afterwards supplied at leisure. It is rather amusing that he should not know that the Articles of the Church of England are thirty-nine in number. He writes '36,' with *quaere* in the margin.

Nevertheless, though Wood to the grave injury of suppressing forty pages of Aubrey's manuscript added the insult of styling his good-natured friend 'magotic-headed,' we have in Aubrey not only the faculty of noting and docketing anything done or said by contemporaries that was likely to interest posterity, but—considering that he wrote here, there, and everywhere, without notebook or books of reference—a wonderful alertness and exactitude of memory. Nor has he only the antiquary's power of picking up a pin. Tory and high churchman as he was, Aubrey knew a great man on the opposite side when he saw him, even in his lifetime. Take the following: 'Mr. John Milton made two admirable panegyricks, as to sublimitie of witt, one on Oliver Cromwel, and the other on Thomas Lord Fairfax. . . . Were they made in commendation of the devill, 'twere all one to me, 'tis the *ὕψος* that I looke after.' Among the brief lives are those of Milton, of Shakespeare (all too brief), of Spenser, of Sidney, of Beaumont and of Fletcher, of Massinger, of Bishop Andrewes, of Ben Jonson, of Raleigh, of Bacon, of George Herbert, of Dryden, of Davenant—in a word, of almost every man great in a great age. Considering Aubrey's nearness to most of them in time, and that some of them were his 'coëtaneans' and familiars, what interest these biographies have, and, had not the cream been already clumsily taken, with what avidity would Mr. Clark's book have been now received! Not that its perusal makes the period more attractive. The times were gross, and the men of that day called a spade a spade, unless they could find a coarser term to call it by. The worst way to understand an age is sometimes to know too much about it, and the unedited realism of seventeenth-century gossip thrusts the canvas too close to our eyes. It is almost impossible for one century to judge another sympathetically. We have not the true perspective, and we think that virtues and vices which are incompatible in ourselves were incompatible in men of other days—days when grand gentlemen and ladies walked in noble attire by kennels running with filth, and stately speech and thought and manners went in and out amid ferocity and debauchery and shameless indecency. Take as an instance of rude buffoonery the explanation, in the life of Raleigh, of the origin of the phrase adopted later by the Jacobites: 'Box about: 'twill come to my father anon.' On the previous page is described a pretty scene in

the Privy Garden, of the earl of Nottingham wiping the dust from Sir Walter's shoes with his cloak, 'in compliment.' The only 'scandal about Queen Elizabeth' is that she kissed Sylvanus Scory in St. Paul's during divine service, and was only prevented by state reasons from espousing him.

Aubrey has the usual seventeenth-century gift of apt and racy expression, though hardly to the extent that Wood had it. Barrow, he tells us, was 'pale as the candle he studied by.' Dean Price was 'a mighty pontificall proud man.' Recording that Milton's first wife was a royalist, he adds, 'Two opinions doe not well on the same boulder.' Overall is nothing but 'a common-prayer Doctor.' Memory and judgment, he says, are 'like two well-buckets : ' this is to explain why Bishop Saunderson, being a man of great judgment, broke down at his lecture in the Lord's Prayer. Aubrey, who styles himself unjustly 'a scurvey antiquary,' says, 'If ever I had been good for anything 'twould have been a painter, I could fancy a thing so strongly' (i. 43). There is something very pictorial in the description of Dr. Kettell, who 'dragg'd with one foot a little, by which he gave warning (like the rattlesnake) of his coming,' in the comparison of Lord Bacon's 'delicate, lively, hazeleie' to that of a viper, and of Waller's lamentable handwriting to the scratching of a hen, and in the description of learned men in some semi-monastic parsonage who 'contract a mosse on them like an old pale in an orchard for want of ingeniose conversation.' Aubrey regretted, however, that the church of England, in reforming herself, had not retained religious houses 'for contemplative men.' 'What a pleasure 'twould have been to have travelled from monastery to monastery' (i. 41). He remembered when crucifixes and saints were common in Oxford study windows, but after 1647 'downe went Dagon!' Some great men urged Aubrey in 1676 to put on the cassock. He objected that the king of France grew stronger and the Roman religion might come in again. 'Why, then, say they, *cannot you turne too?*' Aubrey laughingly told Wood that, as he knew, he was 'no enemy to the old gentleman on the other side of the Alpes,' and a fat living would certainly be a shrewd temptation to him. But he had no taste for holy orders (i. 50). If he deplored and perhaps blackened the morals of his age, it was by way of *laudatio temporis acti*, before gravity and dutifulness were laid aside. The disuse of the old-fashioned academic disputatiousness, however, he considered to be no loss (i. 173). Aubrey records the distaste of that age for the euphuistic language of Sir Philip Sidney's school (i. 177). The old 'mastif-dog' ways of which the French used to complain in English 'my-lords' had given way to greater refinement, 'much by the example of his gracious majestie, who is the patterne of courtesie' (ii. 241). Charles II's father is described as 'that great antiquary.' It was indeed a mighty age of antiquaries—no mere pedants, but men who had the philosophy to see that the old order was passing never to return, and the industry and intelligence to rescue knowledge of immeasurable value for posterity from going to 'wrap herings' or being used for pies and pasteboard. Aubrey relates, and we read, with gratification that Sir Geoffrey Chaucer was fined by the Star Chamber for cutting down a tree called Chaucer's oak.

We could well linger over these pages, reading how the great Lord Bacon

walked in meditation in his parquet or paradise attended by Thomas Hobbes with pen and inkhorn to set down his thoughts; how Lord Burleigh hunted for a young genius to prefer him and found he had been hanged a fortnight before; how Sir Thomas More escaped from a Tom o' Bedlam who tried to throw him off the roof of his house; how Sir William Petty, challenged to a duel and being very short-sighted, named a dark cellar and a carpenter's axe for the place and weapon; how Judge Jenkins resolved to be hanged, by the parliament, with a bible under one arm and Magna Charta under the other; how Raleigh spoke broad Devonshire to the end; how the bishops considered the question of burning 'the good old gentleman' Hobbes; how Hobbes in his old age used every night in bed, having first shut the doors, that none might hear, to sing prick-song aloud, accompanying himself on the lute ('not that he had a very good voice) but for his health's sake; and how Harvey sat during Edgehill fight under a hedge with the young princes reading a book, till a bullet dislodged him and them. Aubrey and his fellows have done so much for posterity that it is right that posterity should edit them faithfully and well. Except a single trifling misprint I have noticed only one error, if it be such, in Mr. Clark's volumes. The account of Sir Miles Fleetwood, 'recorder of London when King James came into England,' he assigns to Sir William Fleetwood, who died in 1594. Aubrey, however, is quite explicit, and says that the horse which served Sir Miles in such good stead, by standing still when some rascals had set his master under Tyburn tree with a rope round his neck and his hands tied, died in 1646. Sir Miles's recordership, certainly, is not mentioned in Haydn's 'Book of Dignities.' The vexed question about the year of Wren's birth (ii. 313) is at first sight settled by the East Knoyle register, as we can personally testify; but the entry is not, after all, conclusive. Aubrey knew Sir Christopher intimately.

Mr. Clarke says, 'It would be interesting to know when the "bidding prayer" became a form, and ceased to be composed for the occasion' (ii. 27). Has he overlooked Canon 55? It is true this allows some latitude; but Bonner's injunctions in 1554 command 'an uniforme order in Byddyng of the Bedes.'

DOUGLAS MACLEANE.

Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns, 1650-51. By W. S. DOUGLAS.

(London: Elliot Stock. 1898.)

It is to be hoped that no sensible reader will be deterred by the pseudo-Carlylese in which part of Mr. Douglas's book is written from making himself thoroughly acquainted with a most excellent piece of work. Mr. Douglas has been able to bring under contribution some new sources of information, and possesses a far more complete knowledge of the ground over which Cromwell's army manœuvred than can possibly be acquired by a mere interloper from the south. Even such advantages, however, would have profited him little if he had not also possessed a mind capable of appreciating evidence, often indirect and sometimes slight in appearance. Personally I have to thank Mr. Douglas for not a few corrections of my own statements, all of which require respectful examination at my hands. I only wish that all other work of mine could be tested in like manner.

Sometimes it happens that a correction leads further than appears at first sight. Holburn, Mr. Douglas tells us, is described 'in all the Scots records' as Holburn of Menstrie, and he therefore argues that this officer is not likely to have been, as I had supposed, an Englishman. Is it not, however, more important to know whether, whatever his nationality may have been, he was the same man as the one who played an important part in the early days of the English Civil War? There is, as far as I know, no evidence in the case, except that he suddenly disappears from English history when the new model was formed. If he was a Scot, and the same man as Holburn the Scot, this is easily explained; if he were a different man, his name would almost certainly reappear, like that of Massey, amongst the discharged officers who took part in the political strife of the day. Assuming him, then, to have been a Scot who transferred his services to the government of his own country, his former employment in England must be taken into account before we condemn him, as Mr. Douglas is more than half inclined to do, of treachery at Dunbar and Inverkeithing. On the one hand it may be said that having served in an English army he was likely to have betrayed his own country in favour of England; but on the other hand it is, as it seems to me, far more probable that the Scots looking, in the midst of their defeats, for a scapegoat, would be very credulous of tales bearing hardly on one who had formerly been a comrade of the men against whom they were fighting.

In another point of greater importance I am disposed to differ from Mr. Douglas. In my opinion he is too apt to set up the contrast between the Charles II of the visit to Scotland and the Charles II of the Restoration. I am afraid the links between the two dates hardly justify the contrast. If, indeed, we are asked to go back to first principles, and to argue that his descent from Henry IV, together with his education and the surroundings of his youth, was not conducive to scrupulous general morality in a young man who was already the father of one illegitimate child, and had, truly or falsely, acknowledged himself to be the father of another, we need not resist the argument; but it is hard to be asked to qualify the statement that he pursued a dishonourable course in accepting conditions at Heligoland or in Scotland which he meant to throw over at the first favourable moment. We need not be very angry with him, if we consider the absurd pretensions of those with whom he was bargaining, but further than that we can scarcely go. As for Mr. Douglas's contention (pp. 196, 197) that the Scottish clergy would have been content not to hold Charles to his bargain to suppress episcopacy in England, if with the help of a Scottish army he made himself master of his southern kingdom, it is enough to say that it presupposes a line of conduct very different from any which they had manifested from 1643 onwards.

For Scots willing to range themselves on Cromwell's side Mr. Douglas has naturally rather hard measure. Treachery, of course, merits reprobation whenever it occurs, but the claims of nationality vary in force at different epochs, and it was no dishonour to a convinced Scottish presbyterian in the seventeenth century to come to the conclusion that his duty led him to range himself with the foreign invader rather than with those who were playing such pranks in the name of their country and their church.

SAMUEL R. GARDINER.

Louis XV et le Renversement des Alliances ; Préliminaires de la Guerre de Sept Ans, 1754-1756. Par RICHARD WADDINGTON. (Paris : Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1896.)

M. RICHARD WADDINGTON'S work (which, but for accidental circumstances, would have been more promptly noticed in this REVIEW) forms an addition of signal value to the literature which has gradually accumulated round one of the most interesting chapters of modern diplomatic history, without always succeeding in throwing light upon its difficulties. I need hardly say that the candour of statement and the dignity of style which characterise this volume are alike fully worthy of the reputation of its distinguished author. Although, as will be seen, he is at no pains to disguise either his historical point of view or the political sympathies and antipathies which have helped to determine it, he has judiciously abstained from the polemical tone which has elsewhere marked the discussion of the subject. He has at the same time imposed upon himself definite limits, and although entering more fully than might have seemed indispensable for his purpose into the humiliating incident of the British expatriation of the Acadians, has not represented it as having exercised any contemporary influence upon international sentiment: indeed, he has pointed out of how little use the Acadians were at the siege of Fort Beauséjour (Cumberland), although their efforts for provisioning the fort are popularly supposed to have served as a principal reason or pretext for the cruel doom inflicted upon them. On the other hand he has judiciously refrained from attempting in his final chapter anything like an exhaustive treatment of the question as to the responsibility for the actual outbreak of the war in Germany. Upon this still vexed problem, inasmuch as, strictly speaking, it lies outside the range of M. Waddington's inquiry, I will, so far as possible, avoid touching.

The history of the 'preliminaries of the Seven Years' War,' and of the shifting of the relations between the chief European states which preceded and exercised an influence upon the circumstances of its outbreak, necessarily comes to an end with the latter part of August 1756. On the 29th of that month Frederick II crossed the Saxon frontier. It seems equally clear that in this shifting of alliances the cardinal change was that of the relations between the French and Austrian governments, and that, inasmuch as no key is needed for unlocking the policy of Maria Theresa and her minister, the position at this date which above all requires elucidation is the position of France. Unhappily her *triste souverain*, Lewis XV, was for practical purposes 'France' as much as Lewis XIV had been when at the height of his glory; and the principal title of M. Waddington's book is therefore only too well justified. As a matter of course, an explanation of the position of France necessitates a narrative of its antecedents. I observe that a controversy, doubtless worth the ink which is being freely expended upon it, is at present in progress on the broad theme of the final purpose of history, whether it be to expound *wie es eigentlich gewesen* or *wie es eigentlich geworden*. The evolution of French policy during the two years preceding the opening of the Seven Years' War in Europe illustrates the distinction without a difference between Ranke's time-honoured definition and its last fashionable substi-

tute. The position, then, of France in August 1756 was so radically false from the point of view of her interests, whether immediate or remote, that one might at first sight find some difficulty in believing its significance to have remained obscure even to Lewis XV, whose moral effeteness had by no means altogether obscured his intelligence or killed his pride. Yet when we inquire rather more closely, we find that the treaty concluded by him three months previously with Austria, and as yet succeeded by no further formal agreement, was in the almost unanimous opinion of his brother sovereigns, including Frederick II himself, one that strengthened the assurances of peace, at all events for the present. Cardinal de Bernis, the principal agent in the negotiations for the first treaty of Versailles, and one who took pride and pleasure in it as the work of his hands, afterwards contended that it was not this compact of 1756, but the later arrangements of 1757 and 1758, which really secured to Austria the armed co-operation of France in the war, and which thus entailed upon her the dire consequences of failure. Yet it is not the less certain that before the first shot was fired in the war, the government of Lewis XV had acknowledged the recovery of Silesia by Austria to be a primary object of the alliance between the two powers, by engaging to continue his own hostilities with Great Britain during the progress of the Austrian undertaking against Prussia, and by subordinating the arrangements as to the Austrian Netherlands, which involved the French equivalent, to the reconquest of the lost province. While thus binding herself to carry on war with Great Britain beyond a date at which it might suit her own interests to do so, France had undertaken engagements as to both men and money binding her to an active co-operation in arms that, in actual gains, was to bring her nothing but a small accession of territory to be carved out of the Austrian Netherlands, on their exchange in the infant Don Philip's favour for Parma and Piacenza. France might furthermore find her account in invading Hanover, a proceeding which, whatever its results, would leave Great Britain standing very much where she did, and in which France was still far from being assured of the countenance of her new ally. For the assertion of Cardinal Bernis, that the French negotiators at Compiègne secured the renunciation *in perpetuum* by Austria of the British alliance, imperfectly agrees with the other evidence on the subject, and remains, in fact, nothing but an assertion. Of course no importance need be attached to such protestations as those which Count Colloredo addressed to Lord Granville (his title, by the way, is in this volume consistently misspelt Grenville, just as Lord Albemarle's name is always printed as Albermarle), who according to Horace Walpole replied with much spirit, 'We understand it only as a treaty of neutrality, and can but be glad of it; the people in general look on it otherwise; and I fear a time will come when it may be right for us, and may be our inclination, to assist your mistress again; but the prepossession against her will be too strong—nobody then will dare to be a Lord Granville.'

Under any circumstances, however, no bargain could on the face of it have been more one-sided; and M. Waddington's diplomatic instincts almost carry him away when he declares that 'the advantages secured by Austria in the treaty of Versailles and in the offensive alliance which would result from it were so evident that nobody has even thought of

blaming Maria Theresa and her minister, notwithstanding the scanty success which attended their *entèrprise*.' Undoubtedly, the assumption that Maria Theresa was on historic or any other grounds called upon to adhere permanently to the British alliance, whether before or after the conclusion of the treaty of Westminster, borders on the ridiculous; and the house of Austria and its counsellors must have been well aware that voices and interests had long made themselves heard in England—the Walpole interest, for instance—which had rated at a very low value the claims of this traditional association. Again, it would be even more absurd to hold the empress and her trusted adviser responsible for their indifference to the consequences of her action for the future of the Germanic empire—an indifference of which her Prussian adversary had set her a signal example when he concluded his alliance with France in 1741; the Habsburgs could not know to what account the Hohenzollerns would ultimately turn this particular Cadmean venture. But it seems to me impossible to keep apart the dexterity with which Kaunitz secured this particular means towards his end, and his rashness in enabling his mistress to pursue that end itself. His sagacity in recognising the feasibility of a revolution in Austria's 'system' of alliances, and the remarkable skill with which, after he had himself, during his Paris embassy, but slightly advanced his object, it was consummated within a relatively brief space of time by Starhemberg, may be readily acknowledged, without an approval being implied of the policy which it was their ultimate purpose to subserve. Apart from the fact, strongly insisted on by Max Lehmann, that the organisation of the Austrian army was still thoroughly antiquated and radically defective, and from the further fact (to be brought home in a most startling fashion before the war was over) that Russia was as uncertain an ally in the long run as she was sure to be an unready one at the outset, Kaunitz, in securing the adhesion of France to his projects, miscalculated the energy, under different guidance from that to which she had recently been accustomed, of what the duke of Cumberland would have called her *ennemi naturel*; and I am inclined to think that, under the influence of diplomatic impressions which the personal ascendancy of George II had long succeeded in conveying, he misunderstood the real character of the relations between Great Britain and the Hanoverian electorate.

But although I cannot hold that M. Waddington has said the last word on the policy of Kaunitz, it will be more to the present purpose to indicate the general line of the argument by which he accounts for the success of the chancellor in bending France and her sovereign to the preliminary requirements of his great design. Perhaps it may be worth remarking that not more notice than is necessary is bestowed in his pages upon the tradition which attributes a leading share in the transfer of her alliance by France from Prussia to Austria to the personal influence, animated by the personal wishes and resentments, of Madame de Pompadour. The instincts of the favourite, as forming part and parcel of the *régime* to which the moral decadence of the sovereign had condemned France, could not but be in favour of peace; and there can be little doubt that early in 1755 her influence contributed to the rejection of the scheme of retaliating upon Great Britain for her proceedings in American waters, and preventing

their further progress, by a brisk European war, in furtherance of which Frederick II (then admirably represented at Versailles by Knyphausen) was only too happy to point out the best means of annoying his uncle. 'It would only be,' Knyphausen wrote, 'at the very last extremity that she would consent to a land war, which would remove the king to a distance from her person, and would cause him to forego the habit of seeing and consulting her.' But, this peril past, there seems no reason for assuming that she took a leading part in the Austro-French negotiations which ensued, although her preferences may very probably, like those of Lewis himself, have favoured the more dignified and catholic court. For she had naturally become a *dévoté* as the years went on, and we know that Bernis was careful to touch upon the consequences which the Anglo-Prussian understanding might have for the interests of religion. But there is no evidence as to the decisive nature of the intervention of Madame de Pompadour at the critical stage of the negotiations (the end of April 1756); and M. Waddington points out that, notwithstanding her sensibility to the freespokenness of Frederick II, she had charged Nivernais with a special message of goodwill to the king when, all too late, he started on the mission which was to have so disappointing a termination. Starhemberg, in begging Kaunitz that due notice should be taken of the services rendered by the favourite, must have referred to the later rather than the earlier stages of the negotiations, which she and Bernis then exerted themselves most effectively to carry to a point at which their progress would satisfy the Austrian requirements; unluckily, though intelligibly enough, it is precisely during this later period that the documentary evidence of the progress of the Franco-Austrian negotiations almost entirely fails us.

The isolation to which Great Britain was in imminent danger of being exposed, in the event of a European war with France, was no secret to her government. The skill of Keene, a remarkably capable diplomatist, had secured the neutrality of Spain, notwithstanding the efforts of the duc de Duras. In Russia, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, who, on the other hand, cannot be asserted, with all his cleverness, to have been a political agent of high ability, was not until September 1755 able to conclude a treaty—a very ambiguous piece of work when it had been concluded. But it was in the revision of the relations between Great Britain and Austria that a rift in the old system of alliances first became perceptible. No two powers had respectively been more accustomed to appeal to the remembrance of what each had done for the other; yet there could no longer be any doubt that with their interests the methods of maintaining them must come more and more to diverge. At Vienna, where we were intelligently but not over-effectively represented, Kaunitz might choose to declare that the best way of defending Hanover was to attack the king of Prussia, *i.e.* to assist in the recovery of Silesia. But in England public feeling was divided between a desire to hold our own at any cost at sea and in America and an unwillingness to become, as Temple not long afterwards phrased it, an 'insurance office' for Hanover by means of a series of subsidy treaties. Old Horace Walpole's distrust of the house of Austria had doubtless been long since discounted. But among leading English politicians—and even in the cabinet—a

difference of opinion was beginning to manifest itself as to our system of alliances, and a serious risk might be run if that uncertainty were to continue. King George II and his Hanoverian ministers, among whom Münchhausen was, in foreign as well as in domestic electoral affairs, a statesman of real mark, would have had Great Britain take part in the project, hatched by Fleming (one of those active builders of schemes with whom Saxony has in the nineteenth as well as in the eighteenth century supplied Europe) and approved by Holderness, for a close alliance between herself, Austria, and Saxony-Poland; but the king's control over British foreign policy was already on the decline, and the project had to be shelved as out of date. The serious peril of isolation to which Great Britain was accordingly exposed, in view of the imminent outbreak of war with France in Europe, induced the government of George II, with the king's concurrence and co-operation, to make overtures to Frederick II for a Prussian neutrality in the event of an attack upon Hanover—and Frederick II was not the prince to let such a chance escape him.

The extreme rapidity with which the treaty of Westminster (as it is rather perversely called) of January 1756 was concluded is in itself an indication of the limits of its immediate significance. Although it was to prove a very important step towards the overthrow of the existing system of European alliances, no such meaning was attached to it either in England, where hopes were actually entertained that it might come to form the basis of an alliance with Austria and Russia as well as with Prussia, such as would in her turn completely isolate France, or by Frederick, whose object in quickly falling in with the proposal had been to seize the chance of a Silesian guarantee, besides, if possible, finding in it more or less of a safeguard against the ill-will of the *tzarina*. But—and here we come to the critical stage of the argument—how was the news of this agreement received by France, and what was its effect upon the course of the negotiations between the actual directors of her policy and the court of Vienna?

For, it must be remembered—and an attention to dates is very necessary in even the most cursory review of these complicated transactions—the negotiations in question had been in active progress since September 1755, when Bernis and Starhemberg first met in Madame de Pompadour's château at Sèvres, she, however, taking no part in the conference, and it was not till December that the *duc de Nivernais* at last set forth on the mission—from which he had hoped so much but which he had delayed so long—to the Prussian court. Nivernais persisted, even after the unpalatable agreement had been made known to him in the form of a project, in pressing upon Frederick his proposal for a renewal of the defensive treaty between France and Prussia, which had been concluded in 1741 and was on the point of expiring. It cannot be thought extraordinary that this accomplished statesman, whose mind was solely bent upon the terms of the arrangement, from the first regarded by him as the end and aim of his mission, should have viewed the 'treaty of Westminster' in the light of a *manœuvre* on Frederick's part towards securing the best terms possible from his undoubted ally; but it would be incomprehensible that he should have been left without a hint of the Austrian negotiations, were it not that the French foreign office in the person of its chief (*Rouillé*)

was in point of fact little better informed than he as to their nature and progress. I am inclined to conclude that Frederick entertained no serious suspicion of their purport, although some rumours had reached his ears. Thus a great share of the blame fastened by M. Waddington upon Frederick as having 'mistaken the degree of susceptibility' in Louis XV, or, in other words, insulted his sense of dignity, by keeping him in the dark as to the conclusion of a treaty with the mortal foe of France, falls upon Lewis himself, if the transaction is to be judged in connexion with its consequences. For Nivernais had preventive as well as corrective opportunities during his familiar intercourse with Frederick at Potsdam; and without a knowledge of the Austrian negotiations, so far as their drift was concerned, he could not even feel satisfied as to the answer to the question he had asked at the outset of his own, *s'il convient de s'en tenir vis-à-vis du roi de Prusse à des assurances d'amitié*. True, he received his letters of recall at an early date, but he was expressly authorised to use them 'either sooner or later,' as the condition of his health might seem to render advisable.

When the news of the treaty of Westminster actually arrived at Versailles a council was held, in which, according to Knyphausen's information, all the members present, with the solitary exception of Belle-Isle, rejected Nivernais's proposal of a renewal of the treaty with Prussia, while a considerable minority was in favour of the recall of the ambassador from Berlin. The 'susceptibility' of Rouillé and Sechelles, which thus brought them into line with the secret negotiations, may have been very acceptable to Starhemberg; but, inasmuch as three months, or thereabouts, were to intervene before the signature of the treaty of Versailles, it is obvious that the French government had time enough at its disposal for seeking to bring about a result approaching to that which, as Bernis afterwards declared, would have saved the situation, viz. a renunciation—or perhaps a modification—of the treaty of Westminster by Frederick II. In other words, I remain in doubt whether the announcement of this treaty in France was the determining motive of the action of the cabal in whose hands lay the destinies of her policy. But this issue is a narrow one, and M. Waddington's exposition of the transactions which ensued is so clear and candid that his readers may be left to form their opinion on it for themselves.

A. W. WARD.

The Autobiography of Arthur Young, with Selections from his Correspondence. Edited by M. BETHAM EDWARDS. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1898.)

'By an irony of fate Arthur Young, who had found farm after farm in his own hands a disaster, was now [in 1781] by general acceptance the first European authority on agriculture.' So writes Miss Betham Edwards (p. 102). Arthur Young was not a good farmer any more than Rousseau was a good educator; but they were the cause of better farming and education in other men. Young was a voluminous writer, from the time of the political pamphlets compiled by him at the age of eighteen, in 1758, for a bookseller, to the time of the 'Oweniana,' 'Baxteriana' (1815), and 'Elements of Agriculture,' written in blindness, just before his death

in 1820. His tours of observation in 1767–70 were the beginning of his most characteristic work. Some of the freshest letters in the volume are from Harte, author of ‘Essays on Husbandry,’ who saw in him a potent ally. The reader in this case and others has need to lament the absence of Young’s half of the correspondence; we are often furnished with the questions without the answers.

It was impossible for an autobiography of a man like Arthur Young, however curtailed, to be without interest. He travelled widely, saw many famous men, heard much, and filled his notebooks well. In Ireland, for example, he gives the picture of a landlord of the old school equal to anything in ‘Castle Rackrent’ (p. 71). He was lucky enough, in the county of Cork, to light upon a letter of Dean Swift in scathing dispraise of Ireland and all that was hers, though he was not allowed to make a copy of it (pp. 72, 73).¹ He had consulted Dr. Johnson, though he did not follow his advice against Young’s publishing a magazine on his own account in 1762 (p. 26). He corresponded with Barry the painter (p. 115), Dr. Burney (p. 144, &c.), Priestley (p. 151, &c.), Washington (p. 189), Bentham (pp. 247, 308, 341), and Burke (p. 232, &c.) He had a project for assisting the poor by the reclamation of waste lands (p. 305), and clung to it, though it found no favourers. He supported (in 1781) a scheme for building a man-of-war by private subscription, beginning thereby a friendship with the eccentric bishop and earl, Hervey of Bristol, whose letters are full of character, not to say oddity (pp. 104, 128, 131). His interview with Burke at the latter’s farm in 1796 is certainly one of the most striking parts of the book. He found Burke not only feeble in body and broken in spirit, but (Young thought) affected in intellect: ‘I almost thought that I was come to see the greatest genius of the age in ruin’ (p. 257). ‘I was glad to find his farm in good order, and doubly so to hear him remark that it was his only amusement, except the attention which he paid to a school in the vicinity for sixty children of noble emigrants.’ Burke’s conversation was ‘a mixture of agricultural observations, French madness, price of provisions, the death of his son, the absurdity of regulating labour, the mischief of our poor laws, of the difficulty of cottagers keeping cows.’ Argument distressed him. French politics roused him to violence. Of Mounier and Lally Tollendal he said, ‘I wish they were both hanged’ (p. 259). Mrs. Crewe’s presence roused him from his languor only to evoke an extremely bad pun on the name Thelwell (*ibid.*) It is a sad picture.

What there is in this volume relating to the famous ‘Travels in France’ adds a little to our knowledge of that tour, if only a little. A facsimile is given of a letter of Arthur Young’s, from Besançon, 27 July 1789, the substance of which is in the published ‘Travels.’ In point of style he is at his best in the ‘Travels,’ partly because his spirits had not fallen so low as afterwards, and partly because the scenes he witnessed would have inspired the dullest. Except in fame he was not a successful man. He found it hard to get money, and still harder to keep it (see, *e.g.*

¹ Dr. Birkbeck Hill kindly tells me that this letter was written to Dr. Brandreth, dean of Armagh, 30 June 1732, and is published in Scott’s edition of Swift’s works (republished 1884), xix. 289. The passage about the Shannon is exaggerated by Young. Swift wrote, ‘The Shannon is rather a lake than a river, and has not the sixth part of the stream that runs under London Bridge.’

pp. 431-2). He was never able to work harmoniously with other men for any length of time. We hear much of his troubles, for example, when he was secretary to the old board of agriculture (p. 242, &c.) His domestic happiness was clouded by disagreements with his wife (see p. 429, &c.) and extinguished by the death of his favourite daughter, Martha ('Bobbin'), in 1797. The effect was a profound melancholy, from which he sought relief in religion. A large part of the second half of the book is devoted to his religious thoughts and feelings. He had, some years before, thrown off his democratic sympathies, and now he became an alarmist and pessimist. In 1807 his sight began to fail, and next year it left him entirely, till his death in 1820, at the age of seventy-eight. The British Museum still holds unpublished manuscripts from his pen. After the death of his last descendant his estate at Bradfield, Suffolk, was sold, with his library, about two years ago.

JAMES BONAR.

Mémoires de l'Abbé Baston, Chanoine de Rouen. Publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par M. l'abbé JULIEN LOTH et M. CH. VERGER. Tome I: 1741-1792. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1897.)

THE abbé Baston is not remarkable for his opinions, his insight, or his ability; but it is because he is nothing more than a favourable specimen of the better educated Gallican clergyman, raised to a respectable position in the church not by birth or intrigue but by merit, that his memoirs are interesting and instructive. We have few printed records of the experiences and impressions of men of this class at the time of the revolution.

Guillaume-André-René Baston was born at Rouen in 1741. Shrewd, industrious, and provident, yet rarely forgetting honesty in absorbing care for their own interests, hardy and vigorous, the peasant farmers and sailors of Normandy are among the best elements of the French nation. Baston's father was the descendant of many generations of respectable seamen, his mother the daughter of a small cultivator. Both his parents were left orphans at an early age, with no inheritance except, so their son assures us, remarkable personal beauty. The mother waited on an old lady of quality, who treated her as a daughter, and on whom she attended, even after her marriage, with the affection and devotion of a child. Nor was it the poverty of Mlle. de Calvimont which led to the intimacy between mistress and maid: in these memoirs as elsewhere we are repeatedly struck by instances of the friendly intercourse which existed between the nobility and the lower classes. The gulf which divided them was so impassable it might safely be ignored. People of birth felt that it was the upper middle class, the financiers and ennobled tradespeople, who needed to be taught their place, while these in turn checked the familiarity of their inferiors by the haughtiness of their demeanour. Baston notices that the prosperous merchants of Rouen, who had bought the privilege of nobility, and cheapened cotton or sago while toying with their swords, scorned to return the salute of a workman, which a man of quality would scrupulously acknowledge by raising his hat. Hence much of the envious hatred of the *roturier* for the

aristocrat by birth, while he himself was more odious than the well-born noble to the populace.

The most interesting part of this book is the writer's account of his education for the priesthood. It began by the kindness of a charitable canon, afterwards the lifelong friend and companion of Baston, in the Jesuit college at Rouen, and was completed at Saint-Sulpice. The teaching of the fathers at Rouen appears to have been little worthy of their high reputation as instructors of youth. The rector of the college had been chosen for his birth and connexions rather than for his attainments. The most successful pupils acquired at best a certain facility in artificial, stilted, and hyperbolical composition, and a knowledge of philosophy confined to a few commonplaces of the schools and superficial refutations of Jansenism. On the other hand, Baston describes Saint-Sulpice with affectionate minuteness. 'During twelve years,' he says, 'I studied the way in which Messieurs de Saint-Sulpice managed their seminaries. I have reflected on it since, and I do not believe that it would be possible to find, or even to imagine, anything more sound, excellent, and perfect, anything better calculated to secure the desired object.' Such enthusiasm must evidently be discounted. It was the happiest period of the writer's life. He was an ideal seminarist, feeling no regrets for pleasures and indulgences he had never known. When the time came to take the irrevocable vows of the priesthood, there was but one secular delight he felt it hard to renounce—the theatre, and this taste was not wholly ungratified at Saint-Sulpice. In holiday time the scholars acted the plays not only of Racine and Molière, but even of the infidel Voltaire, suitably adapted. 'Love was suppressed—the female parts were cut out. A friend took the place of a mistress. Nadire his brother and not Zaire his sister was the object of Nérestan's care: and Orosmane doted not on a girl but on a young favourite.' We may well believe that comedy best lent itself to such treatment. The performances took place during the long summer vacation in the pleasant country retreat provided for the teachers and pupils of the lesser seminary of Saint-Sulpice. Baston's account of the life of the Sulpicians at Vaugirard leaves a pleasant impression. The games, the excursions, the jokes, if somewhat childish, were at all events innocent and wholesome. Yet there was another side to the picture. The constant supervision, which sought to prevent any particular and exclusive friendships, but which by forbidding all open manifestations of preference only made the attachment of friends more sentimental and passionate, the attempts artificially to direct the personal influence of the young men on each other (*e.g.* p. 60), would no doubt have been more prominent features in his description of the seminary had the abbé Baston been of less gentle mould, less influenced by grateful memories; memories which throw their halo even round a glimpse of the 'Conqueror' Louis XV, and through which the cardinal de Bernis, although expelled from Saint-Sulpice, looms a great man (p. 47).

In comparison with the hackneyed theses—among these the invalidity of Anglican orders was a favourite—the sham disputations and justly neglected lectures of the Sorbonne (ch. iii.), the educational course of Saint-Sulpice was stimulating and modern. The lectures were catechetical;

discussion was encouraged by the teachers and vehement. Although the theological teaching was still for the most part that of the schoolmen and the casuists, Nicole, Arnauld, and Bossuet were also read. An acquaintance, no doubt limited and carefully watched, was permitted with the enemy. Buffon, Rousseau, and even Diderot, were read in lecture, and antidotes to their poison administered. Mathematics were fairly taught and some physics.

Baston passed through his *quinquennium* with distinction, but did not proceed to the degree of doctor of divinity. The fees were heavy, and the advantage of the distinction small except to friars, whom it relieved from the most irksome obligations of their order. Directly he had taken the degree of B.D. he was sent to deliver a course of lectures at Angers, and on his return was appointed lecturer at Saint-Sulpice. Unmoved by the certain prospect of benefices and sinecures, he refused to become the secretary of the cardinal bishop of Beauvais or the tutor of a nephew of the archbishop of Rouen; he also declined the proposal of Messieurs de Saint-Sulpice that he should join their body. He wished to be his own master—to live a life of independence and study. Such a life was made possible to him by the archbishop of Rouen, who appointed him (1770) professor of theology in the college of Rouen and (1778) canon of his cathedral.

Although too honest to deny that there were abuses both in church and state, Baston was from the first averse by character and training to the revolutionary movement. The need and justification of change may have been less apparent at Rouen than elsewhere. The chapter were decent and charitable, the nobility, although tainted by philosophy, generous and high-principled, the middle classes prosperous and not uncultivated, the artisans and workpeople orderly and well disposed: when at a later time riot, anarchy, and murder held sway in Paris, moderation and humanity prevailed at Rouen (pp. 220, 270, 369, 402, 412). Modern writers, tracing the stream of revolutionary feeling to its various and distant sources, and impressed by the apparently irresistible violence with which it swept away or submerged the whole fabric of society and government, have perhaps been too disposed to assume that the whole course of events was determined by general causes. To many contemporaries, on the other hand, and especially to those who were least in sympathy with the revolution, everything appeared the result of accident, of unfortunate accident, of individual perversity and folly, of popular delusions artificially fostered by designing men. There was some justification for this view, but it convicts those by whom it was held of prejudiced blindness and political incapacity. Our opinion of the abbé Baston's penetration, therefore, is not raised when we find that he attributes the universal joy with which the meeting of the states-general was hailed to the art of M. Necker (p. 305 *et seq.*). It was, he says, that Swiss presbyterian who skilfully inflamed the jealousy with which the parochial clergy regarded the chapters and monastic orders. They were led to believe that the Estates would give them the tithes of their parishes. He admits that the contrast between the wealth of the prelates and pluralists and the poverty of the parish priests was a scandal, yet has little sympathy with the vicars and curates. In Normandy they were too often Jansenists; and our

author, who dislikes protestantism and dreads 'philosophy,' abhors Jansenism most of all. It was widely diffused among the citizens of Rouen, and for this reason the civil constitution of the clergy was not unpopular among them (p. 325). Devout women even attempted to convert our author, who was one of the most uncompromising opponents of the 'Camuse,' as he delights to call the civil constitution in scorn of its chief contriver—the Jansenist Camus. In two years (1791-2) he published as many as twenty-four pamphlets denouncing the ecclesiastical policy of the assembly. Yet it does not appear that either he, or the thousands of nonjuring priests who had found a refuge at Rouen, would have been molested, had it not been for the pressure put from Paris upon the local authorities. After the fall of the throne and the massacres of September, so bold a champion of the church could no longer be safe in France, and this volume concludes with an account of the abbé's journey with a boatload of deported priests from Rouen to Dieppe, where he was kindly received and whence he had little difficulty in taking ship for England.

Baston returned to France, after ten years of exile, in 1803. We shall welcome the subsequent volume, which is to relate his experiences in exile and under the empire. It is impossible not to be attracted by his kindness and honesty, by his innocent self-complacency, and by the charity which recognises merit in republican freethinkers and even in Jansenists. The editor by well-judged omissions has made it less likely that the reader will be wearied by diffuseness and commonplace.

P. F. WILLERT.

The Battle of Harlem Heights, September 16, 1776. By HENRY P. JOHNSTON. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1897.)

It is to be hoped that Professor Johnston's work may be regarded as the first of a series, which will do on a reduced scale for the campaigns of the war of independence what has been already done for those of the civil war. The interest of this work is twofold—strategical, in so far as it deals with the campaign of 1776; topographical, as it fixes the much-disputed point of the site of the battle. The campaign of 1776 round New York, says the writer, presents more nuts for the historian to crack than any other of the war of the revolution. The first question which calls for an answer is, why was there any campaign at all in this vicinity? Professor Johnston holds that at the time there was but one opinion in the matter. The Americans never thought for a moment of abandoning without a vigorous effort the principal commercial port in the colonies, especially as the issue had yet clearly to be presented, and the negative attitude of the purely defensive to be exchanged for one of active resistance by offensive measures. At such a juncture to abandon New York without a blow, and to present to the English a post which would be an excellent base of operations, would have been fatal to the cause of independence. The same view is held by Colonel Cooper King in his *Life of George Washington*. In the last days of June the English fleet from Halifax anchored off Staten Island, where the troops under General Howe were disembarked. In August arrived Clinton and Cornwallis from the south, and with reinforcements from England, including Hessian mercenaries, the whole force under Howe's command amounted to 30,000 men. To

meet these Washington had a force nominally 20,000 strong, but its actual strength was not more than 17,000. On August 22 Howe moved 15,000 troops to Long Island, where were stationed 7,000 of the American force behind entrenchments under General Greene. And now arises the second question, ought the battle of Long Island to have been fought at all? Washington ran a great risk by leaving so large a force exposed to attack with the chance of its retreat being cut off by the naval force of the enemy. Professor Johnston inclines to the view that he ought to have withdrawn on the 26th. The sole object of holding Long Island was to gain time for throwing up defences on the mainland. Holding on to the island after the 26th was to court a disaster without any compensating advantages. A further question now comes in as to the strength of the Long Island defences. Was Washington's confidence in them justified? Howe in his earlier despatches thought that 'had he allowed his soldiers to go on, they would have carried the redoubt.' Later he changed his mind and held that the attempt would have been desperate. On the whole, though Colonel Cooper King holds the contrary opinion, the arguments seem to be in favour of the strength of the American lines. Howe, with the supineness which characterised all his campaigns, made no attempt to follow up his success, and three days after the battle the Americans had safely recrossed the river. New York was virtually lost with the battle of Long Island, but Washington resolved to stick to it to the last. Throughout this campaign he displayed an exaggerated pertinacity in clinging to his position, which exposed him to great risks, and eventually led to a grave disaster. It was not till September 12 that it was resolved at a council of war to abandon the city as soon as the stores and munitions could be removed. On the 15th Howe moved and succeeded in landing a force at Kip's Bay. Admiral Bartholomew James, who was a midshipman on board the *Orpheus*, bears witness to the tremendous fire kept up by five ships for fifty-nine minutes, under cover of which Clinton's division crossed the river. The American troops at that point fled in panic, and retreated with such precipitancy that General Putnam and a brigade on duty down in the city were within a hair's-breadth of being captured. Washington still stuck to his plan of harassing the enemy. Dismayed as he was by the misconduct of his troops on the 15th, the very next day he sent Knowlton, one of the heroes of Bunker Hill, to feel the enemy's outposts. This movement led to the battle of Harlem Heights.

Three different views are held as to this site. The earliest writers placed the site of the battle too far south and east, not on the heights, but on the plains of Harlem; and in consequence it was long called the battle of Harlem Plains. Mr. Benedict differed from all previous versions by locating the scene of the principal fighting a mile north of the Hollow Way instead of south. This view is refuted by Professor Johnston, who points out the extraordinary consequences it involves: 'A mere detachment of the English army pushed through Washington's lines, made the circuit of his strong position, and returned carrying all their guns and wounded with them, and losing but fourteen men killed.' Mr. Benedict was misled by trying to magnify this engagement into one of the leading battles of the revolution. He speaks of it as a 'bloody battle,' and estimates the American force engaged at nearly 5,000, an estimate almost

treble the truth. The engagement was simply a skirmish beginning with the outposts, in which Knowlton's Rangers, some 300 in number, were forced to retreat. Then Washington attempted to entrap the pursuers in the Hollow Way. The light troops of the English first fell back some 200 yards to a fence, and then were driven back some 400 yards more to a buckwheat field on the top of a high hill. Here they were reinforced—the Americans had already put in a brigade 900 men strong—and a brisk action continued for about two hours. About 1,800 troops in all were engaged on the American side. The English forces engaged were numerically inferior, but among the choicest of Howe's troops. Eventually the English were driven from the buckwheat field through an orchard, across a hollow, up another hill. Here the pursuit ended; for Cornwallis was coming up with a powerful reserve, and the ships lying in the North River were bringing their guns to bear. The British lost fourteen killed, and the Americans about thirty, including two of their best officers, Knowlton and Leitch. It was a smart skirmish of infantry. Of artillery the English had two three-pounders engaged, and the Americans apparently the same. The scene of the main engagement was south of the Hollow Way, on the west of Morningside Heights and near the river Hudson. Its importance lay in the moral effect produced upon the American soldier by the striking contrast offered to the disgraceful panic of the day before. Washington spoke of it as having cheered his men 'prodigiously.' Adjutant-General Reed says of it, 'When I speak of its importance, I do not mean that I think the enemy have suffered a loss which will affect their operations, but it has given spirits to our men.' The American general, Clinton, says: 'I consider our success in this small affair, at this time, almost equal to a victory. It has animated our troops, given them new spirits, and erased every bad impression.' 'Though in itself it was a small affair,' writes Captain Shaw of the American artillery, 'the consequences were great, as the check they [the English] received will probably be a means of keeping off the attack till the spring.' The engagement did keep Howe quiet for nearly four weeks. It was not till October 12 that he commenced a flanking movement, which his command of the sea had enabled him to do at any moment. Washington, with whom General Greene must share the responsibility, attempted to retain Fort Washington after evacuating the island of New York, with the result that the garrison of 2,500 men had to capitulate on November 16. In this instance only did Washington's obstinacy in holding fast to the soil meet with the punishment which it deserved and but for Howe's supineness would have experienced earlier. The successes gained by the Americans at Trenton and Princeton at the end of the year may be regarded as the logical consequence of the battle of Harlem Heights; and the advance upon Philadelphia, the political capital of the States, did not take place till the following year, and then by a different and more arduous line of march.

Professor Johnston has done his work excellently. He has brought together all the authorities, English, American, and Hessian; he has demonstrated the true localities of the battlefield, and has enlarged and made more real the picture of an engagement which—to quote Captain Mahan's description of an almost contemporary event, the naval

campaign on Lake Champlain—was ‘a strife of pygmies for the prize of a continent.’ One point calls for comment. The cause for the failure of the flanking movement directed against the light infantry is not made very clear. Washington reports, ‘They made their attack too soon.’ Reed says, ‘Some officer took them out of the road I intended.’ But the true explanation seems to be supplied by a letter of Captain Wallace of Virginia, which Professor Johnston quotes in another reference: ‘Major Leitch was ordered to surround them, and in attempting it he and his party fell in with about 1,500 of the enemy.’ The number of the English force is exaggerated, but the flanking movement failed because it encountered the reinforcements of the enemy. Perhaps Professor Johnston had this passage in view when he says the mistake may have been due in part to the enemy’s movements. It may be remarked that the notes referring to the maps on pages 46 and 50 have been transposed. It is a pity that so good a work is left without an index.

W. B. Wood.

Napoleone I e l’Inghilterra. Saggio sulle origini del blocco continentale e sulle sue conseguenze economiche. Da ALBERTO LUMBROSO. (Roma: Modes & Mendel. 1897.)

STUDENTS of the Napoleonic period will be grateful for Signor Lumbroso’s learned monograph on the continental blockade. It is a mine of bibliographical references, into which many a labourer will be delighted to dig. At the same time we cannot help feeling that his wealth of bibliographical knowledge has been a stumbling-block to the author. When we ask for a judgment we are given a quotation. We know what Mr. J. H. Rose thinks, for a whole chapter is consecrated to the exposition of the views expressed by that author in the pages of this Review; we know what Gustav K. Rocke thinks, for we have a chapter entitled ‘L’industria francese durante il blocco giudicata da un economista tedesco,’ but it is somewhat difficult to find out what Signor Lumbroso thinks. This, of course, does not much matter when the author is tracing the development of economic ideas in Great Britain and France. That is a question of the collection of facts, and here Signor Lumbroso, with his great knowledge of rare tracts and printed books, is at his best; but when we come to consider the policy of the orders in council and of the Berlin decrees, or the soundness of Napoleonic finance, then we confess that we should have liked our author to take the reins into his own hands and to drive us along with some show of confidence. Again, when the author does arrive at a conclusion, we are not clear that it results from his premises. ‘The accurate examination of the economic consequences of the continental blockade proves that the benefits derived therefrom are many.’ So concludes Signor Lumbroso. But all that he has shown is (1) that there was an immense contraband trade, (2) that the Napoleonic decree of 2 July 1810 suspended the rigorous application of the system by the creation of licenses, (3) that French payments abroad diminished considerably during the years of the blockade, (4) that the use of chicory came in during this period, (5) that the minister of the interior stated in 1813 that the value of the products derived from recent agricultural and industrial enterprises amounted to sixty-five million francs, (6) that rewards were

freely offered for inventions, (7) that immense sums were spent in public works, (8) that branches of the bank of France were established at Rouen and at Lyons, (9) that chancellor Pasquier reported in 1814 that the manufacturing class at St. Quentin thought that it owed its prosperity to the blockade, (10) that there was a very large increase in French importations of raw material for the years 1820-1823 over the figures for the years 1787-89. Obviously these arguments go very little way to establishing the author's conclusion, while some of them make directly against it. No one disputes that France made economic progress under the rule of one of the finest and most intelligent administrators the world has ever seen; no one would deny that after the ten years of revolutionary ruin the Napoleonic régime spelt material regeneration. The question is, How far was this assisted by the policy of the Berlin decrees? This question cannot be answered by pointing out that material progress was coincident in point of time with the decrees. That would be to neglect the plurality of causes. Yet Signor Lumbroso is satisfied with this answer. Nor do we think that Signor Lumbroso has a consistent view of Napoleon's finance. He has, of course, read all the books about it, and gives us after Boileau and Nicolas a very useful summary of the budgets of the consulate and the empire; but the *giudizio generale sulla gestione di Napoleone* is weak and disappointing. We are given sentences from Boileau and Poinard and Masson, but there is no independent financial criticism. It may be exacting for us to demand of Signor Lumbroso, who is primarily a bibliographer, and a most distinguished bibliographer, that he should also be an economic and a financial critic. But while we could not afford to spare one of his references, we should have been glad had our author reasoned more and quoted less, a proceeding which would have added still more value to his monograph by depriving it of its superfluous bulk. There are a few curious words in this volume. Where is Flahifac? (p. 52). We suspect Halifax. Cravales (p. 56) should be Carville. 'Lord Sheffieldy' is more recognisable.

In a supplementary volume Signor Lumbroso prints several documents, two of which, the first draft of the Berlin decree, and the report of a conversation of Napoleon with M. Ternaux, vice-president of the council of manufactures, are of great interest. Here is an extract from the latter document :

Louis XIV, Louis XV auraient dû faire la paix depuis longtemps ; je devrais la faire aussi, si je ne gouvernais que l'ancienne France ; mais je n'ai pas succédé aux anciens Rois de France, j'ai succédé à Charlemagne. C'est une suite de l'Empire Français. Louis XIV n'avait que Brest. J'ai les côtes de l'Europe. Dans 4 ans j'aurai une marine ; maître des côtes jusqu'à Dantzick, j'y trouverai des matelots. Raguse m'a fourni 400 matelots excellents ; je puis construire 25 vaisseaux par an. Lorsque mes escadres auront été 3 ou 4 ans sur la mer, nous pourrons nous mesurer avec les Anglais. Je sais que je puis perdre 3 ou 4 escadres. Je les perdrai, mais nous sommes courageux, nous serons toujours bottés, nous réussirons. Avant 10 ans j'aurai soumis l'Angleterre. Je ne désire qu'une force maritime.

The whole discourse is in this strain of tense uneasy assurance. We must add that Signor Lumbroso appends an elaborate bibliography of the subject, which all students will do well to consult. H. A. L. FISHER.

Social England. Edited by H. D. TRAILL, D.C.L. Vol. VI. (1815-1885.)
(London: Cassell. 1897.)

It is of little use, at the conclusion of so large a work, to criticise its general method and arrangement. That it would resemble an encyclopædia rather than a history was obvious from the first; that a composition by forty or fifty different hands must be unequal, and cannot always be harmonious, is equally certain; that there will be more or less overlapping and repetition, with disproportion here and there, is almost inevitable. The leading ideas, the trunk lines of national evolution cannot be kept in view, as by a single author; and though the book is not without flashes of occasional brilliance, as, for instance, in the editor's own articles, no one would expect to find much literary enjoyment in its perusal. On the other hand it would have been impossible, on any other plan, to pack so much expert knowledge, such thorough acquaintance with different departments of national life, into one book. The title-page sets forth that 'religion, laws, learning, arts, industry, commerce, science, literature, and manners' form the material to be handled; if one or even two or three men had essayed to master this comprehensive list of subjects, it would have occupied their lifetime. Making allowances, then, for the inevitable defects of such a method of composition, it may fairly be said that on the whole the work has been very well done.

The political sections at the commencement of each chapter are perhaps the least satisfactory portion of the book, but it would have been difficult, in the space allowed, to make them either interesting or instructive. Though these sections appear to be generally correct and judicious, so far as they go, exceptions may be taken here and there. It is true, no doubt, that 'Canning's [foreign] policy was less of a departure from Castlereagh's than is generally supposed,' but this will be a dark saying to the reader who is told nothing whatever of the policy of Castlereagh. Twenty millions may have been 'a comfortable compensation' to the slave-owners in 1833, but if the inference is that it was an adequate compensation it is a long way from the truth. Of the rise and objects of Chartism we have a fair sketch, but not a word is said to account for its collapse. The battle of Navarino was not due to the Turks trying to get out of the bay, but to the allies pushing their way in. It is an excessive compliment to that reckless commander Lord Gough to call Chillianwallah a 'hard-won victory.' One of the defects of this sort of political survey is that it is sure to produce repetition. For instance, we have a couple of pages on the Crimean war in Mr. Sanders's 'Political History,' and seven more in Major Gretton's section on 'The Army;,' again, Mr. Sanders gives us a page on the Indian Mutiny, and Major Gretton another. A fusion would have been well in both cases. In fact, the volume as a whole would probably have gained had a mere chronological summary or list of dates been substituted for the political history throughout, and had the space so saved been distributed among the other departments which are more germane to the purpose of the book.

Again, it seems hardly worth while to have introduced the very thin sketches of Scottish and Irish history which are tacked on, in somewhat

ignominious fashion, to the tail of each chapter in this volume. The whole space allotted to Scotland and Ireland, as distinct entities—to use the latest phrase under which British particularism conceals itself—amounts to 28 pages in a volume of nearly 700 pages. It would be hard to say which would inflict the deeper wound on Scottish sensibilities, to be included at all in a volume entitled ‘Social England,’ or, being included, to be cut off with four per cent. of the whole space. Similarly one section of seven pages is all that is allotted to the ‘Colonies.’

But if we look to what is said rather than to what is not said there is reason to be grateful for so much valuable information, not brought together elsewhere, as is compressed within the covers of this volume. The editor, as a critic of nineteenth-century literature, is luminous, interesting, and sometimes brilliant. His appreciation is catholic; he does justice to Macaulay and to Carlyle, to Thackeray and Dickens, to Tennyson, Browning, Rossetti: he writes throughout on the principle of Matthew Arnold, that the critic employs his time better in discovering the excellences than in condemning the weaknesses of his author. He justly points out the importance of periodicals, especially in the earlier half of the century, as enabling Hazlitt, De Quincey, and many others to publish what might otherwise never have seen the light. In tracing the contemporary novel of adventure back to Sir Walter Scott he indicates a well-known pedigree, but the remark that the novel of analysis is an equally direct descendant from Miss Austen seems not only true but new. He regards the present eclipse of George Eliot as likely to be only temporary, and the vogue of third-rate writers, even during the flood tide of literary greatness, as at once puzzling and disheartening. ‘The vast and steady popularity of the author of “Proverbial Philosophy” during the greater part of Tennyson’s prime . . . is one of the most singular phenomena of that literary era.’ Mr. Traill’s review ends somewhat abruptly; it is curious that, while he mentions R. L. Stevenson, he altogether omits George Meredith, Thomas Hardy, and others who were at least equally well known before 1885.

Among his contributors Mr. W. H. Hutton makes excellent use of the comparatively scanty place allotted to ‘The Church,’ and Dr. John Brown sketches the different phases of nonconformity with impartiality and knowledge. Mr. Laird Clowes handles the navy, both military and commercial, in an important series of articles. Symonds’s improvements in shipbuilding; the introduction of steam, steel, and iron; the substitution of the screw for the paddle; the origin and development of armour-plated ships of war, of quick-firing guns and torpedoes are matters of immediate interest at the present day. The ups and downs of agriculture are ably described by Mr. R. E. Prothero and Mr. Bear; Miss Bateson has collected a large number of amusing facts bearing on ‘social life,’ from the shapes of hats and bonnets and the cut of whiskers to even more important matters, such as population, journalism, and education. But why is so striking a social phenomenon as the expansion of athletics entirely omitted? Surely ‘social England’ would be very different from what it is without its rowing and cricket, its golf and football. Art is treated by Mr. Hughes and Mr. F. G. Stephens, perhaps—with the exception of some sharp remarks on Degas, Manet,

and their fellows—in too unbroken a strain of eulogy. One of the strongest departments in this volume is certainly that of science. In the hands of Canon Bonney, Miss Clerke, Mr. Glynne Jones, Mr. Steele, and others, the astonishing advances of this century are set forth in a style attractive and intelligible to the layman; and Mr. Whittaker is especially happy in his treatment of Darwinism and the theory of evolution, to which the editor has rightly apportioned ample room.

G. W. PROTHERO.

A Students' History of the United States. By E. CHANNING. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1898.)

Select Documents illustrative of the History of the United States, 1776-1861. Edited by W. MACDONALD. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1898.)

PROFESSOR CHANNING is already favourably known to English readers by his 'United States' in the 'Cambridge Historical Series.' The 'Students' History' is an outcome of the demand in America for more scientific methods of teaching, and is 'equipped with an apparatus of topics, references, and suggestive questions, which will enable the teacher to comply with the requirements of the new system.'

The history of the United States, depending as it does largely upon the construction of legal documents, cannot be made altogether easy reading, and Mr. Channing renders it the more difficult by deliberately relegating such subjects as 'details of military history, descriptions of colonial life, anecdotes of the heroes of colonial and revolutionary days,' &c., to the 'grammar school histories.' His History is intended primarily 'for the use of students in their last year in the High School.' 'The serious study of American history,' he wisely considers, 'more fitly follows than precedes that of other countries.' Mr. Macdonald's volume of *Select Documents* is a further proof how seriously and soberly American history is now being taught. But while no subject can be easy, when difficulties are faced and not merely glided over, there are special reasons which make American history hard to grasp as a whole. To understand the history of the United States, it is necessary to study the constitutional and political history of colonial times, but it would baffle the art of a Macaulay to weave into a continuous consecutive narrative the story of separate communities, wherein prevailed (in the words of Franklin) 'different forms of government, different laws, different interests, and, in some of them, different religious persuasions and different manners.' If we allow for this difficulty, Mr. Channing tells the story of colonial times clearly and fairly. He appears, however, unnecessarily sceptical with regard to Cabot's second voyage. The evidence is certainly 'vague and unsatisfactory;' but there seems little doubt as to the fact of the voyage and as to its direction. Mr. Channing speaks of the puritans as having control of the Virginia Company during its last years. The party in power may have offended James by its 'popularness,' but its leaders, Sandys, the friend and pupil of Hooker, and Nicholas Ferrer, the high-church quietist, were assuredly not puritans. Moreover quite as much alacrity was shown by the Plymouth Company to welcome the pilgrims within its limits, and it will not be said that Sir Ferdinando Gorges was

a puritan. Mr. Channing has overlooked the general policy of the Stuart kings of regarding the colonies as a safety-valve for dissent. (There is a small slip with regard to Scrooby: it is in Nottinghamshire, not Northamptonshire.)

Passing to more important matters, the English reader, in the light of the experience of English constitutional history, is perhaps in a better position than the American to recognise how largely, apart from the mistakes and failures of statesmen and governors, the difficulties which beset British rule were inherent in a system which attempted to combine a tolerably democratic representative legislature with an executive which was in theory wholly independent of it. Both in the mother country and in the colonies there was many a troublesome birth-throe before responsible government could emerge to the light of day. In fact, however, the problem was practically solved in the American colonies by the legislature, as being the custodian of the public purse, usurping the functions of the executive. Mr. Channing makes the remark that 'in the old colonial days the governors of the royal provinces had exercised all three functions' (viz. the legislative, judicial, and executive), and he regards the American system of checks and balances as framed in the light of this experience. One wonders what would be the comment of Governor Hunter or of Dinwiddie or of Glen, or indeed of any other royal governor of the eighteenth century, could he be allowed a reply from Hades. Moreover Mr. Channing himself says elsewhere: 'In Virginia these [large] landowners possessed entire power in state and church, tempered to a very slight extent by the presence of a royal governor;' and though in the other royal governments circumstances were different, the power of the governor was assuredly not greater. I take it that the provisions of the constitution were mainly directed against the usurpations of congress, which had carried on the traditions of the colonial times. Thus we find Jefferson in August 1787 insisting upon the necessity of separating 'in the hands of congress the executive and legislative powers. *The want of it has been the source of more evil than we have experienced from any other cause.*' With regard to the separation of judicial from executive and legislative functions, Mr. Channing's explanation is doubtless right. In Virginia the governor had presided over the council, sitting as a general court of *oyer et terminer*, and had also acted as chancellor in equity appeals. Such a rendering of the letter of the English constitution assuredly required some correction.

It is disappointing to find Professor Channing repeating the stale charge against Carleton of having refrained, from personal motives, from giving Burgoyne effective assistance. In fact it was impossible for Carleton to garrison Ticonderoga without dangerously diminishing the force necessary for the protection of Canada. Mr. Channing notes that Howe's capture of Philadelphia was 'entirely unjustifiable from a military point of view,' but he does not go on to explain that Howe's proper work should have been to assist Burgoyne in bringing about the isolation of New England.

It is curious to find in so cool and impartial a writer as Mr. Channing a strong animus against Hamilton. The contrast between Jefferson, with 'his desire to promote the welfare of the individual,' and Hamilton, 'who

had no sympathy with the aspirations of the masses for self-improvement,' strikes a somewhat jarring note. The term 'masses' applied to the scattered and independent population of the close of the eighteenth century wears a curious look, and the outsider would gather that the American individual has worked out his own economic and moral salvation with little assistance from political systems, Jeffersonian or other. The language held by Hamilton, at a period of bitterness, in a private letter, together with the use of an expression borrowed from Plato, is set forth as a solemn confession of political faith, and held to account for Hamilton's 'failure.' A more obvious reason would seem to be that he was less 'astute' than the great Jefferson, and therefore more incapable of the 'intrigues' with which Mr. Channing on three separate occasions charges him. Granted that Hamilton was ludicrously wrong in his apprehensions of Jacobinism in the United States, one would have expected that American thinkers would more and more honour the statesman who, as a contemporary opponent bore witness, 'more than any man did the thinking of the time.' Mr. Channing makes some mention of Hamilton's financial services, but even the most compendious of students' histories might have found room for Webster's eulogium: 'He smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of the public credit, and it sprang upon its feet.' Moreover, Hamilton has a yet further claim on all good Americans, inasmuch as 'in a time when American nationality meant nothing, he alone grasped the great conception in all its fulness.'

It was easy for Hamilton, who was a stranger, to preach the doctrine of nationality, but the roots of the different states were set deep in their separate pasts, and the subsequent history was largely an outcome of this separateness. The perverse obstinacy of George III had indeed achieved the apparently impossible, and the colonies had found themselves in line against a common danger, but with the removal of the necessity for combination the old disintegrating forces revived. The critical period of 1786 and 1787 was the logical outcome of the past, and the federal convention and the constitution, which resulted, were due to the efforts of a few great men rather than to natural tendencies. Even Jefferson in 1787 could write: 'My general plan would be to make the states one as to everything connected with foreign nations, and several as to everything purely domestic.' In the adoption of the constitution, nationalism for the time prevailed against particularism, but the snake was scotched and not killed. In glancing through Mr. Macdonald's very useful and well-chosen illustrative documents, the reader is struck by the great number of papers which relate to this subject. The rival opinions in 1791 of Hamilton and Jefferson on the constitutionality of a bank, the theory of 'implied powers' being set against the theory that all powers not expressly delegated are reserved; the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798; the report of the Hartford convention of 1815; the documents relating to the Missouri compromise, 1820-1; the protests of South Carolina and Georgia against the 1828 tariff; the rival speeches of Webster and Haynes in 1830; the South Carolina ordinance of nullification, 1832, and Jackson's proclamation with regard to it; Giddings's resolutions on slavery, 1842; the compromise of 1850; the Kansas and Nebraska act

of 1854; the Dred Scott decision of 1857, by which it seemed that the forces of particularism had obtained the control of the very sanctuary of the national life; the Crittenden compromise, 1860; the South Carolina ordinance of secession of the same year; and lastly, the constitution of the confederate states, 1861; all these state papers, set out in dry legal fashion, serve better than tons of rhetoric to show how great a work it was for the national ideal to conquer the particularist. It is true that, behind constitutional questions, there came to be more and more apparent the menacing figure of negro slavery, but it is none the less true that the moral and economic questions involved would not have taken the form they did but for historical reasons, which had their roots deep in the colonial past.

In conclusion, it only remains to express the hope that these excellent books may do something to remove the lamentable ignorance of American history which prevails even amongst well-educated Englishmen. In the better days which we all hope are in store for Anglo-American relations, there will be increasing need for a sympathetic and intelligent understanding of the past history.

HUGH E. EGERTON.

La Marquise de Crenay : une Amie de la Reine Hortense, de Napoléon III, et de la Duchesse de Berry. Lettres inédites. Par H. THIRRIA. (Paris: Plange. 1898.)

M. THIRRIA, whose big work on 'Napoléon III avant l'Empire' was noticed in this Review (xi. 391, xii. 383), has now published three batches of letters, dealing more or less directly with his previous subject and throwing a little fresh light on one or two subsidiary points of modern French history. These letters were entrusted to him by the grandson of the marquise de Crenay, a lady who was a neighbour of Queen Hortense during the latter's sojourn at Arenenberg, in Switzerland, and whose adopted daughter, afterwards comtesse de Sparre, was at one time reported to be engaged to the future emperor. The letters of Queen Hortense to the marquise date from 1835-6, and have little value except as showing the writer's indifference to orthography—a fault which characterises all three of the marquise's correspondents. Those of Louis Napoleon show him in an unfavourable aspect, for as soon as he had become president of the republic his tone of affection for his devoted correspondent changed, until at last he answered her letters through the medium of a secretary. The duchesse de Berry complains to the marquise, whose husband was a strong legitimist, of Napoleon's political proceedings, for she was foolish enough to believe that he 'would serve as a bridge between the republic and the restoration.' One or two of the English names on pp. 83, 85 need correction, and the Napoleonic quotation on p. 145 came originally not from America, but from Horace.

W. MILLER.

Dr. Hermann Barge's *Entwicklung der geschichtswissenschaftlichen Anschauungen in Deutschland* (Leipzig: Theodor Weicher, 1898) is a further, and, we are glad to note, a calmer contribution to the controversy excited by Lamprecht's 'Deutsche Geschichte.' While admitting that others had already challenged the somewhat restricted conception of history made popular by the political school of Ranke, whose work was

coloured throughout by the idealistic philosophy of his time, the writer of this short tract claims for Professor Lamprecht the credit of being the first to write a whole history of a nation from the *culturgeschichtliche* standpoint. His great merit is to have related the history of the German people without philosophic, ethical, or political premisses, but with a constant eye to the interdependence of all departments of a people's life, the importance of the nations as the agents of historical development, the dependence of personalities on the conceptions of their age, and the 'immanent causality' of historical evolution. So ambitious a scheme could not well be combined with a first-hand knowledge of sources which would satisfy specialists, and Dr. Barge complains that Lamprecht's shortcomings in this respect have been unfairly used by his critics to minimise the value and importance of a new departure in historical method.

A.

The subject of Dr. Eduard Norden's two volumes on *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1898) belongs rather to literature than to the field with which this Review is concerned. The author traces the influence of the artificial style of the Greeks, as developed from Gorgias of Leontini downwards, upon Latin prose and through all the ranges of Latin prose. He writes, in a word, the history of rhetoric. We can here only mention the careful notices which he has collected by the way concerning the history of learning and education. His remarks upon medieval schools are, for instance, exceedingly interesting; but he is not altogether abreast of modern knowledge in this department, or he would not have cited Peter of Blois (p. 719) for his statement that he had read a series of classical historians, when the writer is after his manner merely imposing upon our credulity. The list is in fact appropriated from John of Salisbury ('Policrat.' viii. 18), and honest John carefully avoids saying that he had read these authors; they were not, indeed, all of them accessible, as Dr. Norden confesses in the case of Tacitus. Nor should we be referred to the forged continuation of Ingulf (p. 724, n. 3) for the early schools at Cambridge. But these are small matters. A curious point is the demonstration that the medieval *cursus* depends not, as its expounder in the twelfth century thought, upon the basis of the dactyl, but upon that of the cretic.

R. L. P.

The *Historical Church Atlas*, by the Rev. Edmund Maclure (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1897), consists of two main sections. The second of these, which is concerned with the expansion of the English church in our colonies and dependencies, has little directly historical importance, but will be appreciated (especially for the large number of maps supplied) by those who study the rise and organisation of the church in recent years. The other part traces the ecclesiastical geography of Europe and Western Asia from the first century to the reformation, and of England since that epoch. The general maps, nine in number, are on too small a scale to show more than the leading features, but these are given on the whole clearly and correctly. It is the first time, we believe, that such a series has been attempted. The introductory

sketch suffers from a fault which may be noticed also in the prefaces to the maps in Mr. Poole's 'Historical Atlas;' it is too apt to wander from a definite statement of territories and boundaries into a history at large; indeed, much of it is a mere abstract of ecclesiastical history. There are too frequent signs of compilation, and the facts are not always quite accurate. Sometimes the author enters into considerable topographical detail. Thus he gives an elaborate list of the bishoprics of the eastern church in the ninth century, but he has not revised it by the help of Gelzer's work, though he knows Professor Ramsay's. The sketches given of the ecclesiastical organisation of other countries in the middle ages are somewhat meagre. For Italy the account is particularly vague. The bishopric of Siena (to name no more) is omitted, and no reference is made to the grand distinction between the sees which grew up under western influences and those which long continued subject to Constantinople, a distinction which goes far to explain some of the chief anomalies in the Italian system. Great care has been devoted to the early history of the church in the British Isles, which is illustrated by three coloured maps; but the maps in the text, which are mostly (but not all) based on those in the published 'Valor Ecclesiasticus,' are wanting in clearness of boundary and are drawn on the most various scales. London, Ely, Bangor, and Llandaff are omitted, and a map is given of Canterbury, which forgets to indicate that Rochester was contained within its compass. It was, however, a good thought to distinguish the archbishop's many manors. The Atlas needs revision, and it deserves it, for there is a great deal of good matter in it. B.

Some years back an Irish merchant, Mr. Charles Haliday, wrote on the Scandinavian kingdom of Ireland, and brought forward a good many new facts respecting the topography of ancient Dublin, especially on the river in which he was officially interested. Now we have a Norwegian official, Mr. L. J. Vogt, who has given his leisure to preparing a popular sketch of the history of Dublin as a centre of Scandinavian commerce and colonisation (*Dublin som Norsk By, fra vort ældste Kjøbstadsliv*. Christiania: Aschehoug & Co., 1896). He has not brought in much new to the student, save an excellent reproduction of Speed's Dublin map of 1610; but he has read the latest authorities and many of the texts on which they are based. He supposes *Lochland* to be the Irish form of *Haloga-land*; he will not admit Godfrey of York to have left coins with his other name of Canute; he agrees with G. Storm's ingenious but risky hypothesis that Haklang and Kjetwe in Hornklofe's 'Lay of Harold Shockhead' are no others than Anlaf Godfreysson and his father; he looks favourably upon the preposterous equation *fene* and *fandr*; his derivation for *Mount Pelier*, viz. *Mount Upp i hliðir*, will require a good deal of confirmation; he treats the names O'Lochlann, O'h Ogain, McCann, O'Bruadair, Mac Raghnaill, O'h Agmaill as Scandinavian; of *Tollsell* he prefers an obviously wrong derivation; he does not seem aware of Dozy's researches; he is not acquainted with Mr. Keary's British Museum coin catalogue; and he is a little ready to accept Dr. Zimmer's theories in their entirety. English readers will find it far better to read Steenstrup,

if they wish to use a Danish book, than to toil through this industrious compilation of Mr. Vogt, which, indeed, has no pretensions to other than popular use among Norwegians who have no access to English libraries, for which purpose it is probably adequate. F. Y. P.

After an interval of eight years Dr. H. Grotefend has completed his valuable work on the *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* by the publication of the second part of vol. ii. (Hanover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1898.) The first volume (1891) has long commended itself to students by the unmatched clearness of its chronological tables, perpetual calendars, &c., as well as by its practical arrangement, which gives the required information about cycles, terms, and the like, and the various names for days and seasons, in the form of an alphabetical 'glossary,' an advantage which is readily appreciated by those who, in England, have been in the habit of consulting the manuals of Nicolas and Bond, whose 'systematic' plan is of the most unmethodical description. The second volume contained in its first part (1892) special calendars (unfortunately with no table of contents) of the dioceses of Germany, Switzerland, and Scandinavia, distinguishing the *festas fori* by heavy type. This, though not complete, formed an extremely useful series, taken mainly from service books of the early days of printing. It is now followed (in part ii.) by the calendars of religious orders and by a comprehensive list of saints. This list is of great importance, because it supplies definite evidence for the celebration of the feasts on particular days in particular churches and dioceses, and these days, as is well known, were in numberless cases not everywhere the same. It is essential that we should learn the specific use of a given locality in order to be able to assign correctly the indications of date given in its documents. The work ends with a supplement to the glossary, in which a great deal of valuable detail is collected, though too many English notices are taken without verification from Hampson. The great merit of Dr. Grotefend's laborious production is its critical character. Throughout he furnishes the precise authority for his statements; the authority is not always first-rate, but it is a great advance upon the mere repetition of assertions, often blundering, of previous compilers. R. L. P.

In his work on *Les Collections Canoniques attribuées à Yves de Chartres* (Paris: Picard, 1897) M. Paul Fournier (whose treatise on the officialities is well known in England) discusses the various collections of canonical materials that have been ascribed to Yvo of Chartres. The result is highly creditable to Yvo's industry. In brief it is this: Yvo is incontestably the author of the 'Panormia;' in all probability he is the author of the 'Decretum Yvonis;' the first two parts of the 'Tripartita' were compiled by him or under his direction; the 'Panormia' is later than the 'Decretum;' the 'Decretum' is later than the first two parts of the 'Tripartita;' all these works may be referred to the years 1094-5, or thereabouts. Then in *Yves de Chartres et le Droit Canonique* (Paris: Picard, 1898) M. Fournier endeavours to define with exactitude the position which should be assigned to the bishop of Chartres in the history of the canon law, and incidentally touches many interesting themes, such as the development of the dispensing power, the strife about the investituree-

the rival theories of marriage, and so forth. It is hardly likely that the first of M. Fournier's two works will find many readers in this country; but the other (a tract of some seventy pages) can be commended to many who, though they are not professed canonists, are interested in the general history of Ivo's time. In particular we have here a good statement of the question touching investitures as it appears in the light that is shed by Dr. Stutz and his 'Eigenkirche.' F. W. M.

In his *Bibliography of Municipal History, including Gilds and Parliamentary Representation* (New York: Longmans, 1897), Dr. Charles Gross has collected and classified the titles of upwards of three thousand books and pamphlets which bear on the history of the English, Scotch, and Irish towns. In part i. we find in fourteen different classes the 'General Authorities.' In part ii. the towns are arranged in alphabetical order, running from Aberdeen to Youghal. The plan is admirable, and to all appearance it is admirably executed. It is likely that the student of any particular town will know of some tracts which have escaped Dr. Gross, or have been rejected by him as unimportant. For example, the resources of the university library would enable me to make a few additions to his list for Cambridge. Such omissions are unavoidable; early in this century there was a good deal of pamphleteering in some of our boroughs; but, for all this, Dr. Gross has shown a prodigious industry, and his classification of materials seems to me thoroughly sound and convenient. Hereafter any one who means to study town life, or any aspect of town life, must keep this book close at hand. An all too short introduction will perhaps make us regret that Dr. Gross has spent his time and powers on this catalogue rather than on a history of our municipal institutions; he certainly could give us something better than we have yet got. Let us hope that this will come. Meanwhile we are grateful for an indispensable book of reference. F. W. M.

In June last Father Gerard brought to a conclusion for the present his contributions towards a life of Father Henry Garnet, S. J., which he has for some time past been publishing in *The Month*. Having reached the death of Elizabeth he intimates that other duties afford him no leisure to continue his task. Are there not, however, other scholars with fewer occupations to whom he could entrust the task of publishing the remaining letters preserved at Stonyhurst, leaving to himself, if he so desires, to comment on them at some future period? It is possible that light may be thrown on Garnet's hopes of obtaining the goodwill of Sir R. Cecil by the information contained in the transcripts from the Vatican archives now in the Record Office. They show that there was a talk in 1603 of money going to James's Scottish favourites in exchange for a grant of toleration, and Cecil's desire to conciliate these men is there sufficiently indicated.

S. R. G.

We doubt if Mr. H. B. Irving's *Life of Judge Jeffreys* (London: Heinemann, 1898) would have attracted much notice if its author had not borne so well known a name. It is a careful and interesting piece of work, but nothing more. Mr. Irving has evidently a great interest in questions relating to the administration of justice, and has

devoted much time and thought to the study of the trials, chiefly, of course, for high treason, which are so conspicuous a feature in English history during the reigns of Charles II and James II. This has led him to the conviction that the popular opinion held by English people about Judge Jeffreys is exaggerated, and that with all his faults the devil was not quite so black after all as Macaulay painted him. His book is not, therefore, in any real sense of the word an attempt to whitewash Jeffreys, and does not attempt to conceal his harshness, brutality, subserviency, and injustice. It is an attempt to correct exaggerations, not to rehabilitate a lost character, and belongs really to the growing literature of 'corrections of Macaulay' rather than to that of independent historical biography. Looked at from this point of view it is certainly worth reading. C.

Mr. Henry Harrison's *Place Names of the Liverpool District* (London, Elliot Stock, 1898) is an excellent little piece of work of a kind unfortunately not too common. The historian cannot afford to disregard the gleanings that may be gathered from place-names, but for lack of local knowledge he is often left without the key to unlock their meaning. If he could always turn to a monograph by one so well acquainted with the localities and so well equipped philologically as Mr. Harrison, his task would be immensely simplified; and we sincerely hope that his book may inspire others to do for their own districts what he has done for the hundreds of West Derby and Wirral. The treatment is concise, but due space is given to the much controverted Mersey and Liverpool (which, taking the old form Litherpool as original, he derives from Old Norse *hlithar-pollr*, 'the pool of the slope'), and to the alleged identification of Bromborough, in Wirral, with the Brunanburh of Athelstan's victory, which is very properly rejected. J. T.

Sir Courtenay Ilbert's work on *The Government of India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), although valuable to the student of history, is legal rather than historical, and must be judged by lawyers. The historical introduction, however, is a lucid outline of the constitutional history of British India. Historians of British India have usually all but ignored this aspect of their theme, and their readers have scarcely any notion of the process whereby a uniform administration of European origin came to supersede the division of authority between the native rulers, the company, and the crown. Sir Courtenay Ilbert divides the constitutional history of British India into three periods: the first from the incorporation of the East India Company in 1600 to the grant of the Diwani of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa in 1765; the second from the grant of the Diwani to the assumption of the direct government of India by the crown in 1858; and the third from that change to our own time. The first is the purely commercial period, in which the constitution and powers of the company were defined chiefly by royal charters. The second is the period of quasi-sovereign power exercised by the company: its stages are marked by a series of statutes, occurring at intervals of twenty years from 1773 onwards. The third is the period of immediate royal authority, characterised chiefly by legislation on points of detail. The second of these periods is by far the most interesting, and occupies

the bulk of Sir Courtenay Ilbert's introduction. Curious and perplexing problems arose out of the twofold character of the company as holding powers delegated by the Mogul, and at the same time subject to the British crown. The attempt to overcome profound differences of race and religion by the establishment of personal as opposed to territorial law recalls the condition of Western Europe after the fall of the Roman empire. For reasons explained in this volume it was unsuccessful, and the law of British India became territorial save as regards a few topics intimately connected with religion and family life. D.

Mr. W. F. Reddaway's account of the *Monroe Doctrine* (Cambridge University Press, 1898) was written in competition for a university prize; it is a careful study of the diplomatic relations between the United States and the European powers at a critical moment in American history. The author would have added considerably to the value of his essay if he had noted the sources of his quotations. It is not easy to determine the importance to be attached to the opinion of 'a contemporary' or 'a recent American writer.' E.

In his interesting volume entitled *Nullification and Secession in the United States* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897) Mr. E. Payson Powell gives us a consecutive history of the attempts which have been made by states, or combinations of states, to assert their right to nullify federal enactments, or to secede from the Union: the resolutions adopted by Virginia and Kentucky in 1798; the Northern Confederacy of 1803; the vast scheme of disintegration projected by Aaron Burr; the withdrawal of the New England States from co-operation in the war of 1812-14; the nullification movement of 1830; and the secession of the Southern States in 1861. Almost every student of the early history of the American constitution may be counted as a partisan of Hamilton or of Jefferson; the battle which raged round these two champions, when they were pitted against each other in Washington's cabinet, has not yet come to an end. Mr. Powell leaves us in no doubt as to his allegiance; he sides with Jefferson, 'probably the greatest of our presidents.' His description of Hamilton reads rather like the terminal report of a brilliant but ill-behaved schoolbo. I should like to give my reasons for declining to accept this estimate of the two men, but the argument would carry me beyond the scope of the work under review. Mr. Powell has added considerably to the value of his book by appending a selection of constitutional documents to each chapter. His own conclusions are always fairly and moderately stated. His last chapter contains a thoughtful forecast of the dangers which the United States may have to face in the near future. T. R.

Notices of Periodicals

[Contributions to these Notices, whether regular or occasional, are invited. They should be drawn up on the pattern of those printed below, and addressed to Mr. R. I. Poole, at Oxford, by the first week in March, June, September, and December.]

The date of the treatise 'de Rebaptismate' [ascribed to Cyprian]: by J. EAKST [who places it between the autumn of 255 (or Easter 256) and 1 Sept. 256, that is, before the third Carthaginian council; and argues that it was written not in proconsular Africa, nor in Numidia, but most probably in Mauretania. The writer maintains his view against W. Schüler's contention for a date after the third Carthaginian council and an Italian origin].—Hist. Jahrb. xix. 3.

The sources of the Anonymus Valesii: by E. PATZIG.—Byz. Zft. vii. 3, 4. Aug.

The history of the Roman breviary [in connexion with the works of Batiffol and Bäumer].—Church Qu. Rev. 92. July.

The genuineness of the 'Vita sanctae Genovefae': by C. KOHLER [who maintains its antiquity against the arguments of B. Krasch].—Rev. hist. lxvii. 2. July.

Pliny's 'Naturalis Historia' in the middle ages: by K. RÜCK [who prints collections of excerpts from manuscripts of the eighth and ninth centuries].—SB. Akad. Wiss. München (phil.-hist. Cl.) 1898. 2.

The relation of the 'Vita Caroli Magni' to the so-called 'Annales Einhardi': by E. BERNHEIM [reasserting the dependence of the 'Vita' upon the 'Annales'].—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. iii. 2.

Notes on some manuscripts of the 'Liber Pontificalis': by I. GROROI.—Arch. R. Soc. Rom. xx. 3, 4.

Prehistoric Greece [a discussion of the results of excavation since Schliemann].—Quart. Rev. 375. July.

The origin of the Jewish era of the world: by F. RÜHL [giving corrections of and additions to his previous article].—D. Zft. Gesch.-Wiss., N.F., ii. 4.

The life of St. Basil before his consecration as bishop: by P. ALLARD.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiv. 1. July.

The Byzantine order of coronation down to the tenth century: by W. SICKEL [with exhaustive notes giving the evidence and sources for each detail].—Byz. Zft. vii. 3, 4. Aug.

National law and royal law: by G. SEELIGER [who denies that there was the sharp distinction and opposition between popular and royal law in the Frank system asserted by Sohm and his followers].—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. iii. 1, 3.

Sketches from the history of the papacy in the eleventh century: by A. VIAZIGIN.—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. July, August.

The church and the universities; Bologna and Paris: by J. B. MILBURN [on Rashdall's 'Universities of Europe' and Denifle's 'Chart. Univ. Paris.'].—Dublin Rev., N.S., 27. July.

Louis's IX's second crusade: by G. CARO [on the date of the 'contractus navigii'].—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. iii. 2.

The Sicilians in the war of Tunis [1270]: by S. ROMANO.—Arch. stor. Sicil., N.S., xxii. 3, 4.

La Vauderye: by J. FRIEDRICH [who traces the development of the charges made against the Waldenses, especially the way in which their practices were connected

- with witchcraft in the fifteenth century], with documents [1453-1460].—SB. Akad. Wiss. München (phil.-hist. Cl.) 1898. 1.
- Poland and the Hansa at the close of the fourteenth century*: by E. R. DAENELL [based on the 'Urkundenbücher' of Cracow and Oesterreich's articles on the trading relations of Thorn and Poland].—D. Zft. Gesch.-Wiss., N.F., ii. 4.
- St. Antonino of Florence [1389-1459]*.—Church Qu. Rev. 92. July.
- Prophecy in the last century before the Reformation as a source and factor of history*: by J. ROHR. II.—Hist. Jahrb. xix. 3.
- Documents illustrating the negotiations between the Swiss and Milan [1466-1468]*: printed by A. BÜCHLI.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1898. 3.
- A Zürich account of the battle of Nancy [11 January, 1477]*: printed by T. VON LIEBENAU.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1898, 3.
- Letters from the Swiss to Julius II [1510], from Ottaviano Sforza to Zürich [1512], from Leo X [1513-1514], and from Henry VIII to the Swiss [1516]* printed by A. BERNOULLI. [They were previously only known from German translations.]—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1898. 2.
- The powers of a papal nuncio in the sixteenth century*: by S. STEINHERZ [printing a bull of Pius IV to bishop Hosius of Ermland, 1560].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xix. 2.
- An account of a raid on Constantinople made by the Cossacks at the beginning of the seventeenth century* as given in a Greek manuscript [preserved in the Iverian monastery on Mount Athos]: by V. ISTRIN.—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. July
- The Maltese victory over the corsairs of Tripoli in 1634*: by S. SALOMONE-MARINO [who reprints a contemporary narrative].—Arch. stor. Sicil., N.S., xxii. 3, 4.
- The relations between Sweden and Russia in the second half of the seventeenth century*: by G. FORSTEN.—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. June.
- Letters of the duchess Elizabeth Charlotte of Orleans to her sister-in-law the electress palatine Wilhelmine Ernestine*: by P. HAAKE.—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. iii. 3.
- The French clergy in Savoy and Piedmont [1791-1794], from the unpublished reminiscences of François Blaize Berlioz, canon of Grenoble*: by V. Pierre.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiv. 1. July.
- Russia and Germany in the nineteenth century*.—Russk. Starina. June-August.
- The storming of Kars in 1855* [from the recollections of an eye-witness].—Istorich. Viestn. July.
- The Tac-Ping rebellion in China*: by D. POZDNEYEV [compiled from Chinese documents in the British Museum].—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. July.
- Church and State according to the Lutheran, Calvinist, and modern conceptions*: by K. RIEKER.—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. iii. 3.
- Palacky as a writer on Slavonic law*: by T. SIGEL.—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. July.
- The 'new historical method'*: by G. VON BELOW [who maintains, with respect to C. Lamprecht's position, very nearly that what is new is not true, and what is true is not new].—Hist. Zft. lxxxi. 2.

France

- The battle of Vouillé [507]*: by G. KURTH [who disposes of A. Lièvre's identification of the site of the Campus Vogladensis with that of Saint Cyr].—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiv. 1. July.
- The date of Hugh Capet's coronation*: by E. SACKUR [adducing fresh evidence for the date given in the 'Annales S. Dionysii' in preference to Richer's].—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. iii. 3.
- The rural parishes of France*: by P. IMBART DE LA TOUR. The private churches in the tenth and eleventh centuries.—Rev. hist. lxviii. 1. Sept. (concluded from lxvii. 1).
- An Italian account of Louis XI's entrance into Paris [31 August 1461]*: by L. G. PÉLISSIER.—Arch. stor. Ital. 5th ser. xxi. 1.
- Jacopo Corbinelli and the massacre of St. Bartholomew*: by P. RAJNA [who prints letters of the Florentine exile from Paris to G. V. Pinelli, Feb. 1570-Jan. 1573]. Those of 27 August and 8 October 1572 have peculiar interest. Their bearing

- on the vexed questions relating to the massacre is discussed by the editor].—Arch. stor. Ital. 5th ser. xxi. 1.
- A supposed letter of Henry III to the king of Navarre relative to an intrigue of Margaret of Valois with the viscount of Turenne* [1580]; by G. BAGUENAUT DE PUCHESE [who thinks that both the letter, the existence of which is only attested by Mezeray, and the charge contained in it are apocryphal].—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiv. 1. *July*.
- The tercentenary of the edict of Nantes* [a collection of papers on the circumstances in which it was promulgated, on the manner in which it was observed, on protestant education during the time it prevailed, &c.]: by various writers.—Bull. Soc. Hist. Protest. Franç. xlvi. 4-7. *April-July*.
- Charles Beys, the panegyrist of Louis XIII*: by the comte DE PUYMAIGRE.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiv. 1. *July*.
- The reaction of 1781*: by A. WAHL [who attacks Chérest and Gomel's view that Necker's retirement was the signal for a decided reaction].—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. iii. 2.
- The princesse de Lamballe*.—Church Qu. Rev. 92. *July*.
- The last years of the Bastille* [1785-1789], from new documents: by F. FUNCK-BRENTANO.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiv. 1. *July*.
- The republican and democratic idea before 1789*: by A. AULARD [who shows that on the eve of the Revolution no one thought of establishing a republic in France].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 1. *July*.
- The 5th and 6th October 1789*: by A. MATHIEU [who examines the question as to the forces by which the popular movement was directed, and argues that the idea of bringing the king back to Paris originated with Camille Desmoulins, not with the duke of Orleans. There was, however, no union among the popular leaders to support it. The action of the moderate party precipitated the result]. I.—Rev. hist. lxvii. 2. *July*.
- Rabaut St. Etienne's correspondence during the Revolution*: by A. LODS [based on some unpublished letters].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 1. *July*.
- The use of the second person singular during the Revolution*: by A. AULARD [proposed 14 Dec. 1790 in the 'Mercure National' probably by Madame Robert, it was employed after 10 Aug. 1792 in the debates of the popular societies, and maintained till Thermidor].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 12. *June*.
- Passages from Carl Engelbert Oelsner's memoirs on the French Revolution*: printed by A. STERN.—Rev. hist. lxvii. 2, lxviii. 1. *July, Sept.* (continued from lxv. 1).
- The Girondin constitution of 1793* [the text for the first time accurately printed].—Révol. Franç. xvii. 12. *June*.
- Letters of Jean Joseph Mounier* [1796-1802]: printed by P. BOJANOWSKI.—Rev. hist. xviii. 1. *Sept.*
- The execution of the duc d'Enghien*: by S. B. FAY. I.—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 4.
- The Conventionnels under the empire and after the restoration*: by E. VELWERT [in criticism of L. Pingaud].—Rev. hist. lxviii. 1. *Sept.*
- The duke of Aunale* [1822-1897].—Edinb. Rev. 385. *July*.

Germany and Austria-Hungary

- Studies in the sources for Hungarian history*: by R. F. KAINDL. V: The 'Annales veteres Ungarici' and the 'Annales Albenses' [the latter forming the first part of the former]. VI: Historical notices written at Gran in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.—Arch. Oesterreich. Gesch. lxxxiv. 2.
- The two oldest necrologies of Kremsmünster* [twelfth to fifteenth century]: printed by A. ALTINGER.—Arch. Oesterreich. Gesch. lxxxiv. 1.
- Social classes among the early Germans*: by R. KÖTZSCHKE [who criticises R. Hildebrand's contention that early German society on emerging from the nomadic state about the beginning of our era was sharply divided into rich and poor, and that the labour of agriculture was thrown upon the latter only].—D. Zft. Gesch.-Wiss., N.F., ii. 4.
- The margraves of Styria*; their beginnings and family connexions, and the Cal^{III}.

- thian margraviate before 1122: by F. VON KRONES.—Arch. Oesterreich. Gesch. lxxxiv. 1.
- Frederic I's election as German king*: by R. HOLTSMANN.—Hist. Vierteljahrscr. iii. 2.
- The excommunication of Gebhard of Würzburg*: by E. SCHAUS.—Hist. Vierteljahrscr. iii. 2.
- The charters of liberty for Carniola*: by W. LEVEC [who traces the constitutional history of the country from the rise of the house of Andechs, gives a calendar of documents, 1338-1736, describes the printed texts of the 'Landhandfesten' of 1598 and 1687, and prints four charters, 1338-1374].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xix. 2.
- The imperial German vice-chancellorship*: by H. KRETSCHMAYR, with documents [1559-1792].—Arch. Oesterreich. Gesch. lxxxiv. 2.
- The historiographer of Kremsmünster*: by A. ALTINGER [who is disposed to favour prior Bernard rather than Sigmar the cellarer].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xix. 2.
- The oath of fealty of count William of Julich to John XXII* [30 Jan. 1332]: printed by K. EUBEL.—Hist. Jahrb. xix. 3.
- The safe-conduct given by King Sigismund to Hus*: by K. MÜLLER [who lays more weight upon Sigismund's breach of his general promises to the reformer than upon the safe-conduct itself].—Hist. Vierteljahrscr. iii. 1.
- Frederic III's journey into southern and western Germany in 1485 and the election of Maximilian*: by F. PRIEBATSCH [who maintains that the emperor's object was to secure help against Matthias Corvinus, and that his journey was unconnected with any plan for his son's election, to which, in fact, he was not favourable].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xix. 2.
- Johann Reuchlin* [an estimate of him as 'the first of the savants of the modern world'].—Quart. Rev. 375. July.
- Archduke Charles II and the question of the establishment of a monastic council for Inner Austria*: by J. LOSERTH, with documents.—Arch. Oesterreich. Gesch. lxxxiv. 2.
- Zacharias Theobald* [the author of the 'Hussitenkrieg']: by A. L. KREJČÍK [correcting errors in his biography].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xix. 2.
- Karl Meichelbeck* [1669-1734], the Bavarian historian: by F. L. BAUMANN.—Festrede Akad. Wiss. München, 1897.
- The Huguenot colony at Friedrichsdorf in Hesse-Homburg*: by C. F. ROUSSELET.—Proc. Huguenot Soc. of London, v. 4.
- On the mission of count Görtz to the count of Zweibrücken* [January—April 1778]: by K. OBSER.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xix. 2.
- Johann Wilhelm Sivers's views on Frederick the Great*: by C. VARRENTAPP [from lectures of this eminent teacher, 1808, and other materials].—Hist. Zft. lxxx. 2.
- Recollections of the Hungarian campaign of 1849*: by T. GRIGOROV.—Russk. Starina. June.

Great Britain and Ireland

- English law before the Norman Conquest*: by sir F. POLLOCK.—Law Qu. Rev. 55. July.
- The evolution of the charter* [a confused and unscientific paper].—Qu. Rev. 375. July.
- On the history of Byrhtnoth, the hero of Maldon*: by F. LIEBERMANN [who is disposed to attribute the song of Maldon to a chaplain of Byrhtnoth's widow, Ælfwæd, and dates Æthelred's treaty with the Danes not in 994 but in 991. Notes are added on the legends about Byrhtnoth at Ely and Ramsey].—Arch. Stud. neueren Spr. und Liter. ci. 1, 2.
- The gild merchant* [a review of Dr. Gross's work].—Scott. Rev. 63. July.
- English medieval institutes of cathedral canons*: by E. BISHOP [who, working from the collections of capitular statutes printed by C. Wordsworth, maintains that the very institution of secular canons opened the way to non-residence and sine-curism, and dwells on the extent to which abuses prevailed in the middle ages].—Dublin Rev., N.S., 27. July.

- The knight templars in Scotland*: by R. AITKEN.—Scott. Rev. 63. July.
- Aaron of Lincoln* [† 1186]: by J. JACOBS [who gives an account of his financial operations, noticing that no fewer than sixteen religious houses were built with the help of loans from him].—Jew. Qu. Rev. 40. July.
- Edmund of Abingdon and the universities*: by A. HERBERT.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 27. July.
- The first divorce of Henry VIII*: by P. FERET.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxiv. 1. July.
- Frederick, earl of Bristol and bishop of Derry* [1730-1803, with special reference to his views on Irish policy].—Edinb. Rev. 385. July.
- Admiral Duncan* [1731-1804] *and naval defence*.—Edinb. Rev. 385. July.
- An historical account of the Beresford family*: by C. E. DE LA POER BERESFORD (concluded).—Genealog. Mag. 15. July.
- Some beliefs and customs relating to Holy Week*: by Miss F. PEACOCK.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 27. July.
- Rules for indexing archæological transactions* [approved by the tenth annual congress of archæological societies. The rules are admirable, but one point seems to be omitted, which should be settled for the sake of uniformity: Are mediæval surnames derived from places to be indexed under the modern names of the places or at haphazard? *E.g.*, if it is admitted that John Wycliffe took his name from Wycliffe-on-Tees, is it to be so written, or Wyclif, Wiclif, Wickliffe, &c. &c.?] Antiquary, N.S., 104. August.

Italy

- An unpublished chapter of the 'Tabula Civitatis Amalfie'*: by F. CICCAGLIONE [who assigns its date to a time before Amalfi was conquered by the Normans].—Arch. stor. Napol. xxiii. 2.
- The royal and imperial charters of the church of Vercelli*: by F. GABOTTO [a critical examination of their authenticity].—Arch. stor. Ital. 5th ser. xxi. 1.
- The archives of Viterbo*: by P. SAVIGNONI, concluded [an index to the previous articles].—Arch. R. Soc. Rom. xx. 3, 4.
- The treatise 'de Magnalibus Urbis Mediolani'* by *Bonvesin della Riva* [1288]: edited with introduction and notes by F. NOVATI.—Bull. Ist. stor. Ital. 20.
- The statutes of Brescia from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century*: by A. VALENTINI [with notes on the municipal constitution].—N. Arch. Ven. xv. 1.
- Documents on the topography of Palermo* [1351-2, 1371]: printed by S. SALOMONE-MARINO.—Arch. stor. Sicil., N.S., xxii. 3, 4.
- Sumptuary laws at Milan. The statutes of 1396 and 1498*: by E. VERGA.—Arch. stor. Lomb. 3rd ser. xvii.
- Extracts from the muniments of the bishop of Syracuse* [1442-1679] made by canon Teodoro Mancarella: printed by M. DI MARTINO.—Arch. stor. Sicil., N.S., xxii. 3, 4.
- Documents on the Revolt at Messina* [1669-1679]: by S. SALOMONE-MARINO.—Arch. stor. Sicil., N.S., xxii. 3, 4.
- A bibliography of recent works on mediæval Italian history*: by C. CIPOLLA.—N. Arch. Ven. xiv. 2, xv. 1.
- Sicilian notes*: by I. CARINI. V. [notes on Roman administration in the island; Sicilian hymns (reprinted from Dreves); St. Agatha and her churches; Sicilian words and proverbs; friars minor in Sicily about 1343; fragment of a chronicle, 1364-1374; Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (with extracts from a manuscript of this fifteenth century orientalist); Antonio Panormita, Giovanni Naso, Andrea Barbazza, and Pietro Bembo; &c.].—Arch. stor. Sicil., N.S., xxii. 3, 4.
- Notices of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions in spurious or doubtful Neapolitan chronicles*: by G. MERCALLI.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxiii. 2.
- The Schola cantorum of the Lateran* [its connexion with the festival of the *Cornomannia*]: by E. MONACI.—Arch. R. Soc. Rom. xx. 3, 4.
- The Schola Saxonum at Rome*: by W. D. J. CROKE.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 27. July.
- La Favara di San Filippo* near Palermo; its castle and church: by V. DI GIOVANNI. Arch. stor. Sicil., N.S., xxii. 3, 4.

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- Innocent VI and Joanna I of Naples* ; unpublished documents from the Vatican archives : printed by F. CERASOLI. V.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxiii. 2.
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- Four letters of the Gonfalonier Niccolò Capponi* : printed by G. SANESI. [They were written in May and June 1528 to Giachinotto Serragli and Jacopo Salviati to dissuade Clement VII from the imperial alliance. With them is published a reply from Serragli 16 Dec. 1528. The secrecy of this correspondence determined Capponi's fall.]—Arch. stor. Ital. 5th ser. xxi. 1.
- Amusements and love affairs at the court of Isabella d' Este* [from the letters and poems of her secretary, Marcantonio Bendidio] : by L. FRATI.—Arch. stor. Lomb. 3rd ser. xviii.
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- The arrest and release of Angelo Guerini* [1761-3] : by L. OTTOLENGHI [originally a conflict as to competence between the Avogadori del Comun and the Inquisitori di Stato. The senate and the Quarantia were in favour of the former, and the grand council elected five correttori to revise the sentence. The struggle nearly led to a revolution against the power of the Ten].—N. Arch. Ven. xv. 1.

The Netherlands and Belgium

- The reformed church of Bruges and its ministers in 1584* : by H. C. ROGGE.—Arch. Nederl. Kerkgesch. vii. 1.
- The beginnings of the Walloon church at Groningen* : by H. D. GUYOT. [The French community dates from 1608 at latest, though the church was not founded until 1686.]—Bull. Comm. Hist. Eglises Wallonnes, vii. 3.
- Disputes in the reformed church of Brill in the early years of the seventeenth century* : by H. DE JAGER.—Arch. Nederl. Kerkgesch. vii. 1.
- The controversies of Pierre Jurieu with Elie Saurin and others* : by R. N. L. MIRANDOLLE [who prints a letter by Jurieu, 1695].—Bull. Comm. Hist. Eglises Wallonnes, vii. 3.

Russia

- Obscure records of Cossack expeditions in the years 1550, 1552* : by G. KUNTSEVICH [from manuscripts in the imperial library].—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. July.
- The first political movements of Boris Godunov* : by S. PLATONOV [chiefly on his conduct to the Boyars].—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. June.
- The truth about the boyar M. Shchin* [executed for treason in 1634] : by N. OGLIBLIN. Istorich. Viestn. June.
- Russia in the seventeenth century* : by N. ARDASHIN [describing how the country was cleared of the invaders after the election of Michael Romanov].—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. June.
- The trial and punishment of Salavalka* [one of the confederates of Pugachev] : by P. YUDIN.—Istorich. Viestn. August.
- Papers dealing with the reign of Paul* : contributed by P. MAIKOV and A. BEZRODNI [imperial rescripts and letters].—Russk. Starina. August.

- Materials for the biography of the Skobelevs, grandfather and grandson*: by many contributors.—Russk. Starina. July.
- Stories about Nicholas I*: by many contributors.—Russk. Starina. July.
- The responsibility for the Polish insurrection of 1863*: by I. ZAKHARYIN.—Istorich. Viest. June.
- Recollections by a Pole of the year 1863*.—Russk. Starina. June—August.
- A Russian embassy to Bokhara in 1870*: by S. NOSOVICH. Russk. Starina. August.
- Recollections of an officer of the Preobrazhenski regiment of the war with Turkey in 1877-78*: by A. BERS.—Russk. Starina. June—August.
- How far are the government lists to be relied upon?* by G. SHMELEN [who professes to have examined only a few in the archives, but thinks that they contain much valuable material. They give a sort of Domesday book of Russia].—Zhur. Min. Nar. Prosv. July.

Spain and Portugal

- The Cartulary of the Templars of Aragon*: by M. MAGALLÓN.—Boletin R. Acad. Hist. xxxii. 6.
- The Constable Nun'Alvares*: by C. J. WILDEY [an account based upon Oliveira Martins's work].—Scott. Rev. 63. July.
- The attempted coup d'état of Ferdinand VII of Spain in July 1822*: by A. STERN.—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. iii. 1.
- The Spanish dollar and the colonial shilling*: by W. G. SUMNER [an estimate of the value of Spanish coins from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century].—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 4.

Switzerland

- Accounts of the battles of Frastenz and Dornach* [1499]: by F. VON JECKLIN [with a notice of the part played at the former by the men of St. Gallen]: by J. HÄNE.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1898, 2.
- An historical poem against the Swiss* [early in 1549]: printed by J. HÄNE.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1898, 3.

America

- The origin of Genet's projected attack on Louisiana and the Floridas*: by F. J. TURNER.—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 4.
- The life and administration of sir Robert Eden* [1741-84], governor of Maryland: by B. C. STEINER.—Johns Hopkins Univ. Stud. in Hist. and Polit. Science, xvi. 7-9.
- The Delaware bill of rights of 1776*: by M. FARRAND.—Amer. Hist. Rev. iii. 4.
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- The municipal history of Chicago*: by S. E. SPARLING.—Bull. Univ. Wisconsin, 23.

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I. GENERAL HISTORY

(Including works of miscellaneous contents)

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- POHLER (J.) *Bibliotheca historico-militaris. Systematische Uebersicht der Erscheinungen aller Sprachen auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte der Kriege und Kriegswissenschaft seit Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst bis zum Schluss des Jahres 1880.* IV, 5. Pp. 321-400. Leipzig: Lang. 3 m.
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IV. ECCLESIASTICAL, MEDIEVAL, AND MODERN HISTORY

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A. FRANCE

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